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ROYAL

MILITARY CHRONICLE;

OR,

BRITISH OFFICER'S

MONTHLY REGISTER, CHRONICLE, AND MILITARY MENTOR.

VOL. III.

A NEW SERIES.

FROM APRIL 1815 TO NOVEMBER 1815.

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FOR MAY 1815.

EMBELLISHMENT.

Portrait of Prince Schwartzenberg.

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SEVEN ORIGINAL JOURNALS

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

TOGETHER with this Number of the Military Chronicle is published, price Two Shillings and Sixpence, the First of SEVEN ORIGINAL JOURNALS of the Campaigns of the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula; being Original Journals of the Personal Movements and Operations of the Duke during the Seven Campaigns in the Peninsula, viz. the Campaign of 1808, of 1809, of 1810, of 1811, of 1812, of 1813, and of 1814. These Journals follow the Person and Staff of the Duke of Wellington, and the purpose of their publication is to afford the Public a Narrative, at least correct and full, of those important operations.—Each Campaign will be comprehended in one number; the First Number contains the Campaign of 1808.

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The next Number will be published on the first of next month; and a number every month till concluded.—The Printing and Paper are of the first excellence.

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ROYAL MILITARY CHRONICLE.

Vol. III.]

NEW SERIES, MAY, 1815.

[No. 13.

ORIGINAL NARRATIVE

OF THE DEPOSITION AND DEPORTATION OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON; AND HIS ITINERARY TO ELBA.

(Translated from the French.)

BUONAPARTE was informed of the advance of the allies on Paris at a village three leagues from Doulevant, on the 29th of March. instantly quitted Doulevant, and removed his head-quarters to Troyes, where he waited twelve hours for his guard, which could no longer follow him. He set out from Troyes on the 30th, at nine in the morning. arrived at Fontainbleau the same hour in the evening, and continued his. route to Essonne. This was the day on which Paris capitulated. Napoleon received the news of the capitulation at eleven in the evening, by a general who came at full speed to meet him: he was then at the Cour-de-France, a little post station between Essonne and Villejuif. The Emperor, on receiving the news, was like a man thunderstruck: when he came to himself, he said that he had rather have been pierced to the heart by a dagger. He enquired whether the National Guard had fought well? and upon the officer's answering that they had not even fired a musquet (which was an unworthy falsehood), he exclaimed against their treason or cowardice. He immediately returned to Fontainbleau, where he arrived on the 31st in the morning, accompanied by the Prince of Wagram, Marshal Bertrand, and Caulaincourt, with whom he had passed the night at the Cour-de-France. On the morrow (the 1st of April) he published a bulletin, in which he informed the people and the army, " that the enemy, having got the start of him by twentyfour hours, were then in possession of Paris, after having experienced a vigorous resistance, which cost them the lives of many of their troops. That the corps of the Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa, with that of General Compans, who had assisted in the defence of the capital, had united between Essonne and Paris, where his Majesty had taken a position with the whole army; the latter baving arrived from Troyes. That the occupation of the capital by the enemy was a misfortune which afflicted his Majesty very sensibly, but ought not to create any alarms. presence of the Emperor with his army at the gates of Paris would prevent the accustomed excesses of the enemy, and the very possession could not be retained without incurring the most extreme danger."

In the meantime the different corps of the army came up, and took their positions at Essonne as they arrived. The whole body was not

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assembled by the third, but there was no time to lose; Napoleon, after having harangued the old guard, was ready to set out, when he received intelligence of his deposition pronounced the day before. This information necessarily delayed his departure. The army, however, still remained in their position at Essonne, or in the neighbourhood, increasing in numbers at every moment by the additional troops that arrived. On the 4th, however, it was very much diminished by the secession of Marshal Marmont, who, rather too hastily for his honour, gave in his adherence to the acts of the provisional government. He concluded for himself and corps a capitulation with Prince Schwartzenburgh, from whom he received information of these acts.

This secession was the last stroke of thunder which completed the crushing of Napoleon. He had only power to give vent to his feelings in an order of the day, written certainly with great force and dignity, and exhibiting a strong character of his mind. It is almost a duty not to suppress this work of a great, though misled man.

" ORDER OF THE DAY.

"The Emperor thanks the army for its honourable attachment to him, because it proves that the army possesses true French feeling, though the inhabitants of the capital do not. The soldier follows the fortune or misfortune of his general-he follows his honour, and religion. The Duke of Ragusa has not inculcated these sentiments to his corps—he has passed over to the Allies. The Emperor cannot approve the conditions under which he has thus acted-he cannot accept either life or liberty as the gift of a subject. The senate has taken upon itself to dispose of the French Government, forgetting that it derived from the Emperor the power which it now abuses; that he preserved a part of its members during the storms of the revolution; that he drew the rest from obscurity, and protected them against the fury of the nation. The senate grounds its proceedings upon the articles of the Constitution, for the purpose of overturning that Constitution. It unblushingly reproaches the Emperor, without reflecting that, as the first body of the state, it has had a part in every occurrence. It has gone so far as to accuse the Emperor of having altered its decrees when publishing them. The whole world knows that he has had no need of using such artifices, for a look on his part was sufficient, and the senate always did more than he desired of it. The Emperor has, at all times, been open to the wise remonstrances of his Ministers; and he expected from them, in his present situation, a complete justification of the steps he had taken. If a degree of enthusiasm found its way into the public addresses, the Emperor has been deceived; but those who held such language must attribute to themselves the fatal result of their flattery. The senate shamelessly speaks of libels published against foreign governments, forgetting that they were written by this body itself. So long as fortune smiled upon their sovereign, these men were faithful to him, and not a word escaped them as to the abuse of power. If the Emperor has

slighted the advice of some, the world can now perceive what were his motives for this conduct. He held his dignity by the will of God and the nation—they, and no one else, could deprive him of it. He has always considered it as a burthen, and when he accepted it, he did it from a conviction that he was the only person who could properly sustain its dignity. The happiness of France seemed to be placed by destiny in his hands. Now that Fortune has decided against him, the will of the nation can alone induce him to remain upon the throne. If he be considered as the sole obstacle to peace, he willingly makes the last sacrifice to France; and has, in consequence, sent the Prince of Moskwa, the Duke of Vicenza, and the Duke of Tarentum, to enter upon negociations. The army may be assured that his honour will never be in opposition to the happiness of France."

The other marshals now arrived, and accompanied him to a secret council, the result of which was, that Marshals Ney and Caulincourt received his act of abdication: they were to endeavour, in the first instance, to procure the throne for the King of Rome; but if impossible, were to act according to circumstances.

There is reason to believe, that this negociation for the King of Rome would have succeeded, had it not been for the secession of Marshal Marmont: but his secession gave confidence to the Allies to insist upon an absolute surrender of the dynasty of Buonaparte.

To return to what passed at Fontainbleau during these negociations at Paris. The same day, a little before the hour of the parade, the Marshals and General Officers, having assembled in the court of the palace, conferred together upon the events of the preceding day, upon their probable consequences, and upon the influence which they ought to have at the moment in regulating the relations which were to subsist in future between the Emperor and the army. As the opinions in this respect were very much divided, one of the generals suggested a line of conduct which seemed very proper to conciliate all. This was to engage the Emperor, even for the sake of his own honour and authority, which might be compromised, not to come that day to the parade. Marshal Oudinot detached himself immediately from the groupe to perform this mission to the Emperor; but the latter was already on the parade before the Marshal could get to him. The soldiers saluted him with great affection; this produced an evident effect upon his feelings, and he retired in great emotion.

The negociators, which he had sent to Paris, arrived about eleven o'clock at night. Marshal Ney entered the first. "Have you succeeded?" said Buonaparte.—" In part, sire, but not for the regency; revolutions cannot be made to take a retrogade movement; the course of this is determined—'tis too late to attempt stopping it—to-morrow the senate will acknowledge the Bourbons as their sovereigns."—" Where am I with my family to live?"—" Wherever your Majesty shall please; at the island of Elba, perhaps, with a revenue of six millions."—" The revenue is large enough, as I am to be only a private

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soldier. Be it so; I must settle my mind to it:"-and he said no more."

That very evening Marshal Ney wrote the following letter to the Prince of Benevento, President of the Constitutional Government, to acquaint him with the disposition in which he had found the Emperor:

" SIR.

"I was yesterday at Paris with the Marshal Duke of Tarento, and the Duke of Vincenza, to support with the Emperor Alexander the claims of the dynasty of the Emperor Napoleon. An unforeseen event having on a sudden stopped the negociations, which were proceeding to the happiest results, I saw from that moment that but one way remained to save our beloved country from the horrors of a civil war, and this was for all Frenchmen to embrace unanimously the cause of their ancient kings. Penetrated with these sentiments, I presented myself, in the evening, before the Emperor Napoleon, to manifest to him the wishes of the nation. Convinced of the critical position in which France stands, and the impossibility of saving her himself, under the present circumstances, he has consented to an absolute abdication of the throne, without any restriction whatever. I expect that he will remit to me tomorrow morning the act of abdication, when I shall have the honour o seeing your Serene Highness.

" Fontainbleau, April 5th,

half-past eleven at night."

This act was signed on the following day.

On the 11th (April) the Allied Powers signed the treaty of Fontainbleau, and every thing was thus ready for his departure. He waited, however, a few days for the Empress, and sent several times hoping to meet her. Deceived in this hope, as well as in all others that he had conceived, he at length determined to quit the palace at Fontainbieau, and set out for Elba.

Accordingly, on the 20th of April, at eleven in the morning, he began his journey, followed by fourteen carriages. His escort required sixty post horses. The four commissaries of the Allied Powers who accompanied him, were M. de Schuvaloff, on the part of Russia; General Koller, on that of Austria; Colonel Campbell, for England, and Count Waldbourg Truchsels for Prussia. Four officers of the Emperor's household composed a part of his train.

At the moment of his departure he addressed the troops of the old guard, who had remained with him, in the following words:

"Officers, sub-officers, and soldiers of the old guard, I take my leave of you. For twenty years I have commanded you, and I have ever been satisfied with your conduct. I have always found you on the road to glory. The Allied Powers have armed all Europe against me; a part of the army has betrayed its duties, and France has yielded to private interests. With you and the brave soldiers who have remained faithful

to me, I could have maintained a civil war for three years; but France has suffered much: this was very contrary to the end which I had proposed to myself; it was proper that I should sacrifice my personal interests to her happiness, and this I have done.

"Be faithful to the sovereign which France has chosen; do not abandon this dear, and too long suffering country. Lament not my fate; I shall be always happy when I know that you are so. I could have died, nothing was easier to me, but I will always follow the path of honour; I will live to record the deeds which we have performed. I cannot embrace you all, but I must embrace your chief.—Come, General," and here he embraced General Petit. "Let the eagle be brought me;" then embracing the eagle he added,—"Dear eagle, may my kisses penetrate to the hearts of all these brave fellows.—Adieu, my brothers—adieu, my brave companions;—once more surround me." Then the etat-major, always accompanied by the four commissaries, formed a circle around him.

Buonaparte now got into his carriage, and at that moment could no longer command his feelings, but burst into tears. At his departure he asked for Constant, his first valet-de-chambre, but he was ill and could not accompany him. A much more ancient servant, the celebrated Mameluke, Roustan, had quitted him some days before, detained, as he said, by his wife, who refused to forsake her own country.

The Emperor now proceeded on his journey, and at four in the afternoon arrived at Montargis. The foot-guards who were quartered in this canton were under arms. They knew how to respect misfortune by observing a profound silence. Buonaparte, as he passed between the ranks of these brave men, saluted the persons who were at the windows, both to the right and to the left, and who evinced much curiosity to see him. Arrived at the castle of Briare, where he was to rest for the night, he ordered the mayor to be summoned, and had a long conversation with him. He said, among other things, that he had been extremely deceived by the people about him, who did not suffer him to have any idea by even a hundredth part of the misery prevailing in France.

Thursday, 21st.--Buonaparte arrived at Nevers; some detachments of his guard had preceded him. The town was besides full of other troops, and it contained more than two hundred pieces of artillery. Napoleon enquired for the Prefect, who was absent; he then asked for the Mayor and the Chief of the Gendarmerie. These two functionaries, (men of servile minds) not knowing what etiquette ought to be observed with regard to the Emperor, addressed themselves to the Commissaries, who said that Buonaparte was still a sovereign, although no longer sovereign of France. On this answer they presented themselves before Napoleon. He addressed himself first to the Mayor, asking what was the population of the town?---From the answer he received he found that it was exceedingly diminished. The Mayor imputed this diminution to the conscription; a reason which could not have been very grateful to

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Buonaparte. He put severel other questions; the officer of the gendarmerie confined himself to listening to them, but hearing some noise, and even cries of *Vive l'Empereur* in the street, he went to the window to see whence they came. The Emperor asking what was the matter, he answered, "It is nothing but the mob."

Buonaparte then enquired of the officer concerning Marshal Augereau and his army, particularly whither it had retreated. The officer answered that it was in Dauphine. "How," answered Napoleon, "it ought to have been at Moulins or at Clermont: here then I am again deceived."—Turning once more to the Mayor, he made many enquiries concerning the disposition of the people in that town. The Mayor answered that they were the friends of the laws. "You are strangemen," answered Napoleon, as he concluded the conversation. During this scene the four Commissaries were present.

Friday, 22nd.--Buonaparte arrived at Moulins about eleven in the morning. Although he was not expected, his carriage was quickly surrounded by a number of the populace, all wearing the white cockade. "Salute the Emperor," said the cuirassiers who accompanied Napoleon. The people complied with the invitation, and cried Vive l' Empereur!--- "See there," said the cuirassiers, "these people wear the white cockade, yet they cry Vive l' Empereur! This scene passed while Buonaparte was only changing horses.

Buonaparte was to sleep at Roanne. He was but three leagues from Pradines, where was a religious house of nuns established by Cardinal Fesch. The Cardinal was there at this moment, with his sister the Emperor's mother. Informed that Napoleon was passing that way, they sent M. Jacquemont, almoner of the house, an ancient monk of the Chastreux, to him. It was not without much difficulty that he could get to see Buonaparte. Napoleon observed, that he thought they had already quitted the country, and asked whether they intended taking the route by Genoa, or that by Mount Cenis? He then dismissed the Almoner. The Mayor having come to him at his request, he enquired whether the town had suffered much. "You ought to have had," said he, "six thousand men of the army of Spain here. If I had only been betrayed fourteen times in the day I might still have been upon the throne." He remained some time at the gate of the inn contemplating the multitude, taking snuff at every moment, and appearing exceedingly abstracted.

Saturday, 23rd.—After passing twelve hours at Roanne, Buonaparte set off again this day about noon. He stopped to sup at the post station of Latour, two leagues from Lyons: he supped by himself, and seemed angry that the Commissaries remained so long at table. He afterwards went out, and proceeded forwards alone; it was nine o'clock, but the night was very fine. The minister of Dardilly-Latour, M. Tillon, followed to observe him, and walked on very fast, that he might pass him, in the hope that in this case he would speak to him. He was not disappointed: "You are a priest?" said Buonaparte, with a dignified air.

--- "Yes, sire, I am the minister of Dardilly."--- "Has your parish suffered much?"--- "Yes, Sire, it has been crushed by requisitions."--- "They are the inevitable consequences of war."--- Afterwards he said, looking up to the heavens, "Sir, I formerly knew the names of the stars well, but I have forgotten them almost all; can you tell me what that is?"--- I never knew, Sire."--- Here the conversation ended.

He passed through Lyons the same evening at ten o'clock. The post horses waited for him without the town, in the suburb of La Guillotiere. The Austrian troops which occupied Lyons having had orders to render to the Emperor the honours due to his rank, had remained the whole day under arms, expecting him, though in vain, and had returned to their quarters when he passed. It was not known till the next morning that he had gone forwards. He had ordered that all the pamphlets published since the first of April should be purchased for him; the charge given was so strict, that the person who had the commission not being able to get a complete series of the Lyons Journal, required a certificate from the bookseller to attest the fact. The purchase amounted to eleven hundred francs, including some books of religion, particularly a beautiful bible of Sacy in thirty-two volumes, and a herbal.

Sunday, 24th.—Buonaparte arrived in the morning at the Péage-de-Roussillon, a little town upon the banks of the Rhone,—here he stopped to breakfast. A crowd having assembled before the Inn where he alighted, he went to the window and harangued them. "He declared that he quitted the throne without regret, since he could no longer confer happiness on France;—that to promote the felicity of the People had always been the object of his most ardent wishes;—that he had conceived great projects for establishing that felicity, but that the treachery of his enemies had prevented the execution of them."

Buonaparte then summoned the mayor, and questioned him earnestly upon the spirit that prevailed in the department. This officer had now a fine opportunity to have told him that it was perfectly exhausted with requistions to supply the army of the South, which was completely destitute. Buonaparte enquired concerning the fate of this army, and whether Marshal Augereau and General Marchand had fought well. He appeared in complete ignorance upon the subject, his communication with the army having been so often interrupted during the campaign, and having been intirely cut off since the 20th of March, when Lyons was taken.

Marshal Augereau at this time (the taking of Lyons) retreated upon Valence, putting the river Isere between him and the Austrian army; the fine bridge over this river was burned through excess of caution by General Pannetier. The Marshal had been a month at Valence when he was informed, on Saturday, the 23rd, of the approach of Napoleon. On Sunday, the 24th, he ordered the generale to be beat at seven in the morning, and having assembled his troops upon the esplanade, he had them transported to the other side of the Rhone. This was a wise precaution;—it was one indeed which the spirit of the troops rendered in-

dispensable, since this body was as yet but little enlightened upon the passing events, nor were their eyes open with regard to Napoleon. There were no troops remaining at Valence except a hundred and fifty Austrian chasseurs, sent thither the evening before to protect the Emperor's passage.

These precautions taken, Marshal Augereau set out from thence about noon on Sunday the 24th, and repaired to the banks of the Isere. As the passage of this river had been interdicted from the evening before, a number of carriages, carts, and travellers were assembled here, waiting with impatience the moment when they should be allowed to cross; an impatience so much the greater from the circumstance that there was no means of shelter on that side of the river, they were all obliged to remain out in the open air. Two places, little better than hovels, were the only shelter to be found, and of these one was occupied by the four commissaries, who had already crossed the river, the other was reserved for Buomaparte against he should arrive. This he did soon. was that the celebrated interview between him and Marshal Augereau took place. "You have betrayed me," said the Emperor as he accosted him; "I have your proclamation in my pocket." "Sire," said the Marshal, "It is you who have betrayed France and the army, in sacrificing both to a mad ambition."---You are going to serve new masters." --- "I am not responsible to you for my conduct," replied the Marshal with a most culpable insolence. "You have no heart," said the Emperor. "You are without a soul." And indignantly left him.

Buonaparte now continued his route, and without stopping at Valence. He passed through it in his carriage, nor did any circumstance occur worthy of remark. He arrived at Montelimart between six and seven in the evening. Having been preceded by several couriers, so that his arrival was expected, a great crowd was collected about the inn where he was to stop. Many persons had even entered the inn, and ranged themselves upon the staircase which he was to ascend; but a still greater number remained without. Napoleon descended from his carriage with a rapidity which very much disappointed the curiosity of the multitude; he was unable to practice the same rapidity when he got into the house, so much was he incommoded by the crowd. He passed through the lane made by them in the passages, and upon the stair-case, with an air of confidence, keeping his hat in his hand, saluting the gazers as he passed. He was followed by the Grand Marshal, Bertrand.

No sooner was he arrived in his apartment, than he desired to speak with the sub-prefect. While he was waiting for him, he received some of the persons employed in collecting the imposts, and in the administration of the forests. He inquired of the Sieur Ragaut, sub-inspector of the forests, whether they had suffered much, and what revenue they produced annually to the government. He put many other questions, making inquiries of various persons concerning the disposition of the town and the department;—whether the white cockade was generally worn;—what they thought of him, &c. &c. At nine in the evening he departed.

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This was the last consolation which Buonaparte experienced upon his route. Two hours after, in the little town of Donzère, the scene began to change. The inhabitants were celebrating a festival in honour of the restoration; the streets were illuminated, they were dancing the farandoule, and joy reigned in every heart. In this intoxication the people crossed Napoleon's carriage, to stop his progress, with cries of Vivent less Bourbons!—Vive Louis XVIII!— Down with the tyrant! It is said that Buonaparte, indignant at such treatment, inquired the name of the commune, and took a memorandum of it.

Monday, 25th.—The English Commissary, who preceded Buonaparte, arrived at Avignon at four o'clock in the morning. The officer of the guard inquired whether Napoleon's escort was strong, and sufficient to repel a popular commotion. The Commissary appeared extremely affected at the fears which the officer evinced, and requested him to exert all his authority in protecting the Emperor as he passed through the town, since his person was under the safeguard of the Allied Powers.

Buonaparte's carriage arrived in two hours after; but, in consequence of the information sent, he did not go into the town; he only stopped at the end opposite to that where he would otherwise naturally have stopped. The post-horses had been conducted thither, and the same officer who had spoken to the English Commissary attended there with his troop. He found the carriages surrounded by a crowd, which, increasing by degrees, seemed on the verge of proceeding to violence. A man had already got his hand upon the door of Buonaparte's carriage, when a servant, who was sitting upon the seat in front, was about to draw his sword and defend his master. "Stop!" exclaimed the officer in haste, stir not, for heaven's sake !"-and so saying, he removed the man from the carriage. Buonaparte let down the front glass hastily, calling three times to the servant to be quiet, and then made a bow of acknowledgment to the officer. In these movements the people had recognized Buonaparte, and they seemed only the more incensed by it. At length the officer which his troop succeeded in disengaging the wheels of the carriage from the surrounding multitude, and ordered the postilions to set off at full gallop. Buonaparte had only time to say, "I am much obliged to you." It was fortunate for him that he did not attempt to go through the town of Avignon. The people of the town, and the peasants of the neighbourhood, had assembled, to the number of twelve thousand persons, and it would have been impossible to preserve the Emperor from the fury of this multitude. Happily, after having waited two days for him in vain, they dispersed. At the time when he actually did pass, they knew nothing of the matter, and this ignorance was again one of those fortunate circumstances to which he has so often owed his life.

Still greater dangers awaited him at Orgon. The rumour that he was coming having got abroad, the inhabitants assembled in crowds to meet him, having at their head a citizen of the town by name Durel, and dragging along a figure made to represent Buonaparte. When they got up

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to his carriage they stopped it, and fixing their figure to a tree, treated the Emperor with the spectacle of himself hung and shot in effigy.

These excesses were renewed in the town in a much more frightful manner. But we will give the account of them in the words of one who was an ocular witness of all that passed, whose presence besides at the scene, was of itself a very remarkable circumstance :- this was the Abbé Ferruggi, secretary to Cardinal Gabrielli. It is well-known that this Cardinal passed several months in the dungeons of La Force and Vincennes. At the beginning of the campaign of 1814, he was set at liberty, but was sent to Vigan a little town of the Cevennes, where he was to be strictly watched. Here he was received in a manner truly worthy of him: the clergy, the faithful, and the brotherhoods with their banners went out to meet him amid the ringing of bells. The Cardinal, after a thanksgiving for the restoration, quitted Vigan to return into Italy, carrying with him the regrets of the whole country. He arrived at Orgon on the 24th of April in the evening, and Napoleon passed through in the morning of the 25th. The scene, therefore, the account of which is subjoined, passed directly before the Inn, under the very windows of the apartment in which 'Cardinal Gabrielli was lodged .- But for this scene Napoleon was to have stopped and breakfasted there.

"Orgon, 25th of April.—A scene of the most extraordinary and most unexpected nature has passed here to day before my eyes. The Emperor Napoleon arrived incognito at eight in the morning, with three carriages. The people, ever on the watch, assembled on all sides: Napoleon intended to have breakfasted here, it was impossible, he was surrounded with cries of Vire le Roi, down with the tyrant. His effigy was burnt in his presence, other figures were held up to him with mangled bosoms and dyed with blood. Some of the people climbed about his carriage holding up their fists at him and crying: Die Tyrant. Women armed with stones exclaimed: Give us back our Children,—Tyrant, cry Vive le Roi. He complied and cried Vive le Roi, while some of his attendants resolutely refused it.

"What scenes!—what horrors!—what a mixture of joy, of pain!—what a subject for reflection!—This spectacle was reserved for me, it appeared to me little conformable with honour, with humanity, with religion. For my part, I would willingly have made my body a rampart to him. He is fallen, that ought to suffice; his fall renders him henceforward incapable of farther ill.—What a contrast to this scene was presented in the passage of the Pope and the Cardinal through the country!—At Saint Hypolite, at Gauges, the people and the clergy flocked in crowds around them; the brethren with their banners, three or four thousand women clothed in white, came to meet us, singing hymns of peace and joy, with actions of thanksgiving, asking the benediction of his Eminence. Oh what a sight!—I cannot think of it without being melted even to tears."

Undoubtedly the manner in which this minister of religion deprecates the conduct of the people towards Napoleon, has in it something sublime. It is fine to hear one of the victims of tyranny, but just escaped from its fury, pity the fate of the tyrant, and in that pity give us an idea of the state to which he is reduced. But if we applaud sentiments so generous, we cannot wholly condemn those expressions of the public indignation, which at length finding a free course, have made the usurper expiate the false praises his successes and his power had for too long a time drawn from the voice of adulation. It was right that this tribute of maledictions should succeed to the long series of eulogiums which truth and justice could not hear without indignation,—it was just that the tyrant should not quit France, delivered from his yoke, without carrying with him testimonies of the sentiments which his long domination had engraved deeply in all hearts.

At some leagues from Orgon, struck with terror, and fearing, not without reason, new excesses, he had recourse to the only means which remained to him, that of disguising himself. He borrowed the dress of an Austrian officer, and quitting his carriage, rode on before, accompanied only by one servant. In this disguise, he travelled several posts at full speed, and arrived at La Calade, a place about two leagues from Aix. He gave himself out as an officer belonging to Napoleon's escort, and ordered dinner to be prepared for the Emperor and his train; - the hostess answered that she should be very sorry to prepare a dinner for such a monster. At the same time she overpowered the officer with questions respecting Buonaparte, and the hour when he might be expected, not doubting, as she said, that she should see him flayed alive for all his misdeeds and all the blood that he had shed. The host arriving at this instant, recognized Buonaparte, and exclaimed: It is the Emperor!-The poor woman at this was ready to swoon with terror, and stammered out some excuses for what she had said.

While Buonaparte posted on in this disguise, a courier, by name Vernet, had taken his seat in the carriage, where he listened tranquilly to all the imprecations uttered against his master. At Lambesc, and at Saint Cannat, the people did not confine themselves to imprecations, they were accompanied with stones thrown at the carriage so that the glasses of it were broken when it reached La Calade.

When the commissaries arrived at the last-mentioned place they found the Emperor with his head reclined upon his two hands, and his face bathed with tears. He would neither eat nor drink any thing, how much soever he was solicited to it; he would have nothing but bread and water from his own carriage; these he took with avidity.

They waited for night to proceed on the route; they were now only two leagues from Aix, and the population of that town being pretty considerable it would not be so easy to restrain the people there, as those of the villages, though even among them great dangers had been incurred. The commissaries, therefore, little at their ease upon the subject, wrote to the constituted authorities at Aix, desiring them, considering what had passed at Avignon, at Orgon, at Lambesc, at Saint Cannat,

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and even at La Calade, to take all possible precautions against a repeti-

In consequence of this request, the Mayor of Aix came out of the town at the head of a detachment of the national guard, one of the adjuncts made a detachment of the company of reserve take arms, and a second adjunct took the command of a party of troops of the line. The gates of the town were shut, and these different detachments were posted within the walls. The sub-prefect taking with him the lieutenant of the gendarmerie, and six of the gendarmes, proceeded on the road towards La Calade. The night was dark and the weather cold; this double circumstance protected Napoleon much better than the most powerful escort could have done. A strong mistral which blew, and the night, prevented the people of the suburbs of Aix and of the neighbouring villages from assembling on the road to La Calade.

At this latter place, some persons had, however, collected round the inn, attending the moment of the Emperor's departure. It had been hoped that, under the favour of the night, he would remain concealed from the eyes of the curious, but many had provided themselves with dark lanterns, which they turned towards the object of their curiosity at the moment that he passed. Thus was his countenance frequently enlightened, and snatched, if I may say so, from the darkness in which he sought to conceal himself.

In this way did Buonaparte quit La Calade about half past twelve at night. A few moments after, he was met by the sub-prefect with the gendarmerie. The sub-prefect went up to the first carriage, in which was General Bertrand with one of the commissaries. These gentlemen warmly expressed their indignation at the manner in which they had been treated in Provence, and their fears for the rest of their journey. They inquired anxiously whether measures for their protection had been taken at Aix, and begged the sub-prefect not to quit them for a moment, till they had passed his division. To this the sub-prefect readily consented. and joining the train, they arrived at the gates of Aix at two o'clock in the morning. After changing horses, Buonaparte continuing his route. passed under the walls of the town, amid the repeated cries of Vive le Roi, which were heard from the people who had assembled in crowds on the ramparts. Those of the suburbs followed him with the same acclamations; but the mistral, which continued to blow, and the darkness of the night, preserved him from more serious accidents. He continued his route, without stopping at the next relay, till he arrived at the end of the department, at an inn called La Grande Pugère. Here he alighted to breakfast; it was only four o'clock in the morning, but the chagrins he had experienced by the way, ever since his arrival at Avignon, had made him neglect taking the nourishment of which he stood in need.

The sub-prefect of Aix had hitherto remained in ignorance whether Buonaparte was with the commissaries, or whether he was gone on before, as they insinuated to him. Being now about to return home, he

went to take leave of General Bertrand: the general pressed him earnestly to accompany them farther, but the sub-prefect said, that it would be of no use, since he had not the least authority beyond the limits of his department. The general, forced to yield to this reason, then proposed to him, before he took his leave, to go up to the apartment of the commissaries, where the company were at breakfast. He found there ten or twelve persons, among whom was the Emperor; he was in the costume which he had assumed of an Austrian officer, and had a casque upon his head. Seeing the Sub-prefect in the character of an auditor. he said to him, "You would not have known me in this costume. These gentlemen (pointing to the commissaries) have made me assume it; they thought it necessary for my safety. I might have had an escort of three thousand men, but I declined it, preferring to confide in the the honour and good-faith of the French nation. Nor had I any reason to regret this confidence from Fontainbleau to Avignon; but from that town bither, I have been continually insulted, and incurred the greatest dangers. The Provencaux have dishonoured themselves; from the time that I have been in France I never had a good battalion from that country; they can do nothing but talk. The Gascons are boasters it is true, but they are brave."

At this remark one of the party, who was undoubtedly a Gascon, drawing out the frill of his shirt, said, with a complacent smile, "That is delightful." Buonaparte, continuing to address himself to the subprefect, said, "What is the prefect about, M. Thibandeau?" "He set off, at the first tidings of the changes which had taken place at Paris." "And his wife" "She went before him." "Are the octrois and the other imposts punctually paid? Are there many English at Marseilles?" Here the sub-prefect related what had passed not long before in that port, and with what transports the English had been received there. Buonaparte, to whom this detail did not give very great pleasure, put an end to it by saying, "Tell your Provençaux that the Emperor is exceedingly dissatisfied with them."

This conversation, carried on in a tone half-joking, half-serious, and in which the rest of the party sometimes joined, would, perhaps, have been continued farther, but General Bertrand, addressing himself to the Emperor, said, "Permit me to observe to your Majesty, that it is time to set off again." Buonaparte instantly rose up, and throwing his napkin on the table, said, "I am ready." Then turning to the sub-prefect, "you will leave us your gendarmes," he said, "Most willingly." General Bertrand upon this observed that these gendarmes having been to meet the Emperor at La Calade, their horses must be fatigued. The sub-prefect added, that they had been augmented by the way, and had a brigade more. "It is no matter," answered Napoleon, "horses can very well go eighteen or twenty leagues in a day. Saint Maximin is a town which contains two thousand inhabitants; we must avoid their cries: you will, therefore, leave them with me, will you not?" The orders were given in consequence, and the whole party set off.

tween that place and Brignolles they met a crowd of people, who had assembled from the neighbouring communes, and a renewal of the scene at Orgon was apprehended. Buonaparte's fear was so great that he could not even be inspired with confidence by the presence of a detachment of two hundred men, who waited for him on the road, and who evinced some marks of attachment to him. When arrived within a quarter of a league of the town he stopped, either to give time for the troops, whom he had left behind, to come up, or to wait the result of a conference between the mayor and an Austrian officer, which had for its object the maintenance of the public tranquillity. But all these precautions could not prevent the people assembling in

crowds upon the road, where they soon formed a double line. Buonaparte passed through the midst of them, while they were uttering the hitterest imprecations, interrupted only by cries of Vive le Roi. The couriers, who preceded him, in passing through the town, circulated the report that he had taken the road by Aulps, and had arrived, the evening before, at La Luc; that there were only the foreign commissaries in the carriages. Although dinner had been ordered, Buonaparte would not stop; the carriage, accompanied by twelve gendarmes, went through the town at full gallop.

This passage recalled to the memory of every one the very different reception given to the Holy Father, on the seventh of February preceding. He was received every where with the warmest acclamations and prayers for his welfare. Whole communes pressed around his carriage, in spite of Colonel Lagorse, who endeavoured to push them away. Brignolles the mayor obtained permission, not without some difficulty, to harangue the Pontiff, but at Flasseur the colonel was inflexible. In vain did the minister of the parish present himself in his sacerdotal garments, with the cross in his hand; the carriage still went on. Then the inhabitants, without any fear of being trampled under foot by the horses, laid themselves down in heaps upon the road, till the colonel was obliged to yield; the carriage windows were let down, and his Holiness gave them his blessing.

Buonaparte arrived at La Luc at four o'clock in the afternoon: he did not stop in the village, but went on to a neighbouring chateau, in the road, called Bouillidou, belonging to M. Charles, a member of the chamber of deputies. He was expected at this chateau by his sister Paulina, the Princess Borghese. She was here waiting to see the conclusion of so many extraordinary events, giving up her intended journey to the waters of Greoux, where she was in the habit of going every year. Buonaparte's arrival at this place had been preceded by that of a thousand men of the Austrian infantry, and five hundred of the cavalry. The infantry and a part of the cavalry were gone forward to Saint Tropez, where they were to protect the Emperor's embarkation.

On arriving at Bouillidou, Buonaparte shut himself up in one of the apartments with his sister: sentinels were placed at all the doors, with

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strict orders that no person should be admitted. The mistress of the house, however, and two other ladies, who were impressed with the most eager curiosity to see the Emperor, thought that the order could not be extended to them, and succeeded in persuading the sentinel so: by this means they got introduced into a gallery which communicated with the Emperor's apartment: there they found a person in the uniform of an Austrian officer, who accosted them:-"Whom do you seek, ladies?"-"We wished to see Napoleon."-" I am that person."-They seeing him in a foreign costume, said, "You joke, sir, you are not Napoleon." -" I assure you, ladies, I am. You perhaps expected to see Napoleon with a more evil and malignant countenance."-They then entered freely into conversation. Buonaparte said, "Am I not at present called a robber?"-The ladies did not deny the truth of the conjecture, and Buonaparte, not eager to press them upon that point, turned the conversation to indifferent subjects, asking several questions relative to the master of the chateau and his family, who were known to him: yet always occupied with his first idea, he returned to it suddenly. "Confess, ladies," he said, " now that fortune is adverse to me, do not they say that I am a wretch, a robber? But do you know the true state of the case? I wished to raise France above England, and I have failed in the attempt."

As he finished these words, a noise was heard, occasioned by other persons, who wanted to intrude themselves. Napoleon, then quitting the ladies, with whom he had conversed half a quarter of an hour, hastily returned into his sister's apartment. This princess passed the evening with him, parting from him at eight o'clock to make room for his suite. Hitherto the French Government had remained in ignorance of the Emperor's removal; the care of it had been confided by the Allied Powers entirely to their four commissaries.

We come now to the details relative to the embarkation. By the sixteenth article of the treaty concluded between Buonaparte and the Allied Powers, it was stipulated, that "a corvette should be provided, with the other vessels necessary for transporting his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and his suite to Elba; and the corvette should belong in absolute propriety to the Emperor."—Orders had been given for the execution of this article; they were transmitted by a courier extraordinary, who arrived at Toulon on the 24th of April. He was the bearer of dispatches both for the minister of the marine and the maritime prefect.

On the morrow, the 25th, a frigate, the Dryad, and the brig Inconstant, sailed from Toulon. The command of these vessels was given to the Count de Montcabrie and the Viscount de Charrier-Moissard, and it was known that they had on board an état-major, and a crew of select men. From these circumstances, no doubt was entertained of St. Tropez being the place of their destination, and that they were, according to the rumour in circulation, to carry the Emperor from thence to the island of Elba. In effect, they arrived at St. Tropez the next day, the 26th, and found there a party of Austrian troops, which were to form

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the Emperor's escort. But the Emperor himself was expected in vain, and on the 27th, in the morning, intelligence was brought, that the roads being very bad, the carriages had proceeded to Frejus, where the troops and vessels were desired to meet him. The bearers of this intelligence were M. Koulvaloff, aide-de-camp to Count de Schuvaloff, and M. de Clam, aide-de-camp to Prince Schwartzenberg. They came successively to St. Tropez, and went on board the Dryad frigate.

A short time before the arrival of these officers, an English frigate, carrying a flag of truce, passed by the port. From an officer who went on board this frigate, it was known to be the *Undaunted*, commanded by Captain Usher; that it came from Marseilles, and was going to Freius, according to the orders of Col. Campbell.

The Dryad did not delay a moment proceeding to Frejus, having on board the two aides-de-camp above mentioned. On entering St. Rapheau, the port to Frejus, she found the English frigate already at anchor there, and preparing to take on board the baggage of the Emperor Napoleon. The Count de Montcabrie immediately repaired to Frejus, where he saw the Grand Marshal Bertrand, and imparted to him his mission. He afterwards saw Napoleon upon the same business. Different accounts have been circulated of what passed at these two interviews, and of the result of them.

Some say that Napoleon being ignorant, or affecting ignorance, that he was to be conveyed in a French vessel, had made his arrangements for going in an English frigate, before he saw the Count de Montcabrie, and that it was then out of his power to recal what he had done. According to others, no choice upon the subject was given to Napoleon; the matter was arranged by the commissaries. By others the addition is made, that Napoleon, whether engaged by his own choice, or that of the commissaries, to go himself in the *Undaunted*, proposed to M. de Montcabrie to accompany them with his frigate: but this commander having been charged singly with conducting him, did not think himself authorized to share the mission, particularly as he was only to take a sort of secondary part, which would have rendered the French flag in some sort subordinate to the English; and to this the French commander could not possibly consent.

Be all this as it may, it is certain that M. de Montcabrie, after his interviews with Buonaparte and the Grand Marshal Bertrand, hastened to return to Toulon, where he arrived again on the 29th. From thence he proceeded to Paris, and reached that capital on the 5th of May. It appears as if his conduct was approved by the government, since he was charged with a new mission to the island of Elba, that of accompanying the Inconstant thither, to bring back the garrison.

(To be concluded in our next.)

HISTORY OF THE WAR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

(Translated from the French of General Surrazin.)

MY long residence in England, and still more my present intimacy with the military in France, enable me to contribute my portion to the military history of the times; and with this purpose I now produce in public my history of the war in Spain and Portugal. I write freely, but I write truly.

Buonaparte had no sooner subdued Austria, Prussia, and Russia, than he resolved to execute a long meditated plan for seizing upon the peninsula of Spain. The battles of Eylau and Friedland in 1807 subdued Europe to his feet. The time, therefore, was now favourable, and he instantly employed it. Under the presuasion that he wished merely to shut the continent to English commerce, he procured the court of Madrid to sign the treaty of Fontainbleau, dated on the twenty-sixth of October, 1807. The second article gave the province of Alentejo and the kingdom of Algarvia to the Prince of Peace, as his exclusive property, and with all the rights of sovereignty. Twenty thousand Spaniards were ordered to join a corps of five-and-twenty thousand Frenchmen, commanded by General Junot. The Prince Regent of Portugal also shared the fatal security of Charles, and he must have fallen into Buonaparte's snares, had it not been for the anxious vigilance of the English over the interests of their faithful ally. It was only by the strongest remonstrances, that Sir Sidney Smith, and the English ambassador at Lisbon, succeeded in determining the Prince to leave his capital for the Brasils. The day after the departure of the court, which took place on the twenty-ninth of November, the French entered Lisbon. The severe measures, resorted to by Junot, displeased the populace. Numbers of discontented people assembled in the streets: a few soldiers were wounded, and one officer killed. Junot, who had learnt at Milan and Caïro by what means Buonaparte quelled the insurrections of large cities, ordered his troops to fire upon the mob, and tranquillity was restored.

By one of the articles of the above-mentioned treaty, it was stipulated, that, exclusively of Junot's army, another levy of forty thousand men should be collected at Bayonne, on the twentieth of November, 1807, that they might be in readiness to enter Spain, and from thence proceed to Portugal, in case the English should threaten that country with an attack. Instead of forty, sixty thousand troops were collected. This army crossed the Pyrenees under the command of General Murat, who assigned cantonments to his soldiers in places, not far distant from the road which leads from Bayonne to Madrid. In this position he anxiously waited for a favourable opportunity to avail himself of the quarrels, which Buonaparte's agents were soon to excite in the royal family of Spain. As soon as Murat had been apprised of the events of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth of March, 1803, he rapidly marched to Madrid with the corps of Generals Moncey and Dupont. On the twenty-fourth he entered that city at the head of the army, which en-

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camped on the adjacent hills. No troops were left in the town but those that were thought necessary for the maintenance of good order. King Charles, who was still sorrowfully brooding over the dissensions, by which the peace of his family had been disturbed in October, 1807, had on the nineteenth of March yielded to circumstances, and resigned the crown to the Prince of the Asturias, who assumed the name of Ferdinand VII. A proclamation of the new king informed the people that the revolution, which had just taken place, was to strengthen the alliance of Spain with France. His Majesty expressed his lively satisfaction at the friendly manner, in which the Spaniards had received the French troops; and assured his subjects that both Buonaparte and himself had no other object than to combat the English government with energy.

When Napoleon was informed of the good reception, given by Ferdinand and his subjects to his lieutenant and the troops under his command, he offered himself as a conciliator to end the quarrels, which had arisen among his allies. It was insinuated to Charles that he would do well to protest against an abdication, which could be attributed solely to violence; and he was led to believe that the Emperor, his faithful ally, would hasten to restore to him a crown which he had unjustly relinquished, provided he consented to solicit his powerful mediation. Charles good-naturedly lent himself to whatever his counsellors seemed to wish. On the twenty-fifth of March, 1808, he wrote to Buonaparte:

—" I have been forced to resign the throne, but tranquillity is now restored; and, fully confiding in the generosity and genius of the great man, who has always declared himself my friend, I have taken the resolution to resign myself into his hands, and to await his determination respecting my fate, that of the Queen, and of the Prince of Peace...."

The following protest was annexed to this letter:

"I protest and declare that my decree of the nineteenth of March, by which I resign the crown in favour of my son, is an act to which I have been forced in order to prevent greater misfortunes, and to spare the effusion of the blond of my well-beloved subjects. Consequently it ought to be declared null and void.

(Signed) I, THE KING."

On the other hand, Murat was acknowledging Ferdinand VII. treating him as a king, and giving him the most solemn assurances of Napoleon's friendship. He was told that his disputes with his father would be settled to his complete satisfaction, if he determined on leaving them to the mediation of the Emperor. The royal family of Spain repaired to Bayonne, where Buonapate had arrived a few days before. The conferences to smooth the difficulties between the father and son lasted until the fifth of May. Among the many disgusts, which Ferdinand experienced, he had the grief of hearing the legitimacy of his birth contested by the very person, to whom he owed his life. The weakness of Charles, the folly of the Queen, and the meanness of the Prince of Peace, drew upon them the public contempt. Ferdinand and the Infant Don Carlos displayed much firmness. Buonaparte, wishing to frighten the former,

told him, that the past ought to have shewn his will was not to be resisted with impunity, and that it was as easy for him to punish as to threaten. -" I understand you," answered Ferdinand, with much energy. "You endeavour to intimidate me by reminding me of the fate of the Duke d'Enghien. I request it as a favour from you, to let me perish like my cousin, if you are determined to rob me of the crown of Spain." His brother, the Infant Don Carlos, who was present, threw himself into the arms of Ferdinand, saying to Buonaparte," I too beg as a special favour to die with my brother and my king, if you are unjust enough to deprive the Spaniards of their lawful sovereign." The two brothers remained for some time encircled in each others arms, weeping bitterly.-Buonaparte, in spite of his iron heart, had not the strength to address any farther discourse to them. Duroc concluded the negociation, or rather caused the proper signatures to be affixed to the absolute mandates of his master, to whom the crown of Spain was ceded by Charles, and by the two sons of that monarch. This renunciation bears the date of the sixth of May, 1808. Joseph Buonaparte was proclaimed King of the Spains and Indias on the fifth of June following.

Murat wanted to be completely certain that the inhabitants of Madrid submitted to their fate. It is only after a decisive struggle that it is known to whom the palm of victory appertains. Alarming rumours were spread concerning the royal family. It was asserted that they were treated as prisoners of state by their great friend, who had assumed this title with the sole view of accomplishing his ambitious designs. The Queen of Etruria, and the Infant Don Francisco, were also on the point of leaving Madrid for Bayonne, when the people opposed their departure. It is said that an aide-de-camp of Prince Murat narrowly escaped. The French troops fired upon the inhabitants, who rushed to arms in all quarters: but an orderless multitude must always finally submit to regular troops. "Grapeshot and the bayonet," says Murat in his report. "cleared the streets." He calculates the number of people, collected in the Alcala and its environs, at twenty thousand. The Spaniards kept up a destructive fire from the interior of their houses. After the garrison had been reinforced by the troops encamped near Madrid, the attack became general. Houses were broken open, and every inhabitant, found with arms in his hand, was put to the sword. The carnage was horrible, and the pillage immense. This conflict of the second of May cost the lives of more than ten thousand Spaniards, slaughtered when they were defenceless, and imploring the clemency of the conquerors! Buonaparte's tactics to inspire a whole people with terror, by indiscriminately shooting friends and foes in capital cities, is peculiar to him, and stamps his policy with a character of ferocity unknown in the ages of Alexander and Cæsar.

The provinces were soon acquainted with the sad events of Bayonne and Madrid. One and the same thought pervaded the governors and magistrates—"Resistance to oppression." Their sentiments were common to all Spaniards. The insurrection may have been affirmed to have been general, except in those parts where the French were very nume-

rous, and in the towns of Navarre and Catalonia, which they had occupied under the mask of friendship. The Spanish troops that were in Portugal, under the command of Junot, had been recalled, and had returned to Spain. The friendly relations with England were immediately re-established, and the junta of Seville, in conformity with some ancient regulations, was considered as the centre of the general government of the kingdom, in the name of Ferdinand VII. A proclamation of that junta, dated the sixth of June, 1808, declared war against France; and stated the motives of this measure with much precision and energy. This appeal to the courage of the Castilians was hailed with joy. The most patriotic proclamations were issued by the juntas of each province: but their resentment shewed itself more in words than in actions. They knew not how to avail themselves of the enthusiasm which electrified every heart. The desire to be revenged was at its utmost height; but none knew how to organize the true means of revenge; and the momentary successes, obtained in several parts of the peninsula, by increasing the confidence of the Spaniards, made them neglect the measures that were requisite to enable them to profit by their first victories.

Admiral Rosily was in the harbour of Cadiz, having under his orders a squadron composed of five ships of the line, and one frigate. General Morla summoned him to surrender; and on his refusal, a brisk fire was kept up on him during the ninth and tenth of June. Seeing that all resistance was useless, the French general hoisted a flag for a parley, and, after many explanations, surrendered on the fourteenth. This result, due to the presence of an English squadron, which blockaded Cadiz, as much as to the fire of the batteries belonging to the town, was, nevertheless, entirely ascribed to the Spaniards: their flag was hoisted in all the French ships without the least appeal on the part of the English. A delicacy so uncommon in their new allies, had the best moral effect on the Spanish government and the military leaders. Castanos was appointed general of the army of Andalusia, and General Caro obtained the command of the kingdom of Valentia. Marshal Moncey, after some skirmishing of the advanced guards, halted before Valentia on the twenty-eighth of June, at the head of fifteen thousand men. His idea was to alarm the troops and the inhabitants by a grand discharge of artillery and musquetry; but the besieged met him with firmness, and turned a deaf car to every proposal of accommodation. Moncey had hoped to get possession of Valentia by a coup de main. Having recovered from his error, and being uneasy concerning his communications with Madrid, he retreated with the loss of about one thousand men hors de combat.

He was more fortunate than General Dupont, who had been sent to Andalusia with eighteen thousand men. The insurgents having defended themselves in Cordova, the town was taken by storm, and given up to pillage.

This conduct, though commanded by existing circumstances, raised the exasperation of the inhabitants to the highest pitch. The whole

province rushed to arms: all French soldiers that were seen about, marauding to procure any subsistence, were massacred. General Reding commanded five-and-twenty thousand regular troops, and threatened to cut off the communications of the French with Madrid. General Dupont, a very able officer, felt all the danger of his position: he evacuated Cordova, and established himself at Andujar, on the right bank of the Guadalquivir, while he detached General Wedel to Baylen. Several combats took place, with varied success on both sides, from the first to the eighteenth of July. Castanos sagaciously judged that he should easily defeat the French, if he succeeded in dividing their forces. Spanish columns took possession of Baylen, and occupied the place. Gobert retreated upon Carolina. Dupont immediately left Andujar, to form his junction with Wedel in the Sierra Morena, and found Castanos at the head of five-and-twenty thousand men, posted on the high road from Cordova to Madrid. Having determined to open a passage sword in hand, he attacked them with impetuosity, but was repulsed. The Spanish general had placed his troops in several lines, and ably availed himself of the advantages which the ground afforded. Dupont ordered seven successive charges with the bayonet, under cover of a most destructive fire of artillery. The Spaniards stood unmoved, while Castanos rode through the ranks, calling out to the soldiers, " Remember, my friends, that you are fighting for your precious liberty, for our good king Ferdinand VII. and for our holy religion." Dupont praised his troops for their good conduct up to that day, and incessantly repeated to them that they must conquer, or die. But the good position, and the numerical superiority of the Spaniards, rendered victory impossible; and the French soldiers, though very brave, were so exhausted with fatigue, that they had no longer strength to seek death in the ranks of the enemy. General Marescot, more learned as an engineer than profound in tactics, declared that there were no means left to preserve the French troops but by capitulating. He was an older general in point of rank than Dupont. The latter, much hurt by the disheartening predicament in which he was placed, through the dejection of his troops, as well as Buonaparte's commands, which he had but reluctantly obeyed, now determined to enter into a treaty with Reding, and thereby avoid the total destruction of his army. I am far from blaming General Dupont for having capitulated: all his troops witnessed not only his courage, which left victory long doubtful, but his despair, which often made him seek for death in the most perilous places. Had his orders been punctually obeyed by General Wedel, the Spaniards dured not to have conceived the design of cutting off the retreat of the French upon Madrid. Fourteen thousand men laid down their arms. thousand had been killed or taken prisoners in the battle of Baylen, which commenced on the nineteenth at three o'clock in the morning, and raged with the utmost obstinacy until two o'clock in the afternoon.

The exertions of General Cuesta, in the north of Spain, were not crowned with the success expected from the fine army under his command. He had collected nearly forty thousand men on the heights of Medina del Rio Secco. In this position he was attacked by Marshal Bessieres on the fourteenth of July. The Spaniards made a brilliant defence. Although more than half of the army was composed of new levies, their enthusiasm and courage, operating in lieu of instruction and experience, left victory a long time doubtful. Bessieres had recourse to stratagem. He declined battle on his right and centre; and moving his choicest troops to his left wing, succeeded in overthrowing Cuesta's right. Blake performed prodigies of valour, and covered the retreat upon Benevente. The victory of the French was partly due to the 10th and 23rd regiments of chasseurs à cheval, who made several charges against the Spanish infantry with the greatest intrepidity. Cuesta's movement was premature. He knew that he had to encounter choice troops, of which the Imperial Guard formed a part. Instead of advancing to Medina, it would have been more prudent to fortify himself in the mountains of Leon; or at least not to advance beyond Benevente, before he could act in concert with the armies of Andalusia and Arragon.

This reverse, however, was amply compensated by the fine defence of Sarragossa. On the 2d of July the French attacked the outposts of that place, and forced the troops back into the town. The convent of St. Joseph was taken. The bridge on the Ebro, which had been begun on the second, was finished on the twelfth; and the place was completely invested. The heavy artillery necessary for the siege was supplied by the arsenals of Bayonne and Pampelona. The town was neither regularly attacked nor regularly defended; but both the attack and the defence were carried on with unparalleled obstinacy.

On the second and third of August, 1808, the besiegers bombarded the town, and cannonaded the wall near the gate of Santa Engracia. The breach having appeared practicable on the fourth, at break of day the French gave the assault, and succeeded in penetrating into a part of the town. The French general, being persuaded that the Spaniards had lost all hope of resistance, sent proposals of capitulation to General Palafox. This brave officer sent no answer but these words:—" Guerre au couteau!"—War, blade to blade!

For several days the French were obliged to besiege every house, in proportion to the extent that they wished to advance into the town. It may be supposed that the governor was acquainted with the successes obtained at Valentia and Baylen; and that he expected to receive prompt assistance: but be that as it may, his energy, the courage of the garrison, and the devotedness of the inhabitants, are above all praise. The governor's brother succeeded in entering the place with some ammunition, when the want of it was beginning to be felt. The troops that escorted this convoy, being about two thousand in number, likewise proved a great relief. All classes of inhabitants vied in zeal with each other. The Countess de Burita formed a corps of ladies, the most respectable for their birth and wealth, to attend the wounded; and these intrepid amazons frequently exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, under

showers of balls, bombs, and bullets, to perform the honourable office which they had undertaken. Conduct so heroic was at length rewarded. The French retreated; and the siege was raised in the night, between the thirteenth and fourteenth of August.

Several less important events had taken place in the other provinces of Spain. On the fifth of July, General Caulaincourt, brother to the French ambassador at St. Petersburgh, took possession of Cuenca, and gave the town up to pillage. On the fifth of the same month, General Reille attacked the Catalonians, who were blockading Figreieres, dispersed them, and supplied the place with fresh provisions, ammunition, &c. On the sixteenth, General Merlin attacked Bilbon, which was occupied, after a sharp resistance. On the twenty-third, General Merle took possession of Santander. On the twenty-sixth, Marshal Bessieres occupied Leon. King Joseph left Madrid on the first of August; and on the twenty-second his head-quarters were at Burgos. To palliate the flight of this prince, the Monitour had the audacity to publishet that the French army was going to occupy refreshing quarters, for the purpose of breathing a milder air, and drinking better water." The same journal indulged in long comments on the calamities almost constantly attending great public commotions. The populace, justly exasperated at the bad faith with which Buonaparte had acted towards Spain, and especially towards the royal family, thought they should be revenged by decapitating some of the partizans of France. Saavedra, and about three hundred Frenchmen at Valentia, Solano at Cadiz, Truxillo at Grenada, the Count d'Aquila at Seville, the Corregidor of Carolina, the Governor of Badajoz, Miquel Ceballos at Valladolid, and some other individuals, more imprudent, perhaps, than culpable, perished victims of of a mistaken multitude, whose indignation against the real traitors appeared to be well founded. Heaven forbid that we should be disposed to cast the veil of indulgence over such frightful crimes! But we do not hesitate to cast on the real authors all the odium of those calamities, which for seven years afflicted the nations of the peninsula.

England, whose commercial interests depended on the independence of the continent, eagerly accepted the offers of friendship on the part of the Portuguese and Spaniards. An expedition, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesly, was sent to Portugal to drive the French army from that country. The troops were landed on the first of August, 1808, in the Bay of Mondego. General Spencer left Cadiz with five thousand men to join Sir Arthur. This junction took place on the fifth. On the eighth, the English army was encamped, and ready to receive the enemy. On the twelfth, the vanguard marched to Leyria. The Portuguese troops, being five thousand five hundred infantry, and five hundred horse, joined the English army, which, by this accession, amounted to nearly twenty thousand fighting men. On the fifteenth, a skirmish took place at Caldas with the French advanced posts. On the seventeenth, the English general attacked a division of six thousand men, under General Laborde, encamped on the heights to the south of Rolica.

The ground was well disputed, yet the position was carried; and Laborde effected his retreat in tolerable order. He had troops inured to war, and a more numerous cavalry. This engagement cost the English nearly five hundred men, killed and wounded. On the eighteenth, Sir Arthur took the position of Lourinha, to cover the landing of the troops under the orders of Brigadier-General Ackland. This operation being terminated, the army encamped on the heights near Vimiera. On the twenty-first, General Junot, having collected all his disposable forces, which might amount to fourteen thousand men, attacked the left wing of the English. He was received at the point of the bayonet, and obliged to fall back upon his reserve. He renewed the charge against General Ferguson's troops, posted on the heights along the road to Lourinha; but he was repulsed with the same intrepidity. From that instant he determined to retreat. General Kellermann, who was ordered to cover his movement, manœuvred with great skill, profited by a wrong position which the English troops had taken while pursuing him, and succeeded in preventing that extent of advantages, which Sir Arthur, from the confusion of the vanquished, might at first have been led to expect. This battle, which decided the fate of Portugal, cost the English but eight hundred men. The loss of the French must have been much more considerable, owing to the obstacles which the ground opposed to their reaching the position of the English, whose fire had the advantages afforded by entrenchments against the troops, by whom they were attacked.

During the night, after the battle of Vimiera, Junot assembled the French generals, to hear their opinion on what could be done for the best for his army and France. General Laborde proposed to retreat by Castello Branco, and Guarda, towards Ciudad-Rodrigo and Salamanca, with the view to join the army of Marshal Bessieres. To accomplish this purpose, the French must have abandoned their artillery, their sick, and equipage: they would have been exposed to be continually harassed on all sides, by the Portuguese and Spaniards, whilst the English vanguard would be upon the heels of the French rear. "In that case," said young Kellermann, who commanded Junot's cavalry, " we shall be very lucky if we reach Burgos with half of the army." Though there was an affectation of holding the Spaniards in contempt, still the catastrophe of General Dupont tended to damp Junot's ardour. He therefore sent Kellermann to the English head-quarters, in order to solicit a suspension of hostilities, by causing it to be understood that the French general wished to enter into an agreement respecting the evacuation of Portugal. The armistice was signed on the twenty-second of August .--The river Sizandra was agreed to form the line of demarkation of the two armies; and it was stipulated that the French should in no case be considered as prisoners of war; and that all their artillery and cavalry horses should be sent to France.

It was on this basis that the definitive convention was signed at Lisbon on the thirtieth of August, 1808,— a convention better known by another denomination—the convention of Cintra. (To be continued.)

ORIGINAL LETTERS

WRITTEN BY OFFICERS DURING THE SEVERAL CAMPAIGNS IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN,

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE CAMPAIGNS.

SIR,—The following collection of Letters is featremely at the service of the Editor of the Military Chronicle, and I think will be valued by his Readers, as being so many original cotemporaneous documents, written at the time, and on the spot, of the several Campaigns. I would likewise suggest, that in printing them in the Chronicle you would follow the order in which I have sent them. I have arranged them, as you will see, in distinct packets according as they belong to different Campaigns. Perhops, you will find it convenient to adopt the same order, in which case you might entitle the first Packet,—Letters During the Campaign of 1808; and as the value of this kind of document depends upon its authenticity, you will find I have added to every Packet at the end the name of the officer by whom the Letters were written, and you are at liberty to print it. And where the whole of the Letters are not by one Writer, but are intermixed, you will find the intermixed letters signed with the name of the Writer. Thus, in the first Campaign, you will find some of the letters to be from Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Frere, and others.

LETTERS DURING THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1808 AND 1809.

Lisbon, September 30, 1808.

My DEAR S---,

1815.]

I ADDRESS you first from this city, not having had an opportunity before of letting you know how I passed my time since we separated at Portsmouth.

You will remember how often I murmured at not being permitted to sail with Sir John Moore's army. However, as fate has ordered it, I have not to lament my hoped-for share in any victorious leaf added to their brows during that interval; as that expedition arrived too late to reap any part of Sir Arthur Wellesley's harvest of glory on the 21st of August. This mouth, so memorable in the annals of England, by numbering within its circle the proud days of Minden and of the Nile, now gems its calendar with that of Vimeira! a day indeed truly honourable to the commander who planned the battle, and to the brave men whose invincible steadiness rendered it victorious! In proportion as I rejoiced in this triumph, the subsequent circumstances filled me with regret; and I was not all astonished when I heard of the impression they have made on the British world.

Newspapers brought out by a frigate just arrived, speak boldly in blaming the recent convention; and from officers lately come out, who were at Plymouth when the news was promulgated, I hear that the political electric shock it occasioned, lengthened the visages of all men. I may well say all, for it was not confined to our own countrymen; the woeful change shook even our allies; and the Portuguese stood staring at each other as if uncertain whether a mine or one of their old earthquakes had sprung under their feet. Much was expected from us. Two great victories had already extended the laurels of Britain over the head of Lusitania. No impending blight appeared to threaten a prevention of their spreading yet farther, even to overshadow with a thousand protecting arms the whole people of this outraged country. These hopes are now blasted, and all is doubt and wonder. For us on this side the water to form a correct judgment on the subject is impossible. Ignorant of the motives which actuated

our commanders to conclude the convention of Cintra, how can we decide on its cogency? There may be reasons behind the arras which we, who know not the secret springs of the council-chamber, may seek in vain. It behoves us, then, to be quiet, and await with patience the arrival of an explanation from England. You hold the keys of all our wonderments; and with the footsteps of knowledge, even at the distance of many a league, tread ground with ease, which, on the spot, we find a bewildering labyrinth.

You have promised to follow my pen with patience through all my continental wanderings. Should Spain be our future destination (which I hope in heaven may be the case, as I have a strong desire to visit that land, both of ancient and modern heroes), I will then promise you some amusement for the heavy task you have entailed upon yourself by my correspondence. Meanwhile, I shall not be idle in transmitting to your mental vision, an image of this capital; for itself and its vicinity present objects of ample interest to engage the attention of the curious observer.

You can form no idea of the magnificence of the view, on entering what is called the mouth of the Tagus. It ought rather to be considered an arm of the sea; so capacious is its breadth, so sublime the proud sweep of its waves. The shore on the Lisbon side is terminated by the bay of Cascars; on a point of which stands the fort St Julien, now occupied by our troops. This justly esteemed defence of the harbour is cut in the solid rock; it is therefore very irregular, but strong, and admirably adapted to its design. They say it was planned by the famous Don Schastian, and executed under his eye. The country rises very high behind it; and though enriched here and there with a few orange and olive trees, owing to the season of the year the hills present a parched and arid appearance.

The banks of this celebrated river, the long-famed Tagus with golden islands, are spread with testimonies of its riches; villas, villages, and fortifications. On its bosom heave the proud fleets of Britain, intermixed with numbers of smaller vessels, whose lateen sails and copper-hued crews bring the shores of the Nile, or of Barbary, before your awakened fancy, and produce a

stretch of scene as splendid as romantic.

As our ships proceeded up the river, the land gradually advanced on either side; the suburbs of Lisbon appeared, and this commanding city rose in white majesty to the view of the admiring traveller.

Belem stands within a mile or two of Lisbon. Its approach is defended by a beautiful and picturesque pharos, whose base is washed by the waves of the Tagus. This is, doubtless, the work of some ancient Moorish artist, and exhibits no inconsiderable degree of proficiency in the arabesque taste. A vast chain, carved in stone, binds its angular form; and every ornament which decorates the walls is in harmony with the barbarous genius of the times. It is garrisoned; and though cannon have been planted there, no injury has been done by modern improvements to the Moorish beauties of the ancient edifice.

The convent at Belem is a building of the same character, but it has not fared so well. Its exterior has suffered both by time and absurd novelties; yet there is something in true grandeur which no art can destroy; and the majestic walls and rich ornaments of this venerable structure still strike the eye with admiration and respect.

Nearly opposite, on the adverse bank of the river, stands high and commanding, the romantic fort of St. Sebastian. It is well stored with cannon, and forms a strong barrier against any attack of the capital by sea.

1815.]

On a nearer approach to Lisbon, it loses its parian hue; and on a closer investigation, the cleanliness which the external whiteness of the houses shining in the sun at a distance, leads one to expect, vanishes; and the miserably plastered dwellings present themselves in their true colours, bespattered with dirt of every description, and rendered almost intolerable by the accumulated filth, and raging heat which draws their honours recking up to heaven.

On disembarking, I landed some distance from the suburbs. The foul imagination of Dean Swift himself could not prefigure the scene that presented itself: a chaos of nastiness, poverty, and wretchedness, lay on every side. Rags or nakedness seemed the condition of every person who approached me; except now and then, I saw a man enveloped in a mass of cloak, in no better state, hung in rented folds about him: leaving to the fancy to conceive the animated filth it concealed. In the midst of this squalid miserv, the aspirings of vanity may still be seen in the immense cocked hats, which are enthusiastically prized and worn by old and young of every trade and description .- Masons, blacksmiths, muleteers, and barbers, while executing the duties of their calling, all possess this prodigious covering, placed square to the front on their respective heads. Bonneted like ancient Pistol, they look in garments like the tatterdemalions of our St. Giles's; or, when wrapped in their looped and ragged cloaks, appear so many Mud Toms burst from their keepers. This convenient toga is not confined to the men; both sexes use it, and wear it in summer and winter, to exclude the heat in the one season, and the cold in the other.

While I gazed around at this strange assembly of dingy complexions, in more dingy habiliments, my curiosity had a new subject of surprise in the numberless rows of aloes which lined the road. The long-anticipated moment, which in England occurs only once in a hundred years, to see the gloe bloom and blow, is here enjoyed at every step. Farther in the country, I am told that hedges of aloes are as common as quicksets are with us. Their green bosoms were a pleasant relief to my eye, from the augean sights that surrounded me; more disgusting, perhaps, to one who had so recently left the comforts and cleanliness of Great Britain.

While I am on this delectable subject (for as it first strikes the senses on entering Lisbon, it must, perforce, be the first noticed), I cannot but remark, that a nocturnal custom, once the stigma of Edinburgh, is most religiously observed in this capital. As soon as night casts her sable mantle over the city, the inhabitants collect their libations, and pour them out in rich potations upon the earth beneath. In fact, few seconds pass without the foot passenger being saluted, or most probably marked, by a jet d'eau, or something worse, from the teeming windows of the houses. Should the unlucky perambulator chance to be within reach of the torrent, I fear he would emerge with other ornaments hanging to his dress than the spangling globules of clear water. A brother officer of mine is so afraid of these green and yellow cascades, that he never walks to his quarters at night, without bearing above him the friendly shield of an umbrella.

The French, when they were here, with all their vigilance, could not put a stop to this abominable custom; every expedient was tried, but in vain; at last an order was issued, obliging every domestic, or other person preparing the fall, to call out three times water comes! before he emptied the utensil. But nine times out of ten they omitted the warning until the launch was made.

At present, the police is so weak and ill-managed, and the people so indolent and innately masty, that no manual exertions are made to remove the growing pestilence. They wait until the hand of heaven saves them the trouble; the rainy season never failing, by the torrents from the hills, to prove a good scavenger. Indeed, when I look around me, and see the indignities cast on our good mother earth, I am not surprised that she should sometimes, in a fit of resentment, open her renderous and marble jaws to engulph the whole mass, and take a mighty vengeance on her insulters.

On my arrival, I found Lisbon fully garrisoned by our troops, as was the castle, and all the forts a ong the river. General Beresford was the military governor; and the head-quarters of our army were at Benefaca, about four miles from hence.

No pen can describe the delight of these oppressed people on finding themselves released from so insatiable an enemy as the French. In proportion as they saw occasions to appreciate their deliverance, their hatred of the invaders augmented, and no bounds could be put to their threats of revenge. If perchance an unfortunate remnant of their late rulers remained behind, and was found by any of the Portuguese, a stiletto was sure to find its way to his heart-Indeed, so difficult was it to keep the spirit of vengeance from breaking forth on the last division of the French, that British escorts were obliged to guard them from insults. I need only give you one instance, out of many, of this determined hatred.

The frigate in which Kellerman and his suite had embarked sprung her bow-sprit, and was obliged to put back. During her stay to reat, this well-known hero was imprudent enough to trust himself ashore; and being recognized by some Spanish officers, he was instantly attacked by the populace. Had he not been near the water, he must certainly have paid with his life the foriest of his extortions. Some of our men happened to be present; and, after receiving several severe blows, he fell into the boat: our brave soldiers leaped in with him, and warding off the strokes of his justly enraged enemies, they rowed away, and left him in security. This gentleman, whose gallantry at the battle of Marengo is so well known, appears to have reversed the old motto of of knighthood: the glory, not the prey! and brave as he certainly was, he seems to have given up the sole empire of his mind to the most insatiable avarice. When the town of Elvas was taken and sacked by his brethren in arms, he was heard to express his regret at not commanding the exploit, adding, "Next to Lisbon, it was the place best worth plundering!"

And the issue shewed, that he must have had much experience in the ravaging trade to have been so good a judge. The accumulation of property drawn from that unhappy city not only filled all the extra apartments in the hotels occapied by this horde of destroyers, but the house of the British factory was fated to be the receptacle of stolen goods; plate, books, indigo, cotton, every thing that was moveable, was crammed up in this perverted dwelling.

According to the recent convention, most of these articles would have been embarked for France as French property; but the public spirit and vigilance of our military governor, and the committee appointed by him, saved to the inhabitants of Lisbon upwards of two hundred thousand pounds value of private and public wealth. The latter being in church pictures, massive silver candalabrums, vases, &c. whose fashions and uses gave the lie to the French,

that they never had belonged to Portugal, shewed themselves as so many proofs of their plunder and falsehood.

This wise investigation of General Beresford proved to the inhabitants that we were not really (what, on the first publishing the terms of the convention, they had imagined), "the sanctioners of robbery, the protectors of plunderers, and the carriers of violated property."

When the general exultation at being delivered from the tyranny of Junot had subsided, the enthusiasm of the Portuguese gave way to thoughts of futurity: and the articles of the Cintra arrangement were canvassed. But one opinion prevailed. It checked the animated glow of triumph, and in its stead spread over the countenance the sickly paleness of discontent and suspicion. Seeing this, we cannot but turn our eyes to our neighbours in Spain, and think what they will say when they hear that the ships of their protectors and friends pour into almost the very bosom of their country a body of their enemies, armed, well appointed, and untrammelled? General Junot seemed to consider this convention in so favourable a light that, I am told, when he was taking leave of the owner of the house in which he had been quartered, "Sir (said he to him), I shall return hither in the course of a few months; and as this house is my property, I request you will look for another for yourself against my arrival."-Such was the sentiment, coolness of acting, and common conduct of all the French, from the commander-in-chief down to the humblest follower of the army.

It is surprising how the resolution and audacity of this mode of invasion paralyses the minds of men. I have heard of nations submitting quietly to a generous conqueror; but to sheath the half-drawn sword, to bend the head without a word to the yoke of violence and extortion, is an abjectness of spirit never before paralleled, I believe, in the history of man. Wherever the standard of France moves, terror and tyranny accompany it. Every street in Lisbon exhibits some sad memento of its power and oppression; for the general-inchief, when he was here, took upon him all the authority of a conqueror, all the pride of a monarch.

On his entering public places, the company were obliged to rise and bow to him. He had his guard noble, and an almost regal establishment. He held a sort of court; a strong detachment always attended him; and two pieces of artillery with lighted matches, never left the door of his residence. The only splendour in the city was in his suite, as the inhabitants were too heart-broken and wary of awakening the rapacity of their invaders, to shew even an embroi-

dered coat.

How different is the scene at present! a new existence seems to animate the city. The nobility and others are in their gayest attires: stars, fine dresses, and military uniforms of all tastes, appear in every corner of the streets. Since the total departure of the French, it is marvellous to see how many in the latter costume parade the public walks. No great proof of their true bravery, you will say, that they did not come forth so arrayed before. But men and seasons are sadly altered with the Portuguese, since the times of their royal Juans. Alonzos, and Sebastians; and having been long out of practice in victories, no wonder when the battle comes that they should be a little shy of arms. Notwithstanding I offer an excuse for the late supineness of the once valiant Lusitanians, I cannot but be seriously surprised that it should exist. Surely the people had every stimulative to make a glorious effort; all ranks were

outraged; all experienced the deepest degradation and contempt; their prince had been driven from his dominions; and the titles which their ancient noblesse had rendered sacred by deeds of valour and privations, were usurped by the banditti who robbed them of their liberties! yet, all was not sufficient to arouze the dormant spirit of the country. The people murmured, but bore it. And how much longer they would have resigned themselves to dream on in this sleep of living death, I cannot guess; had not the appearance of the English and the clash of their arms awakened them to the remembrance that they were men, and had rights to preserve.

I am yet young in my knowledge of this nation; but I have my doubts whether any thing like the glorious fire which now blazes throughout Spain would ever have burst forth in its sister kingdom. The iron-rule and insinuations of the French acted like a charm upon the Portuguese: they seemed as if caught in a trap; and, hopeless of release, resigned themselves to their fate, without a struggle. To prevent the possibility of resistance, their best troops were sent into France, and care taken to disarm the rest. And, sorry am I to add, that numbers of the nobility were base enough to become chains in the hands of the conqueror to enslave their country. Hence, without some foreign hand would appear to strike off their yoke, they believed it fastened on them for ever. That hand has been Great Britain! The battle of Vimeira burst the rivets; Portugal is again free; and while our arm within it has power to support such an ally, I hope it will remain so. Adieu; Eversyours.

LETTER II.

MY DEAR S____, Lisbon, October 5th, 1808.

I AM here still; for as yet we know nothing certain of our future movements, although reports and conjectures are in constant circulation.

A division of the army is crossing the Tagus to proceed to Elvas, but on what commission is not known. Some say the Spaniards now besieging that city refuse to acknowledge its garrison as coming under the protection of the recent convention; and that our troops are sent to direct them in their duty. If those are to be our arguments, I fear our brave allies will not consider them the gentlest in the world; and that things will alter strangely with respect to our making a friendly campaign in Spain. But this I cannot believe; the proceeding would be too shsurd to deserve a moment's credit; but I report the rumour to give you an idea of the thousand fabrications which float about here in the shape of information. I rather hail this march as a beginning of a general movement; a consummation to my hopes which is most devoutly to be wished; for longer halting here seems somewhat out of time. We are losing all the best weather; and, if we further delay, the rainy season will commence: an event which, in case of a march then, will cost us men, time, and reputation. Being under command, we must believe that our generals know best what is to be done; but, I am sorry to say, that it is a current opinion on the continent, that "a British military assistance always arrives an hour and a half too late."

In some cases this may be true; but certainly, the remark does not stand good with regard to our arrival in Portugal. Indeed it is a question, whether or no we did not come too soon, or, at least, too scantily provided; for had we waited for a larger force, in all likelihood our united powers would have ensured repeated successes; and the result of the two glorious victories we have gained would not have been the Convention of Cintra.

(To be continued.)

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1915.]

THE LIFE OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM WINDHAM,

LATE SECRETARY OF WAR, MINISTER OF COLONIES, &c.

(Continued from Vol. III.)

TO Mr. Pitt he had for many years politically opposed himself; but in the new circumstances of the times, he thought, or rather yielded to the judgment of others who thought, that to enrol himself as a member of Mr. Pitt's cabinet was the only way to render his services useful to the This again was not an act to be for ever binding. The French Revolution had caused it?-the anti-revolutionary war had prolonged it;—and with the expiration of that war, it seemed naturally to terminate. Fully as Mr. Windham approved, and to the latest period of his life continued to approve, the war itself, as well as the general tendency of the measures which Mr. Pitt pursued for checking the progress of revolutionary principles, yet the Peace of Amiens served to shew that on many points relating to the object and conduct of the war, their views had been totally different. At the commencement of the present war, the questions, which for ten years divided the country, had ceased to exist. The French Revolution, in the progress of time, had totally changed its shape. The republic, pretending to have liberty and equality for its basis was transformed into a military despotism, which acknowledged no law but the sword. France no longer sought to seduce other nations by offers of fraternization: conquest, not alliance, was now her ambition; and to gratify it, fire and sword were to be carried into every capital of Europe. In this country, there was no time to waste in canvassing former questions, or fighting over past battles. It was too late to enquire how, and at what stage of it, the danger might have been averted ;-it had already reached the door, and must be manfully met. On this most pressing of all subjects—the means of defending ourselves—Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox certainly thought precisely alike, while Mr. Pitt differed from them in some important particulars. They were all of them ready, indeed, in this hour of alarm, to try the effect of their consolidated efforts; but the union of two of them being unhappily frustrated, Mr. Windham was left to choose his course. Was he to join Mr. Pitt with whom he differed, or Mr. Fox with whom he agreed? Had both Mr. Fox and himself become members of the new cabinet, their opinions on the question of defence might have been adopted; but without Mr. Fox's cooperation, Mr. Windham could hardly have hoped that his advice would prevail against numbers, and the weight of Mr. Pitt's authority. He had not, indeed, so much at heart the adoption of any favourite measure, as the prevention of plans and systems which he foresaw would impoverish our means of resistance, and which he might better oppose openly in parliament, than he could have done almost singly in the

cabinet. This consideration alone might furnish a sufficient motive for the decision he adhered to, but there were other points of agreement between Mr. Fox and himself, which must have had their influence; particularly the opinion they entertained in common, concerning the relief sought for by the Catholics of Ireland. In such a situation, to use Mr. Windham's words before quoted, "Is the union to be with those with whom, disagreeing formerly, you now agree? Or with those with whom you agreed formerly, but now disagree?" It was in fact a question, not of men, but of measures, as the former one had been in 1794. Those who, looking at either of those periods, can consider the questions to have been merely of Fox against Pitt, or of Whig against Tory, would seem to have no very enlarged notion of the difficulties and dangers which surrounded the country.

But still, it will be said, there were other points, of no light consideration, upon which the agreement of Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham would have been inconsistent and unnatural. This is perfectly true; but they were questions which did not then press for decision; and whenever they might be brought forward, no such agreement upon them was necessary. It should always be recollected, that, though Mr. Windham usually acted with a party, because he thought that his public services were thus rendered more effective, yet he was never what is commonly called a "thorough party-man;"-he never scrupled to leave those with whom he generally sided, when his judgment was at issue with theirs. On the question, for instance, of a Reform of Parliament, it will be remembered that he opposed Mr. Fox at a time when he was considered as a member of that statesman's party. There was nothing in their re-union that should prevent such a difference from recurring, whenever the occasion might again arise; and, in fact, their subsequent course proved that neither of them considered himself to have formed a compact of so monstrous a nature, as to preclude the free exercise of his judgment on any subject that might be presented to him.

It may be further observed, that whatever praise or blame might attach to the act, Mr. Windham was only entitled to shave it with many others. Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Spencer, and all those distinguished persons who, in company with Mr. Burke, had seceded from the Foxites in 1793 (the Duke of Portland alone excepted), were in every respect as responsible for this new coalition as Mr. Windham himself was. And not these alone;—for Lord Grenville—the near relative of Mr. Pitt—who for almost twenty years had supported and shared in his administration—who had in consequence been uniformly opposed to Mr. Fox—and who had no knowledge of him but as an adversary;—even Lord Grenville considered the circumstances of the times to be such as to require him to relinquish office, and still more, of the confidence perhaps of many, if not most of those with whom he had so long acted. In fact, a new order of things had arisen, and men were no longer to be spelf-

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bound by former alliances, but were called upon to pursue that course alone which, in the circumstances of the moment, seemed best calculated to avert the impending danger.

But if the question were to be decided by authority—if a name alone were wanted to sanction the act-it would be sufficient to observe to those who are most forward in blaming Mr. Windham, that the coalition they condemn was one in which Mr. Pitt himself was ready to join him. Without feeling the ties of former friendship, without even concurring with him on the questions of the day, Mr. Pitt had joined in opposition, and was ready to meet in office his great political rival, who for twenty years had been the soul of a party that had arraigned him and all his measures! No blame is imputed to Mr. Pitt for this seeming inconsistency. On the contrary, it is justly regarded as a splendid instance of magnanimity; and it is only to be regretted that circumstances prevented these two illustrious men from holding out to minor politicians an example highly worthy of their imitation. But this inference at least may be safely drawn-that, on comparing the motives to such an union with Mr. Fox, if Mr. Pitt could be justified for assenting to it, Mr. Windham would have been deeply culpable in rejecting it.

The reader, it is hoped, will pardon this long pause in the narrative. The writer will be satisfied if the worst that shall be said of it, be, that it was unnecessary.

In June 1804, soon after the change of administration, Mr. Pitt brought forward his Additional Force Bill, more generally known afterwards by the name of the "Parish Bill," the recruiting under its provisions being intended to be effected by parish officers. Mr. Windham opposed it in two able speeches, reports of which will be found in the ensuing collection. The bill, however, passed both houses.

In the course of the ensuing session (21st of February 1805,) he called the attention of the house in a long and luminous speech, to the state of the defence of the country; but on this question the minister was again triumphant. He also took occasion, on the 14th of May following, to pronounce his opinion in favour of the claims of the Catholics of Ireland. This was a topic which he had much at heart. In a letter to his friend, Sir John Cox Hippesley, which has been preserved by that gentleman in a late valuable publication, he has expressed his sentiments on this subject with much force and perspicuity.

The value of Mr. Windham's authority on this question has been highly appreciated by the present truly amiable and enlightened bishop of Norwich, who, in his speech if the House of Lords, on the 18th of June 1811, in favour of the Catholic claims, after observing that the question is not to be considered as a point of theology, which is to be settled by divines or by theorists in their studies, but as a great question of state, to be determined by enlightened practical statesmen, adds that "the judgment of four such men as Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, carries far more weight with it upon a question like this, than the judgment of both the universities, and indeed all the divines

that ever sat in convocation under the dome of St. Paul's, or in the Jerusalem chamber, from the reformation to the present hour."

The remainder of the session of 1805 was chiefly occupied by the proceedings against Lord Melville, in which Mr. Windham took but little part. He concurred indeed in the several votes for enquiry, but declined taking a personal share in it, considering himself disqualified for such a duty by "the official connexion which he had had with Lord Melville, the social intercourse thence arising, and the impression made on his mind by the many amiable and estimable qualities which the Noble Lord was known to possess."

Towards the close of the session, he took occasion to call the attention of Government to the case of the gallant Captain Wright, of the royal navy, the friend of Sir Sydney Smith. This meritorious officer was unjustly suffering a severe imprisonment at Paris, contrary to the rules of war, as observed amongst civilized nations. Some months after this appeal in his favour, he was deprived of his miserable existence. The manner of his death was never correctly ascertained; but from the testimony of a gentleman who was a prisoner with him in the Temple, it appears that he had more than once declared, that, whatever calamities he might be doomed to suffer, he would never so far forget his firmness as a man, and his duty as a Christian, as to seek relief in an act of suicide. He therefore formally cautioned his friends not to credit the reports which he foretold would be given out by the Government of France, in the event of his death. It is certain that he was living a fortnight after his decease had been announced in the newspapers. His existence latterly was only known to his fellow-prisoners by his playing on a flute, which had long been the amusement of his solitary hours.

The expectation of a vacant seat for the University of Oxford, occasioned, in the summer of 1805, an active canvas for Mr. Windham, on the part of his friends, who were naturally desirous that one of the most honourable distinctions which the University could bestow, should be conferred on so celebrated a member of it. The prospect of such a seat was, on every account, highly desirable to Mr. Windham, but the vacancy did not then take place; and when it afterwards occurred, he had engaged himself in a contest for Norfolk. It was about this time that a report was circulated in Norfolk, that, in a letter to Mr. Coke, his early and much-valued friend, with whom he was once more on terms of political agreement, he had renounced some of the opinions which had been entertained by him during the period of his acting with Mr. Pitt. rumour was mentioned to Mr. Windham by the writer of this narrative, who, in reply, received a letter which may deserve publication, on account of the clear and decisive manner in which the opinions in question are recognized and asserted :-

" Pall Mall, October 7, 1805.

"I have requested Mr. Lukin, who leaves town for Norwich tonight (and was very near having his offer accepted, of staying till tomorrow and taking me with him) to set you and my friends right on the 1815.]

subject of the reports which you mention, by an assurance that there is not a word of truth in them. It is neither true that any thing to the effect stated was said by me to Mr. Coke, nor that any such alteration of opinions on my part has ever taken place. What are these opinions which they suppose me to have changed? That the French revolution was not a system of liberty, nor much conducive to the happiness of mankind? I should have thought that all the world was now pretty much of that way of thinking. That if not opposed and destroyed, it threatened to over-run the earth? All that we are now suffering, and fearing to suffer, may be pretty good evidence that this opinion was not very erroneous. Is it that I was wrong in thinking that peace would not save us, and in condemning, in consequence, the favourite and dear peace of Amiens? Whatever may be thought of the renewal of the war, which I perhaps did not think the most judiciously managed, yet nobody surely will say, that our condition was likely to be very good, or the progress of French dominion soon to have stopped, had that peace continued. The same may be remarked of the former war. Who shall pretend to say, that the progress of the French Rovolution would have been less rapid. or less dangerous, had Great Britain never joined in opposing it, or had no opposition been made to it at all? Such an opinion certainly derives no countenance from the facts, which prove incontestably that the French Revolution did not need to be provoked to become mischievous. that the aggressions were not the consequence of the resistance, but the resistance of the aggressions. If the conduct of the former war is that which I am supposed now to condemn, the fact may be perfectly true; but it is no proof of change of opinion; as I cannot condemn it now more than I did during the whole time it was carrying on, or than it was at all times condemned by Mr. Burke. It would be very odd if I were to take to changing my opinions now, when those who formerly opposed them, might be supposed to be most convinced of their truth.

consequence of hearing of the uncommonly kind exertions which he was making to serve me in my views on Oxford, and was answered by him in a letter of equal kindness. It is very possible that I might have said (for I have no recollection of the particulars) that I lamented the differences which had separated me from those for whom I had so much personal regard, or something to that effect; which some blundering friend (for I am sure Mr. Coke never conceived such an idea) may have construed into a renunciation of my former opinions. But even this must have happened amongst reporters at second hand; for no one, however confused or inaccurate, could have made such a mistake, if he had read the letter. At least, it is very odd if I should have written in a way to convey an opinion, so little in my thoughts at the time, and so totally contrary to the fact.

Your's, with great truth,

" W. WINDHAM."

Another letter, which I received from him in the course of the same month, refers to the explanation given by the preceding one:

" October 24, 1805.

"Mr. Lukin, if you saw him, will have told you how very near I was accompanying him and the Dean of Wells to the sessions, and I may further add, that even after they were gone, so intent was I on making a visit to Norfolk, that I did not give up the intention, but would, if possible, have followed them. I was prevented by a very disagreeable, but very urgent and insurmountable reason.

"The letter which I sent you at that time, however hastily written (and perhaps not the less so on that account) will have satisfied you that I have not left my friends in the lurch, by renouncing opinions which I had long maintained with them. I have no wish to dwell upon former differences, with respect to those with whom I am now acting; but our present agreement, and still less the good-will that I may feel towards many of them, implies no abatement of opinion on the points on which we were formerly opposed to each other; at least on our side, though it may reasonably be hoped, without the hope of being invidiously urged, that the same is not the case on theirs.

"The present state of things, and a more formidable one cannot well be conceived, bears good testimony to the truth of all the opinions for which we have formerly contended. Had Louis the Eighteenth been lodged in one of the King's palaces, and received with all the honours due to his rank and situation, and had a system of policy corresponding with that measure been adopted by this country, the King's daughter might not have been at this time under the humiliating necessity of doing the honours of her house and table to Buonaparte."

In the succeeding month, Mr. Windham shared deeply in the feelings of the country on the loss of Lord Nelson, whom he valued as a personal friend, and highly admired as the greatest ornament of his profession. He paid the last honours in person to the remains of this distinguished hero, and when the county of Norfolk proposed to erect a monument to the memory of their illustrious countryman, he subscribed a sum towards the execution of it. The scheme, however, was suffered to drop, from the difficulty which was found in forming a decision upon the various plans which were offered, and upon the place where the monument should be erected. A simple pillar at Burnham (Lord Nelson's native place) was the plan which Mr. Windham thought the most desirable.

Lord Nelson's death was speedily followed by Mr. Pitt's;—an event which is believed to have been hastened by the calamitous issue of the grand continental confederacy against France. At the opening of the session, on the 21st of January, 1806, Mr. Pitt was living, but in a state that afforded no hope of recovery. Mr. Windham's speech on this occasion, and that on the vote for the public funeral of this eminent statesman, have been the subject of much misrepresentation. And to shew how desirous he was that the opinions he had expressed with regard to Mr. Pitt should not be misunderstood, it may be proper to lay before the reader the following extract of a letter which I received from him:—

Pall Mall, January 22, 1806.

" As one of the happy consequences of our blessed system of printing debates, I am described to-day, in one of the newspapers which I have seen, as having talked a language directly the reverse of that which I did talk, and which was alone conformable to the sentiments existing in my mind. In none of the papers, as I am told, am I made to express myself in terms so strong as those which I actually used. The history is, that having been forced, by the occupation of our bench by Mr. Bankes, to sit more under the gallery than is desirable, and having spoken moreover in a lower tone than usual, owing perhaps to a little emotion. the reporters in the gallery could only hear what I said very imperfectly, and supplied what was wanting very much according to their own fancy. You may be fully assured that what I said was of a sort perfectly to satisfy every friend of Mr. Pitt; and this I am very anxious should be understood; as nothing could have been so base and ungenerous, and so perfectly adverse to the purpose of my speaking at all, as the saying any thing ungracious of him in the circumstances in which he was supposed to be, and unhappily was. I am sorry to say that all hope of recovery is entirely out of the question, if he should be alive even at this instant. As I expressed myself yesterday, the extinction of such great talents and powers is a very awful and affecting event, even in the minds of those whose lot it may have been to be most constantly opposed to them."

On Mr. Pitt's death, a change of administration was naturally looked for. The views which, in Mr. Windham's mind, rendered such a measure desirable, will appear from a letter which he addressed to me the day after the date of the preceding one:—

" Pall Mall, January 23, 1806.

that things are likely to take with respect to the formation of a ministry. I should be much less solicitous on the point than I am, if on this another point did not depend; namely, the having an army. An army is, at this moment, the first concern of the country; not necessary merely for the purpose of war, but equally so for the purpose of peace. That is the best ministry which will best succeed in putting the country in a good state of defence; and if I did not conceive that our ideas upon that subject were better than those likely otherwise to be adopted, and that our measures, whatever they may be, would be better respecting Ireland, I should be quite as well satisfied to remain in our present situation as to change it."

The change which was expected took place in the beginning of the ensuing month, Lord Grenville being commanded by his Majesty to form a new administration. He was himself placed at the head of the treasury, as prime minister. Earl Spencer, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, received respectively the seals of the home, the foreign, and the war and colonial departments. Earl Fitzwilliam presided at the council, Lord Howick (now Earl Grey) at the admiralty; Lord Henry Petty became chancellor of the exchequer; and the remaining seats in

the cabinet were filled by Lords Erskine, Sidmouth, Moira, and Ellenborough.

The earliest and chief object of Mr. Windham's attention, on his attaining office, was to arrange and bring forward measures for increasing the military means of the country. The number of plans which were suggested for his consideration, by writers from all quarters and of all descriptions, would scarcely be credited by the reader. Though I believe he did not borrow an idea from any of them, he did not hastily reject them, but gave them generally a fair and patient hearing. His measures having been finally settled in the cabinet, he stated the purport of them to the House of Commons, on the 3d of April, 1806, in a speech which Mr. Fox pronounced to be one of the most eloquent ever delivered in parliament, and which, though it occupied very near four hours in the delivery, seemed not to be thought too long by any of his auditors. nature and object of these measures are so fully explained in the speech itself, that it would be superfluous to detail them here at length. It may be sufficient to observe, that to better the condition of the soldier was his great and leading principle for increasing the regular force of the country. To hold out periods for the termination of the soldier's services, and to recompense those services by additional rewards, were the means by which he sought to accomplish this improvement; -and the immediate effect which he expected to produce, was, the rendering of the army more inviting as a profession, from its being more advantageous in a prudential view, and consequently more respectable, on account of the better description of persons who might thus be induced to engage in it. The soldier, in short, was to serve an apprenticeship to arms, as to a trade, and then either to follow it up, or to relinquish it, at his option; but was to be entitled to additional benefits, if he should be disposed to continue his services. These were the main objects of his measures, which included, however, many subordinate regulations. The Additional Force Act was to be repealed, in order to remove the impediments which its high bounties opposed to the ordinary recruiting service. By withholding some allowances from the volunteers, he proposed to save a considerable expence to the country, without rendering that establishment less efficient. And lastly, by a general Training Act he expected to employ a great proportion of the population of the country in a manner which he conceived to be more advantageous, as well as much less expensive, than that in which most of the volunteers were employed under the subsisting regulations.

These measures, under the form of various bills, passed through both Houses of Parliament, with considerable majorities. It should not be forgotten that a liberal and immediate addition to the pensions of non-commissioned officers and privates, in certain cases, was carefully provided for. Nor was it towards these alone that he directed the bounty of Government to flow. The pay of officers of infantry and militia subalterus, and the pensions of officers' widows received an increase from his hands, though not to the amount to which he was desirous of carrying it,

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had the resources of the country been thought capable of bearing such an additional burthen of expenditure.

In the summer of 1806, Mr. Fox, whose health had been declining from the time of his accepting office, found a grave near that of his illustrious rival. His loss was deeply lamented by Mr. Windham, whose personal regard for him had perhaps never wholly ceased, but had certainly been fully restored upon their recent political reconciliation. This event. besides the regret which it produced, happened to be the occasion of some embarrassment to him. In consequence of an arrangement which was proposed in the cabinet respecting the appointment to certain offices (but not affecting his own, which was to remain as before), the acceptance of a peerage was very strongly pressed upon him by his colleagues, and very strongly refused by him. Convenient as the measure might have been to him, with a view to avoid the expence of future elections (particularly of a contest in Norfolk, where a canvas had actually begun for him), he would not for an instant suffer considerations of this kind to influence his decision. He felt that his usefulness to the country depended not a little on his station in the House of Commons; and he would have chearfully relinquished his office, rather than wear the honours which were to be thrust upon him. In consequence of his refusal, another arrangement was fixed upon: Lord Howick succeeded Mr. Fox as foreign secretary, and Mr. Thomas Greaville took his seat at the admiralty.

In October 1806, the parliament was dissolved, and Mr. Windham became a candidate for the representation of Norfolk, joining his own interest with the very powerful one which his friend Mr. Coke has so long possessed, and continues to possess, in that county. The honourable Mr. Wodehouse, the heir of an ancient and highly-respectable family in Norfolk, was their opponent, and had, in fact, begun an active canvass long before Mr. Windham was named as a candidate. After six days' polling, Mr. Windham had the satisfaction of being returned by the votes of 3,722 freeholders, having a majority of 365 over Mr. Wodehouse. But the prize that was thus fought for and gained, was snatched away early in the ensuing parliament by a proceeding which had not at all been in the contemplation of the successful candidates, and which owed its origin to an election incident, deserving, perhaps, to be mentioned, as well on account of its singularity, as of its consequences.

During the election, two ladies, possessing some property and influence in the county, made their daily appearance at the poll, and occasionally joined in processions of voters, in a barouche, which was highly decorated, as well as their persons, with the ribbons of Mr. Wodehouse's party. At a late period of the poll, some partizans of Mr. Windham and Mr. Coke (with more humour than discretion, as was proved by the event,) contrived a burlesque imitation of this exhibition, by persuading two females to stand forth as the representatives of the ladies above noticed, dressed with similar ornaments, and attended by servants who in livery and appearance were the very counterparts of those that had ag-

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companied the other barouche. The project being made known to Mr. Windham and Mr. Coke, they joined in discountenancing it; and having done so, they had no suspicion that the pantomime would be suffered to appear. But the managers, having already provided their actors, dresses, and machinery, were by no means willing to lay the piece aside, licensed or unlicensed; so without further communication, they brought it forth on the Castle Hill at Norwich, in the middle of the day, and within the view of some thousands of spectators. Nothing could have been better executed; the corps du ballet performed their parts to admiration; but unluckily, while one-half of the lookers-on seemed lost in their enjoyment of the joke, the other half snatched a favourable opportunity for revenge. A strong detachment of the hostile party seized the carriage, hurried it triumphantly down into the market-place, and there sacrificed it piecemeal to their fury. The poor performers, male and female, escaped from their dangerous posts as well as they were able. but certainly not shot-free. So well was the imitation executed, that the real footman, like the real Sosia in the play, is said to have received a severe beating from the populace, who mistook him for his counterfeit. The consequences of the joke, however, did not end here; for Mr. Windham and Mr. Coke, innocent of it as they really were, became victims to it. A young gentleman of landed property, the son of one of the ladies who had thus been subjected to mockery, undertook, with feelings which it would be difficult not to excuse, to revenge the insult which had been offered to his mother and her friend; -and with this view he addressed to the House of Commons, in the names of himself and some of his tenants, a petition against the return of Mr. Coke and Mr. Wind-This petition was grounded chiefly upon alledged offences against the Treating Acts: there was also indeed a charge of undue influence. which, however, was hardly attempted to be proved. It certainly was true, and was abundantly proved before the Committee who tried the merits of the case, that a very great expence had been incurred by all parties, and that voters had been entertained, contrary to the letter of the acts, as well on the side of the successful candidates, as on that of Mr. Wodehouse, who of course took no part in the petition. The Coinmittee accordingly declared the election to be void, and Mr. Windham and Mr. Coke became ineligible for Norfolk upon that vacancy. Their friends, however, returned at the new election, without opposition, Sir Jacob Astley, their former representative, and Mr. Edward Coke, the brother of Mr. Windham's colleague.

(To be continued.)

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THE HISTORY OF THE WAR,

From the year 1792 to 1814; in which the Military Transactions of each Campaign are related separately and in detail.

CAMPAIGN OF 1792.

CHAP V.

The French carry the war into Germany.—Capture of Worms, Metz, and Franckfort.—Incursions into the dominions of the Prince of Hesse.
—Invasion and conquest of Savoy,—continued from Vol. 11.

1N the mean time Beurnonville, who had already advanced towards Cuesmes, was detained by the fire of five redoubts which he could not silence by means of his own artillery, although he had been reinforced by four sixteen-pounders. On learning, however, that the left wing had been successful, the commander in chief drew up the infantry of the centre in column by battalion, and having caused the opening to be masked by seven squadrons of dragoons and hussars, he marched exactly at noon against the centre of the village. This movement would perhaps have proved decisive, but a brigade, on perceiving the enemy's cavalry advance, immediately retired behind a house on the right, and left a vacant space through which the horse might have been able to pierce the centre. On this another brigade on the left, instead of pushing forward, made a halt, was thrown into confusion, and exposed for some time to a fire of grape within half-musquet shot of the batteries, while the French squadrons appointed to keep the Austrian hussars in check, altered their position.

At this critical moment, two young men very different in rank and quality, but inspired with similar zeal, contrived to remedy the disorder. The first of these was Baptiste Renard, an officer of the commander in chief, who made the fugitive brigade ashamed of its retreat, brought it back to its station, masked the opening anew, and returned to his master after renewing the engagement. But the troops, mingled together and destitute of order, were still unable to act with effect; when the duke de Chartres appeared, and forming the scattered soldiery into a solid body, termed by him "the column of Gemappe," instantly advanced, and not only carried the triple row of redoubts and intrenchments, but actually penetrated into the village. In consequence of this gallant attack, so favourable to the movement made by Thouvenot, the Imperialists being placed between two fires, more than four hundred were drowned in the Haisne, and the battle was gained in the centre and to the right of the village.

In the mean time general Dumouriez repaired to the advanced guard commanded by Beurnonville; where he found two brigades exposed to great danger on the height of Cuesmes, on account of the resistance experienced from five redoubts filled with Hungarian grenadiers, the ap-

pearance of a formidable body of Imperial cavalry, and a blunder committed by general d'Harville, who, mistaking the French troops for the enemy, swept them down from behind with his artillery. On this the commander in chief instantly gallopped along the front of two brigades, telling them, "that having their father now at their head, they had no longer any thing to fear." The answer of "Long live Dumouriez!" added to the intrepid appearance of the soldiers, convinced him of their firmness. Accordingly, when the enemy's dragoons advanced at a gallop on purpose to force an opening, the brigades, who had reserved their fire until they approached nearly to the muzzles of their muskets, by a general and well-directed discharge formed a rampart before them of the bodies of more than a hundred horses and troopers. The hussars of Berchiny completed their rout; the column of infantry also began to retire; and the whole of this body of Imperial cavalry fled as far as Mous.

Dumouriez having stationed Beurnonville, who had just arrived on the field of battle, now moved to the left with the two brigades in conjunction with three bodies of cavalry, and placing himself once more at their head, he began the first stanza of the Revolutionary Marsellois Song, marching at the same time to attack the redoubts by the gorge. The soldiers, who advanced with great gaiety chanting this favourite song, displayed much bravery, and carried the works, notwithstanding the gallant defence made by the Hungarian grenadiers, who fought until they were nearly all cut to pieces.

At two o'clock it was intimated to the commander in chief by the duke de Montpensier, that his brother had proved victorious with the centre, while Thouvenot arrived at the same instant, and brought the joyful intelligence of the enemy's flight.

But the army was too much fatigued to proceed immediately in pursuit, for during four whole days it had been constantly under arms, and engaged occasionally with the Austrians, while for the last eight hours it was unceasingly occupied in different evolutions. The general, therefore, deemed it absolutely necessary to allow two hours for the purpose of taking some refreshment, as the troops had not as yet tasted any thing in the course of the day. He accordingly ordered bread and brandy to be distributed, and gave the necessary directions respecting the wounded.

At four o'clock orders were issued for forming the ranks, and it being intimated that the army was about to advance, the soldiers, forgetting their fatigues, testified their joy by loud acclamations: but a ridiculous circumstance occurred, which was productive of considerable embarrassment. The two heroick brigades already mentioned, were now seized with a sudden terror. They, who had so lately braved death, and attacked redoubts crowded with cannon and musquetry, were unaccountably impressed with the idea that the Austrians had undermined the mountain on which they stood, and that they were about to be blown into the air! Five battalions, yielding to the panick resulting from this imaginary danger, instantly abandoned their position, notwithstanding the

entreaties and representations of general Stettenhofen who commanded them, and threw themselves in great disorder into the village of Cuesmes. The commander in chief, who happened to be stationed there with the van, immediately dispatched other troops to take possession of Berthaumont, and was obliged to defer the pursuit of the enemy, and the capture of Mons, until the next day.

In the mean time the body of light troops belonging to the left wing, which had been detached towards Gelin and Notre-Dame, on purpose to hang upon and annoy the enemy, experienced but little success; partly because the retreat was conducted in a masterly manner on the part of the Austrians, and partly because they were not properly supported by general d'Harville, who was too late in occupying Mount Palizel and Nimy.

Thus ended the battle of Gemappe, during which both the victors and the vanquished displayed the most exemplary courage, and fought with a degree of obstinacy seldom recorded in modern times. The Imperialists, particularly the Hungarian grenadiers, exhibited the most determined valour, and there was not a single battalion in the whole French army that did not engage with the enemy, the greater part of the cavalry and infantry fighting hand to hand, with sabres and screwed bayonets. The Austrians defended their intrenchments with great resolution; their cannon, under the direction of general Beaulieu, took aim with uncommon precision, and swept away whole ranks of such of the battalions as halted to fire; but those who charged rapidly with bent heads and out-stretched bayonets, lost few men, and rendered the victory decisive. On this occasion too, the French artillery distinguished itself in such a manner as to display its wonted superiority, and the officers, privates, and horses, suffered considerably, as they advanced within musquet shot of the intrenchments.

The duke of Saxe Teschen lost nearly four thousand men, and thirteen pieces of cannon, seven of which, of a large calibre, were left in the redoubts: but this was trivial in comparison with the unfortunate consequences, for the Belgians from that moment considered themselves freed from the house of Austria, while desertion and dismay pervaded her armies. Dumouriez acknowledges the loss of no more that two thousand of his troops in killed and wounded; yet, considering the resistance on the one hand, and the wish to extenuate the destruction that ensued on the other, it may be fairly asserted that as many at least of his own army perished on that memorable day as fell on the part of the enemy. His advantages however were numerous, and, in the opinion of military men, afforded ample compensation for the sacrifice. General Berneron obtained Ath, and general Labourdonnaye took possession of Tournay two day after the battle; the commandant of Dunkirk with one thousand eight hundred infantry marched to Nieuport, Ostend, and Bruges, all of which immediately opened their gates to him, and the whole of Flanders was subdued without firing a single musquet.

In the course of the evening after the battle of Gemappe, Dumouriez made preparations to pursue the enemy, and attack Mons, which he had in vain summoned to surrender. The commanding officer, conscious that the safety of the retreating army depended on his retaining possession of that place, returned a haughty answer, and seemed determined to stand a siege. Having thus gained time, he found means to evacuate the city during the night, and marched with equal celerity and success to rejoin the Austrians. Accordingly, on the succeeding morning (Nov. 7th), Dumouriez entered Mons, amidst the shouts of the inhabitants, who received the French as deliverers, and immediately transmitted an account of his victory to the convention.

Dumouriez remained at Mons only till he could borrow a sum of money to enable him to advance. He procured these necessary resources with great dexterity. He conciliated the people by confining his pillage to the nobility and clergy, whom he robbed, and the latter in particular, under the name of forced loans. General Labourdonnaye had been before him in seizing on the public money in several of the cities in Flanders. Dumouriez, as if to repreach this pillage, whilst he himself exceeded it, posted up in all places his own proclamation, promising protection and indemnity, restored their property to the citizens, and replaced that officer by Miranda.

The French being now encamped on the heights of Anderlecht, the general dispatched colonel Westermann with a trumpet to summon Brussels. Marshal Bender, on this, immediately evacuated that city, and Dumouriez entered it amidst the acclamations of the deluded people.

Dumouriez next marched through Louvain and encamped on the Pillenberg, where he learned that the enemy occupied the heights of Cumptich, in front of Tirlemont. He resolved the same day (Nov. 20, 1792), to attack them in this position. He dispatched General d'Harville to turn their left, after which he himself advanced against the Austrians with his vanguard. The engagement, which was long and bloody, terminated at leugth in favour of the French, who however reaped but little advantage from it; for, although the army of the duke of Saxe Teschen was now reduced to about fifteen thousand men, he fought with equal judgment and intrepidity; and retreated only step by step, still fighting and still presenting a formidable front to the enemy.

From Tirlemont (on the 26th) he advanced to Tron. Next day he found the rear-guard of the enemy drawn up before Liege, with redoubts on which heavy cannon were mounted near the village of Varoux, while the main body was posted on the other side of the Meuse, on the heights of the Chartreuse. The engagement continued during the whole day between the French van and the enemy's rear-guard under general Staray, who received a severe wound during the action; he nevertheless found means, after sustaining the glory of the Austrian arms, to cross the river in the course of the evening, and effected his retreat with little loss. The Imperialists on this retired to Herve, and Dumouriez

having entered Liege, and posted Stengel in front of it, on the heights of Robertmont, dispatched a body of light troops to Spa, Stablo, and Malmedy, to harass the enemy's flank.

In the mean time, the siege of the citadel of Antwerp was confined to general Miranda, who had been entrusted with the direction of the northern army. The city had already been taken possession of by the French; but as this fortress was supposed capable of an obstinate resistance, the commander in chief recurred to extraordinary means in order to subdue it. He had accordingly prepared a flotilla of five armed vessels, under the command of captain Moultson, an American officer in the service of France, with which he prepared to ascend the Scheldt, a river unaccustomed for ages to bear ships of burden.

The states-general of Holland, in consequence of the application of the Imperial minister, had not only refused a passage, but even requested the Prince of Orange, as admiral-general, to order the commander of the Dutch guard-ship, stationed at the mouth, to inform the French commander, "that by virtue of treaties no ship of war could enter." This, however, did not prevent the armament from sailing to the walls of the citadel of Antwerp, the siege of which was conducted with such ability and success, that it surrendered (Nov. 26) in a few days. The city of Louvain also opened its gates; and the castle of Namur yielded to a detachment of troops under general Valence.

Thus Dumouriez in some measure realised all his boastings; for, within the space of one month after opening the campaign, he found himself completely master of the Low-countries, and of the whole of the territory belonging to Liege.

Dumouriez now began to find himself in a situation of some difficulty. He was unable to pursue the enemy without crossing the duchy of Juliers; neither could be render his winter-quarters secure, unless be placed a garrison in its capital. Yet France was not at war with the empire. Nor was he less embarrassed in respect to Holland. He found it impossible to advance, or even to retain the navigation of the Maese, without being in possession of Maestricht, where more than two thousand emigrants had taken refuge, and recruited publicly for the army of the exiled princes. He was resolved, therefore, to obtain this fortress by violence or fraud: he therefore proposed that it should either be seized by force of arms, or that an ancient claim in behalf of the people of Liege on one of its quarters should be renewed. It was with this view that he transmitted orders to general Miranda, who had advanced to Ruremonde, to send for his heavy artillery to Tongres, where he was to establish his head-quarters; and in the mean time he was instructed to extend his cantonments along the left bank of the Maese, so as to enable him to invest the fortress. After having commenced the siege with 30,000 men, he himself proposed to march at the head of an equal number of troops, in order first to drive the Imperialists from Aix-la-Chapelle, and then chase them beyond the Rhine. But Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs, refused to sanction this attempt; and Brissot and

the girondists, who still possessed considerable influence in the convention, deemed it imprudent to arm Holland and her allies against the republic

Dumouriez, therefore, after dispatching general Lamarliere to levy contributions in the duchy of Cleves belonging to the king of Prussia, determined to march immediately against the Austrians, as he was forced to abandon the other part of his plan. But his army, still encamped behind Liege, was deprived of every comfort. Some of the battalions were entirely destitute of shoes and stockings; whole regiments were infected with disease; neither straw nor wood could be obtained; and Ronsin the commissary-general, who was at variance with the commander in chief, only supplied the army with provisions from day to day. In the midst of these multiplied difficulties the soldiers deserted in bands; and, as forage could not be procured, the artillery and cavalry suffered greatly, 6000 horses having actually perished in the course of two months. At length, however, having borrowed, or rather exacted, the sum of one hundred and fourteen thousand livres from the seven collegiate churches of Liege, he determined to set out in quest of the enemy, now posted in divisions communicating with each other at Aixla-Chapelle, Hervé, and Henry-Chapelle. Having dispatched colonels Trecheville and de Hack to act against their left flank, he ordered general Stengel to advance in front. The Imperialists, after maintaining their position for some time with their accustomed valour, retired with the loss of about three hundred men, and general Clairfayt immediately occupied a new and formidable position behind the Herfte. French had only to accomplish a march of ten leagues in order to dislodge him, but bread and forage were absolutely wanting to enable them. to conclude the campaign by so brilliant an enterprise.

The fortune of France in Germany was likewise upon the reverse. Custine, partly in consequence of not being properly supported by Kellermann, and partly by his own imprudance, was forced to evacuate Francfort; while the Prussians, who might have been destroyed during their retreat from France, after exhibiting the most distinguished marks of discipline and perseverance, now occupied that city, as well as Coblentz and Treves. The French general, so lately victorious on the banks of the Rhine and the Maine, was obliged to supplicate succour and assistance. To retrieve his recent misfortunes, he proposed to penetrate into Franconia, at the head of forty thousand troops, and Beurnonville was expressly entrusted with the army of the Moselle on purpose to assist him; but Valence was not permitted to attack Treves and Coblentz in conformity to his request, nor would Dumouriez march against and besiege Luxembourg with a view of producing a diversion in his favour, although the executive council had issued its commands for that purpose. Money, provisions, magazines, and even arms and ammunition, were, however, all wanting at this moment.

Under pretext of consulting the ministers relative to the approaching campaign, Dumouriez repaired to Paris about this period; but his real

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motive, according to his own account, was to save the life of the unfortunate monarch. To effect this, he pretends to have secretly introduced a considerable body of troops into the capital, and to have employed general Thousenot, and an adjutant of the name of Poutrel, to direct their movements.

END OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1792.

THE LIVES OF THE GREAT CAPTAINS OF MODERN HISTORY.

IT is our purpose under this head to execute a task very much wanted, that of giving a complete collection of The Lives of the Great Captains of Modern History. As far as respects France this has been already executed by Brantome, but we have no English Writer who has attempted it. The materials of these Lives will be as follows: 1. Where the subjects themselves have left their own Memoirs, they shall be given in full. 2. Where these Lives have been written by any author of authority, they will likewise be given in full,—such work being translated or reprinted. 3. In want of such materials, the best will be selected from the annals and memoirs of the age in which they lived.

THE LIFE OF JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH. (Continued from Vol. II.)

BOOK III.

To the Battle of Ramilies, and the Reduction of Brabant and Flanders.

THE duke of Marlborough, having marched to Sefellingen, continued there some days, to concert with the imperial generals the further operations of the campaign. On the 23d of August, a trumpeter came to his camp, from the elector of Bavaria, with a letter for his grace, desiring him to give conveyance to one inclosed for the electress; who having set out to follow her husband, and not been able to join him. was returned to Munich with her children, under a guard of 14 squadrons. The duke sent immediately that letter to her electoral highness by a trumpeter, and on the 24th had a long conference with prince Lewis (who had abandoned the siege of Ingoldstadt, by the advice of the other princes, in the opinion that it must soon surrender voluntarily.) and Prince Eugene, wherein it was resolved, that since the enemy were retiring towards the Rhine, all the forces should likewise march that way, except 20 battalions and 40 squadrons, which should be left under the command of general Thungen, to carry on the siege of Ulm. It was resolved also, that count Wratislau, minister of the emperor, should continue in the camp before that place, to manage the negociations with the electress of Bavaria, who made some proposals to deliver up that place, and the whole electorate, upon certain conditions.

This resolution being taken, the confederate troops began their march from the neighbourhood of Ulm by different routes, and part of the

English passed the Neckar at Lauffen the 1st of September, and the 3d encamped at Eppingen. They then marched to join the rest of the confederate troops about Philipsburg, where Prince Eugene arrived the 2d, to give the necessary directions for passing the Rhine, the siege of Landau being resolved upon. About this time the three princes made a visit to the duke of Wirtemberg at Stutgard, where they were received with all imaginable respect and magnificence.

General Thungen, who was left to carry on the siege of Ulm, having formed it, and received his great artillery the 8th of September, the garrison beat a parley the 10th, and the 11th surrendered the place upon honourable terms; which the imperial guard granted, that no time might be lost from the further execution of the projects of the campaign. The imperialists found in Ulm 122 pieces of brass cannon, 12 of iron, 25 mortars of brass, 1 of iron, 1200 barrels of gun-powder, with a great quantity of other ammunition. General Thungen, having reduced that place, made a detachment of some part of his troops to reinforce the imperialists and Franconians about Ingoldstadt, which was still blocked up, and marched with the rest to the camp before Landau.

The duke of Marlborough, prince Lewis, and Prince Eugene, having passed the Rhine, and encamped about the Spierbach, the marshal Villeroy assembled all his troops, and posted himself on the river Queich, in a most advantageous camp between Landau and Germersheim. where he seemed resolved to make a stand: but, upon the motion of the confederates, he retired towards Haguenau, and the allies pursued him as far as the river Lutter; from whence prince Lewis marched back to besiege Landau, and the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene encamped at Croon-Weissenburg to cover the siege. The place was invested the 13th of September, and the duke of Montfort, majorgeneral, who had put a reinforcement into it, was attacked in his return by the imperial hussars, and put to the rout. That general made a noble resistance, but was mortally wounded, so that he died two days after, All possible care was taken to bring the heavy artillery before Landau; but yet it was impossible to open the trenches till the 19th. The king of the Romans, who commanded the siege in chief, arrived in the camp the 22d, and the duke of Marlborough waited upon him the next day. About this time the duke of Lorrain sent one of his chamberlains to compliment the king, and another to the duke of Marlborough; and desired that his territories, which lay open to the excursions of the hussars, might be preserved.

The siege of Landau lasted much longer than was expected at first; and those who had flattered themselves, that the fortifications of that place were not completed, were very much mistaken. The damage they had received in the two last sieges was not only repaired, but several new works were now made to that place, which was much stronger than before, and better provided. The French, having observed that the safety of the town consisted in the outworks, had not only enlarged the redoubt called the Lunette of Melac (which was taken the 10th of

October, after a stout resistance), but they had undermined all the glacis, counterscarps, and covert-ways, which rendered the approaches extremely difficult, and took up a considerable time; the besiegers being obliged to advance to the counterscarp by sap, without daring to attempt it otherwise. Having discovered several mines, they ventured the 18th to beat the enemy from the counterscarp: but the attack beginning two hours sooner than had been resolved, they could not maintain their ground on the left, and only lodged themselves on the saliant angle on the right. They continued the sap, and the 31st they lodged themselves on the pallisades, and raised batteries to make a breach.

The length of that siege made the duke of Marlborough very uneasy at Croon-Weissenberg, his grace being afraid he should not have time to execute his designs on the Moselle, which were no less important than the taking of Landau. This uneasiness increased upon advice that the French intended to send a reinforcement towards Triers, from the Netherlands and Haguenau. He then resolved to pursue the enemy, and to march thither in person with part of his forces; leaving the rest, under the command of prince Eugene, at Croon-Weissenberg. This resolution being taken, his grace sent some battalions, and a detachment of horse, to fortify that post. That detachment was followed by another, with the artillery, commanded by colonel Blood; and on the 22d, the rest of the forces designed for that expedition marched to Homburg, where the duke joined them on the 24th. His grace marched with great expedition through a mountainous country, almost desert, in order to prevent the junction of the troops from the two camps of the enemy. He arrived the 28th, at night, at Hermerskel, within six leagues of Triers, where three deputies of that city came to him, and acquainted him, that the French having still 300 men in the fort, they were apprehensive of some ill usage, if his grace did not prevent it. This advice obliged him to march the 29th, before break of day, with all the cavalry, and four battalions; and about 11 o'clock, his van-guard appearing in sight of Triers, the French quitted the fort, having thrown their ammunition and some corn into the Moselle. His dragoons pursued them to the banks of the river, and took part of their baggage, and 10 or 12 prisoners. They had no sooner passed the river than they burnt the flying bridge, and in all likelihood would have done more damage, had they had time to execute it.

The duke, having thus possessed that important post, summoned a great number of pioneers to work on the fortifications, and went on the 31st of October to view the ground about the Saar; causing a camp to be marked there for the horse, to cover those fortifications, where they encamped the next day. The 1st of November he made the repartition of the winter-quarters to the several generals under him, went to Traerbach, took a narrow view of the place, gave the necessary orders for the siege of it by the prince of Hesse-Cassel, and then returned to the camp of Croon-Weissenberg. The French all this while made no motions, but perfected their lines about Haguenau. Their parties appeared

frequently on the other side of the Rhine, but more to get horses than any thing else.

Frequent expresses arrived in this camp before Landau from Bavaria; for the emperor having referred to the king of the Romans the management of the war, nothing could be done in the treaty without his ad-The states of Bavaria made several offers for an accommodation, but they were rejected, and the evacuation of Straubingen and Passau was insisted on as a preliminary towards a treaty. The marquis of Pric, ambassador of Savoy, arrived at Croon-Weissenberg, to confer with the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene. He had afterwards audience of the king of the Romans; and in a conference with that monarch, prince Lewis of Baden, prince Eugene, and the duke of Marlborough, they concerted the number of forces to be sent into Italy, and their The envoy of the king of Poland likewise arrived there, and it was agreed that the duke of Marlborough should take a journey to the court of Berlin. Meantime, the length of the siege of Landau gave birth to a world of speculations, and revived several discourses, to the prejudice of prince Lewis of Baden. But, besides that Landau was well fortified, and its garrison numerous, the besiegers were short in their artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries.

The duke of Marlborough, having taken leave of the king of the Romans and the two princes, set out for Berlin by the way of Cassel, where he was welcomed with the discharge of the cannon of the place, and received with all imaginable honours. He continued his journey from thence, and arrived at the capital of Brandenburg the 22d of November, in the evening. His Grace, upon his coming there, was met out of the town by the king's great chamberlain, the field-marshal, the lord Raby, envoy extraordinary from the queen of Great Britain, and several other persons of quality, who conducted him to the house for entertainment of ambassadors, where, with his retinue, he was lodged, and entertained during his stay there. He had audience that evening of the king and queen, and was received with great kindness and esteem. The 24th the prince royal entertained him at dinner, where were the king and queen, with the foreign ministers, and several persons of quality; and at night his royal highness gave a supper, and afterwards a splendid ball. for his grace's entertainment. The 25th, the king had for his diversion a combat of wild beasts, in his amphitheatre; and at a supper which the lord Raby gave his grace, his majesty, with the margrave his brother, came and supped with him. The ministers of this court, the foreign ministers, and other persons of quality, all strove in a particular manner to express their sense of his personal merit, and of the signal advantages the empire had received by his courage and conduct. The 26th, accompanied by the prince royal of Prussia, the duke left Berlin, and proceeded for Hanover, being extremely well satisfied with his reception, and the success of his negotiation. The king gave him, at his departure, a hat, with a diamond button and loop, and a diamond hatband, valued at between 20 and 30,000 crowns; two fine saddle herses, with very rich furniture, and many other presents. His majesty also gave noble presents to his secretary, and the other principal persons of his grace's retinue.

The duke, in this visit, prevailed with the king to continue, and even to augment his forces in Italy, when he was on the point of recalling them from the duke of Savoy's service; which kept the Savoyard steady to the alliance. And his grace also laid down such schemes to the court of Berlin, as deferred their pretensions to the late king William's estate to a better opportunity, and prevented some misunderstandings betwixt the Prussians and the Dutch about that affair: which wise conduct of his, in these particulars, caused the whole confederacy to acknowledge, "that he had done the greatest services that could be, to the common cause, at that juncture."

The treaty with the electress of Bavaria was at last concluded, and signed by the king of the Romans in the camp before Landau. The chief articles of it were, "That Ingoldstadt, Landshut, Branau, and all the other fortresses in Bavaria, were to be put into the hands of the emperor: that the Bavarian troops should be immediately dishanded, except such who would voluntarily enter into the emperor's service: that the electress should be allowed to keep 400 men for her guard in Munich; but that the fortifications of that place should be demolished: that a certain sum should be allowed to that princess, out of the yearly income of the electorate, for the support of her court and family: with several other particulars relating to the contributions there." All the confederates were glad to hear that affair was adjusted, except some of the ministers at Vienna, who had interest enough to make the emperor hesitate several days about the ratification of that treaty.

The imperial troops being marched to take possession of Ingoldstadt, the Bavarian garrison refused to evacuate that place, and declared that they would not do it till they were paid off their arrears. Their generals used all possible endeavours to persuade them to submit, but to no purpose. The affair, however, was at last adjusted by prince Eugene.

M. de Laubanie, governor of Landau, continued to make a gallant defence. The imperialists carried on their approaches by the sap, and their batteries being finished, they played upon the half-moon, and other works, with a great deal of fury. They also prepared galleries to pass the ditch, and storm the counter-guards. The half-moon was stormed the 15th of November, and the besiegers lodged themselves on it with very little loss. The enemy were afterwards obliged to quit the counter-guards, and all things being ready for a general storm, the governor beat a parley the 23d. Hostages were then exchanged, and the king of the Romans was willing to grant them honourable conditions. The garrison marched out the 26th, in the presence of the king, the elector-palatine, prince Lewis, prince Eugene, and several other princes and generals. They were about 3400; and, as they were at the beginning of the siege 7000 strong, they had lost very near as many men as the besiegers. The king of the Romans went into the place, which was but a

heap of ruins, and gave the command of it to the count de Frise, who the year before defended it against the French. M. de Laubanie, the governor, having been blinded by a bomb, could not march out with his garrison through the breach, but was forced to sit in a calash.

The English forces, having continued at Croon-Weissenberg as long as there was any likelihood that the French would attempt to relieve Landau, decamped the middle of November. The foot embarked on the Rhine for Holland, and the horse marched by much the same route they kept when they came into Germany. I must just take notice, that while the imperial army was before Landau, and the French near Haguenau, the governor of Friburg attempted to surprise Old Brisac, in the same manner as prince Eugene had attempted to surprise Cremona. The same prince projected this enterprise.

Traerbach being invested the beginning of November, the batteries began to play the 18th with so much success, that on the 21st, the besiegers attempted to storm and scalade the castle; but the rock proved so steep on that side, and the rain was so violent, that they were obliged to retire. They made another attempt the 23d, in the night, when part of the troops commanded for the service missed their way; and so the allies were obliged to abandon that attack, and remove their batteries on the other side, where the ascent of the rock was more easy. It was at first thought that the French would interrupt that siege; but they, having sent their troops into winter quarters, made no motions for that purpose. M. d'Averquerque, who had this year commanded in the Netherlands, and now lay encamped to cover the siege, was ordered to separate the forces of the states, and return to the Hague, where the duke of Marlborough arrived the 13th of December. His grace came to Hanover the first, was received with all imaginary honours, and continued there four days, when, having finished his negociations, he set out for Amsterdam, having been invited thither in great ceremony. His reception was equal to the solemnity of his invitation. Burgomaster Whitsen, and the pensionary, complimented him in the name of the whole magistracy, congratulating his safe return from his glorious campaign, and his victories at Schellenberg and Hockstedt.

The duke, after his arrival at the Hague, was daily in conference with the deputies of the states, and the foreign ministers, about the present conjuncture of affairs. He received the thanks of the states-general, and an assembly was convened on purpose to honour him with their public acknowledgments, which were delivered in form by the president of the week. He continued there till towards the end of the month, and then set sail for England, being accompanied to Rotterdam by the prince royal of Prussia, and conducting with him marshal Tallard, and the rest of the French general officers, who fell to the share of the English. At his arrival in England, he met with still greater honours: for the queen and her royal consort received him with the highest esteem, and he had the thanks of both houses of parliament. The lord

keeper, Sir Nathan Wright, made an harangue to him in the house of lords, in which the great actions of the year are thus displayed.

"The happy success that has attended her majesty's arms, under your grace's conduct in Germany, in the last campaign, is so truly glorious in all its circumstances, that few instances in the histories of former ages can equal, much less exceed the lustre of it. Your grace has not over-thrown young unskilful generals, raw and undisciplined troops; but your grace has conquered the French and Bavarian armies; armies that were fully instructed in all the arts of war—select veteran troops, flushed with former victories, and commanded by generals of great experience and bravery.

"The glorious victories your grace has obtained at Schellenberg and Hockstedt are very great, very illustrious in themselves: but they are greater still in their consequences to her majesty and her allies. The emperor is thereby relieved; the empire itself freed from a dangerous enemy in the very bowels of it; the exhorbitant power of France is checked; and I hope a happy step made towards reducing that monarch within his due bounds, and securing the liberties of Europe.

"The honour of these glorious victories, great as they are (under the immediate blessings of Almighty God), is chiefly, if not alone, owing to your grace's conduct and valour. This is the unanimous voice of England, and all her majesty's allies."

The house of commons thanked his grace as usual by a deputation, and addressed the queen to perpetuate his memory: Whereupon her majesty declared her inclination to grant the interest of the crown in the honour and manor of Woodstock, free of all incumbrances; and a bill was passed by both houses for that purpose.

I conclude the transactions of this year with observing, that the strong fortress of Traerbach was at last obliged to surrender to the prince of Hesse-Cassel, notwithstanding the bad weather, which had much retarded the siege. After a long and obstinate defence, the governor of the castle perceiving that the prince was drawing a line on the bank of the ditch, to erect a battery there, in order to make a breach in the wall, beat a parley on the 18th of December, about four in the afternoon, and hostages were exchanged to agree upon the points demanded. The garrison marched out on the 20th, in the morning, being in all but 250 men; whereas they were 600 before the siege. This acquisition cost the Dutch 1000 men killed and wounded. They found in the place 26 cannon and three mortars, with a good quantity of ammunition and provisions, and 24 hogsheads of wine.

Notwithstanding these wonderful successes on the Danube and the Rhine, the affairs of the house of Austria were far from being in the best situation; and the presence of king Charles III. on the frontiers of Spain had not the influence that was generally expected. The Portuguese, having in a long peace unlearned the art of war, were short in their preparations; but yet, towards the latter end of the campaign, marched

into Spain, and forced the Spaniards to entrench themselves behind a river, where it was impracticable to attack them.

The confederate fleet in the Streights got, indeed, two considerable advantages. They took Gibraltar, a place so strong by its situation, that the enemy did not fancy they could so much as have a design to attack it; and then they worsted the French fleet, which came out of Toulon clean, and extraordinarily well manned, under the command of the count of Thoulouse; who, besides that advantage, being superior in great ships, and having 24 gallies with him, was confident of an antira victory. That young admiral found himself mistaken, and, it ough his palliated his disgrace in his letters to the French king, had not the assurance to say that he had got the victory, but used the more angulast word advantage.

The main seat of the war having been transferred into Germany from the Netherlands, nothing material was transacted on that side, and the many endeavours of M. d'Auverquerque to engage the enemy were to no purpose. They kept close behind their lines; and the bombardment of Bruges and Namur, with the taking of the fort of Isabeha, were not sufficient to prevoke the gravity of the marquis de Bedmar to fight; and when the elector of Bavaria was arrived at Brussels, and declared his resolution to attack the army of the states, marshal Villeroy opposed it, and shewed him a positive order of his master, whereby he was forbid to venture upon an engagement.

to venture upon an engagement.
The total overthrow of the Fre

The total overthrow of the French forces in Germany, the retaking of Landau, and the securing of Triers, and other posts on the Moselle and the Saar, (as related in the preceding pages), made the French very uneasy, and desirous of peace. They began to repent the violation of the famous treaty of partition, which might have saved millions of men; and, in order to feel the pulse of the allies, they proposed a second partition of the Spanish monarchy. This new project was first printed in the Netherlands, in a kind of journal, and afterwards reprinted in other places by itself. The whole substance thereof run upon this: "that Philip should continue king of Spain and the Indies, and king Charles be put in possession of Naples, Sicily, and Milan; and that the Spanish Netherlands be yielded by the respective parties for ever to the elector of Bavaria." This expedient, they gave out, would cure all the jealousies and oppressions Europe groaned under, and secure a lasting peace. But the English and Dutch were not yet in a temper to lay down their arms, and declared they would never do it whilst the house of Bourbon was in possession of the throne of Spain, and consequently whilst it was in the power of the French to exclude them from the beneficial trades of the West-Indies and Turkey.

(To be continued.)

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MEMOIR OF THE FRENCH WAR-OFFICE

ON THE FRONTIERS OF FRANCE OPPOSED TO HOLLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS.

Published from the Depôt de la Guerre during the Ministry of Carnot.

It is scarcely necessary to impress upon the reader the value of these Official Memoirs, published during the War-Ministry of a man, who was expressly saved from the Guillotine for being the man who first organised Victory for the French, who invented the Conscription, who defended Antwerp, and is now the acting first Minister of Buonaparte. The excuse for the publication of these Memoirs renders them still more interesting. "We should not have given publicity (say the French Editors, in 1808.) to Memoirs thus fully explanatory of the strength and weakness of our Netherland frontier, unless the victories of France, by extending that frontier to the Rhine, had rendered such reserve now unnecessary; for what injury can we now sustain by making public the state of our Dutch and Belgic frontier in 1792.—Our frontier is now the Rhine.

FIRST MEMOIR.

On the Frontier of Flanders from Dunkirk to Charlemont and Givet. By M. de la Fitte Clavé.

THE frontier of France against Holland, and the Netherlands, that is to say the north-eastern frontier of France, is that line of country, which, beginning at Dunkirk on the north sea, thence extends southeasterly to Strasburg on the Rhine; and thence nearly follows the Rhine up to Huniguen and Basle. In considering this line it is usual to regard it as consisting of three parts.

The first of these commencing at Dunkirk extends thence to Charlemont and Givet; the mouth of the Sambre.

The second from Charlemont and Givet to the left bank of the Sarre.

The Third from the left bank of the Sarre to Huniguen and Basle.

My present subject is the first part of this line, from Dunkirk to Charlemont.

It is scarcely possible, upon surveying this country in a general point of view to conceive a stronger frontier than this line exhibits; and particularly that point of it between Dunkirk and Valenciennes, every town, almost, being fortified by Vauban in the time of the full maturity of his talents, and when the wealth and pride of Louis the XIVth, at that time young, rich, and glorious, afforded this marshal the ample means. This line, moreover, being full of salient angles, receives nearly as much from nature as from art; the enemy would scarcely have passed it, before his first success, having led him into a position where he is flanked on all sides, would only more endanger him. He would be in the condition of an army which should break through a fortified circle; he would have

forced the redoubts in front only to bring himself within the range of those on his flanks.

Let us suppose, for example, that the enemy should have placed his magazines at Tournay, Mons, Brussels, and Namur, and that his army is 100,000 men. To oppose this army it would be necessary that the French should have two armies, -the one of 40,000 posted upon the Sambre towards Charleroi; and the other in the environs of Conde. Let any one inform me how the enemy would be able to advance against this force so posted. If he neglected to masque, and in a most efficient manner, our army on the Sambre, that army would march immediately upon Brussels, and would there be immediately upon his rear. In the war of the succession, 1706, the victory of Ramilies certainly enabled the allied armies under Marlborough to act offensively against the French territories. But, even after seven years success, they could not pass bevond Landrecies, only twenty-five miles from the frontier of the Low Countries; and the check which they received at Denain, was sufficient to compel Prince Eugene to raise the siege of Landrecies, and to lose at once all the conquests acquired by so much blood and treasure.

And let me here add, that the allies could never have penetrated so far had the French generals of those days understood the art of defensive war as now practised; had they limited themselves, having inferior armies, to attacking the allies on their flanks, instead of meeting their vastly superior forces in front.* It is scarcly possible, that a large army or armies can operate on a long line without frequently exposing themselves to these flank assaults; and an able general, by availing himself quietly of these errors of those opposed to him, and leading a compact, expeditionary, and alert army, against them, may operate wonders.

Let us now, however, descend to particular features of this line of frontier, and enquire briefly what are the strong places by which it is guarded, and what are their present advantages or defects. This principle must always be remembered, that a line of frontier is good or bad, is strong or weak, accordingly as it enables an inferior force to maintain its ground against a superior one. Let me now presmise three principles.

It is a first rule in frontier defence, that rivers, canals, and dikes, must not be overlooked, and must be improved where they already exist. It is a second good rule, that the line of defence should be as nearly as possible a right line, both that the communication may be the shortest possible, and that the enemy, by taking a position between the legs of a re-entring angle, may not menace more points than one, and thus harass us by perpetual vigilance. And it is a third principle, that a plain country requires a greater number of fortresses than a mountainous one; that these fortresses should be so contiguous as to leave no un-

^{*} I would humbly recommend the whole of this sentence to the most attentive consideration of the readers, as it appears to me to characterise very strongly the tactics of Buouaparte, and what his military merit chiefly consists in, a wonderful coup d'œil; an astonishing alertness and activity, and the art of inspiring the same personal ardour into his troops.

guarded interval, and that a second line of fortresses should be prepared to receive an enemy after he has mastered the first. And in planting these strong towns, care should be taken to provide a place of retreat or muster for a defensive army.

Before I examine our present line of frontier according to these and other principles, I will briefly consider that more antient frontier which Louis the XIVth acquired by conquest, and which Vauban fortified.

The Sambre was the line of defence from Namur to Maubeuge; and was itself defended by these two towns and Charleroi between them. The situation of Namur, at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse. is excellent. This line of the Sambre was covered in the advance by Mons. Tournay and Menin covered in the same manner Valenciennes. Douay, and Lille, and were in turn protected by them. The town of Ath, like an advanced detachment of an army, prevented the enemy from moving by surprise from the right to the left; covered Mons and Tournay, and was always at hand for a good offensive position. Ipres, Kenoque, Furnes and Nieuport, by means of their canals, and their water-dykes, were an excellent cover for all Artois and Maritime Flanders. The Minister at War will here be pleased to remark, that the line of defence from Lille to the sea, by Ipres and Nieuport, is not more than twenty-five iniles, whilst the actual line, following the Deule, the Lys, the canal of Artois, La Colme, Bergues and Dunkirk, is fifty miles. So well was this defence contrived under the skill of Vauban.

. But in despite of this strength of our frontier, the allied armies under Marlborough attacked us upon it in the year 1701. It has always been a subject of astonishment with military men, that when they gained the battle of Ramilies in 1706, they did not immediately lay siege to Mons and Charleroi. The taking of these towns would have broken our defensive line on the Sambre, and would have enabled them to penetrate into Champagne. But they preferred to begin by the siege of Menin. which they forced by their superior artillery, but which, even in despite of their artillery, we should have saved, if the French generals had kept their army entire. Two years afterwards (for it was the effect of their errors that their progress was very slow), they laid siege to Lille; and here likewise experienced the greatest difficulties because they had not taken Tournay and Mons: the siege lasted the whole campaign, and they succeeded at last only by having their ammunition, provisions, &c. from Ostend. In the following year, 1709, they laid siege to Tournay. with which they ought to have begun. They now began to learn their error, in leaving places on their flanks whilst they were forcing forwards: and to repair it they now besieged Tournay and Mons.

In 1710, the allies resolved to lay siege to Douay, but to effect this it was necessary to begin by forcing our army in line. This line, on the one side, joined the Scarpe and the Scheldt from the abbey of Hamon to that of Denain; and on the other joined the Deule to Pont-a-Vendin, and passed by Lens and Bethune to St. Venant upon the Lys. Marlborough, owing to the rash honour of our troops, who would never refuse a challenge.

succeeded in forcing this line at Pont-a-Vendin. The allies then proceeded to the siege of Douay, in which, after a great loss, they succeeded. Our defensive army then covered Cambray and Arras, upon which the allies turned aside, and took Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant.

In the following campaign, 1711, the allies only took Bouchain. In the next, 1712, they undertook the siege of Landrecies, and were employed in it when their army received a check at Denain. The effect of this check was to interrupt their communication with their depôts at Marchiennes, and thus to compel them to raise the siege, and to fall back by Bavai upon Mons. Their reverses now began. They successively lost Douay, Quesnoy, and Bouchain. It is indeed amazing that they should have committed this error of penetrating into the country between Cambray and Valenciennes; leaving such a length of line behind them, and every part of which it was necessary for them to guard in order to support their communication. But they had resolved to advance, at whatever risque, towards Paris; and as they could not force Cambray or Arras, they laid siege to Quesnoy, and afterwards to They reckoned too much upon their numerical superiority, and upon our comparative weakness, and they paid the consequences.

Thus, after six successful campaigns, the allies had only taken from us the towns of Menin, Ath, Lille, Tournay, Mons, Douay, Bethune, Aire, St. Venant, Bouchain, and Quesnoy. At Landrecies they were repulsed. But even supposing that Landrecies had fallen, they must still have taken Cambray before they reached the Somme, and afterwards Peronne, St. Quentin, Guise and La Fere.

The present frontier (1792, before the annexation of the Netherlands, and therefore the same as now in 1815), has not the same advantages as

the ancient one of Louis the XIVth.

The principal places are Dunkirk, Bergues, Saint Omer, Aire, Saint Venant, Lille, Douay, Valenciennes, Conde, Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Phillipville and Charlemont.

The line of defence from Dunkirk to Lille is composed of the canal of Bergues, of the Colme, of the Aa, of the canal of Artois, of the Lys, and of the Deule.

From Lille to Maubeuge, the Deule, or the canal of Douay, is the line of defence as far as Douay; and the Scarpe and the Scheldt from Coude to Valenciennes. But from Valenciennes to Maubeuge the country is entirely open, and Quesnoy, which is situated in a re-entrant angle between these two places, uselessly prolongs the line. It would have been infinitely better to have fortified the post of Bavai; and if this had been fortified in the action at Denain, Prince Eugene would not have so easily have effected his retreat upon Mons. I would strongly recommend that Orchies should be forthwith fortified, as it would thus at once protect Douay, and greatly add to the strength of Lille. The further bank of the Marque would be a noble position for a defensive army,

From Manbeuge to Charlemont there is only the small fortress of Phillipville, ten miles from Charlemont, and twenty-two (English) miles from Maubeuge. An intermediate space is therefore here wanting. Beaumont is the proper point for this post.

Let me now present to your Lordship (the Minister of War) my notions of the just defence of this frontier. I would begin by establishing my general Depôt at Douay. It may possibly be objected that this Douay is not equally distant from Dunkirk and Charlemont, the two extreme points, and therefore that with Charlemont, from which it is more remote than from Dunkirk, it would have a more difficult communication. This is true; but the inconvenience is compensated by the greater difficulty with which an enemy would attack this part of the frontier from Charlemont to Douay. In a word, the total want of all possible forage, owing to the marshes and forests in that quarter, puts this part of the frontier in safety, and in the actual event of any attack, the towns upon the Meuse might with ease repel it. Let me suppose, therefore, that Douay is fixed as the depôt of the defensive army. I propose then that the canal from Bassée to Gorgogne upon the Lys should be fortified in its two extremities. This measure would put Bethune and Aire into a state of security, and would give us an entire and strong line even if Lille was taken. Deulemont, at the confluence of the Deule and the Lys, might be strengthened by a redoubt, and at the same time, and in the same manner, Cassel. This would secure the easy march of troops from Douay to Bergues and Dunkirk.

As to the frontier to the right of Douay, the communication is already complete and secure by the canal of La Cense, which, by uniting the Scarpe below Douay to the Scheldt below Bouchain, gives us an open and safe communication with Valenciennes and Conde. I would propose even to form a new line of communication with Maubeuge, which might be effected by carrying a short canal to the little river Ecaillon, and a second canal from that river to Landrecies upon the Sambre. This line would be of great importance;—a similar communication might be made with great ease from Maubeuge to Charlemont. Beaumont might thus receive succours from Maubeuge, and Phillipville from Charlemout; and lines might with great ease be drawn in the intervals of these two places so as to cover Champagne. It would be sufficient to compose these lines of abbatis formed from the adjacent forests.

Dunkirk, it will be seen, is a most important point in this defence; it must therefore be restored to the condition in which Vauban had put it, in which case its large circuit, and its facility of inundation, would nearly render it impregnable. If the small rivers Aa and Colme, from St. Omer to Bergues, be put into a proper state of defence; if the post at Watten be duly fortified, and those of Linck and Looberg be put into repair, the enemy would be thus forced upon Dunkirk, but which he would invest in vain. This country, indeed,—I speak of that between the Aa, the Colme, and the canal of Bergues, is nearly the strongest in Europe; and is so intersected by canals, small rivers.

trenches, and water-dikes, that it may be defended foot by foot; and if such defence be made with moderate skill, an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men would have very little chance, if opposed by an army of one hundred thousand. It is the same with all the ground in advance of Dunkirk and Bergues. And even if the enemy, which is not to be expected, should actually take Dunkirk, the line of the Aa, from Saint Omer to Gravelines, would still remain to us; and if the left bank of that river be raised into a parapet, the defence will be very formidable.

From St. Omer to Aire, the canal of Artois forms the line of defence, and may be greatly improved. This canal connects the Lys and the Aa; it wants only the fort recommended by Vauban, and it would be perfect. But even as it is, it is a most valuable addition to the defence of this line.—But by all means we should cover this line of the canal by fortifying Cassel in advance of it; for if the enemy should break through this line, they would compel our defensive army to retire behind the Canche, abandon all the intermediate and collateral places to their own defence, and even lose our communication with the maritime places. In a word, as Dunkirk and Bergues cover the line of the Aa, so Cassel ought to cover the line formed by the canal of Artois and the Lys.

From Aire to Gorgogne, the line of defence is the Lys, and nothing more is required than to repair the banks of that river; and to secure the lock at Witts, by which means the country may be inundated at pleasure. The canal at Nieppe should likewise be strengthened by raising redoubts at Merville and St. Venant; for as this canal communicates with the Lys, it is necessary to secure it from the enemy. Gorgogne should likewise be fortified, and this part of the frontier is then complete.

The line of defence from Gorgogne to Douay, passing by Bassée, would moreover be covered by Lille; and if Deulemont and Orchies be fortified, they would all greatly strengthen each other. The enemy would have to make three sieges instead of one before he reached our first line, and our defensive army would have so many good positions, as to hang, in every post, upon the enemy's flank. If the enemy, for example, should establish his army between the Scheldt and the Lys, our defensive position between Lille and Orchies, behind the little river Morque, would cover several of our towns. If the enemy should move to the right, the salient angle of our position would put us greatly in advance of him, and enable us to reach any point before him. If he should move to the left to try to penetrate between Orchies and the Scarpe, we should be enabled to meet upon ground greatly in our favour, and our posts upon La Scarpe and St. Amand would be upon his flank.

From Dousy to Maubeuge, our main defensive line is composed of the canal of Moulinet, of that of La Cense, of the river Scheldt, of the canal connecting the Scheldt and the Sambre, and finally of the Sambre it setf. And this line is itself protected by the strong places of Dousy,

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Bouchain, Landrecies and Maubeuge; and would moreover be covered by Valenciennes and Quesnoy.

Our defensive line in advance of this main line is formed by the Scarpe and the Scheldt, on which are Valenciennes and Conde, and is likewise very strong. The enemy would be much embarrassed in his movements in this quarter. Our position behind the Scarpe would defend that river against his attempt to pass it, and he would be careful how he endeavoured to force it. And if he should pass the Scheldt (Escaut) with the purpose of repassing it between Conde and Montagne, we should be at Valenciennes to meet him. Remembering always, however, that Orchies should be fortified, by which means our army would be covered, and we should be enabled to move at will from the Lys to the Scheldt, and to succour Lille or Valenciennes at pleasure.

The line between Valenciennes and Maubeuge, eighteen English miles, would be sufficiently secured by fortifying Bavai, which is only eight miles from Maubeuge, and the same from Valenciennes. It is thus a central point, from which a defending army might move to either side. And as the enemy could not come in front of this line without passing the Henne, our defending army would have time to move forwards.

The line from Maubeuge to Charlemont has not the same advantage of canals and water-dykes; but the rough, and wooded nature of the country supplies that defect. The enemy must pass the Sambre to attack this line; a circumstance which would always give us time to bring up our defending army. Let us only fortify Beaumont, and we have nothing to apprehend in this part of our frontier. It is very improbable that the enemy should ever attempt it.

This plan which I present to your Lordship would certainly be expensive, though the whole number of posts which I recommend to be fortified, do not exceed eight. Two of these places, Merville and Deulemont, require only redoubts. Cassel, La Gorgogne, La Bassée, Orchies, Bavai, and Beaumont, should be regularly fortified; but as their circuit is not considerable, a hexagonal or heptagonal construction will be sufficient. The pass of Watten, near St. Omers, ought to be fortified in the same manner, being essential for the defence of the line of the Aa, and serving to keep the communication with Gravelines, Bergues, and Dunkirk.

I will now proceed to examine each place along our frontier in detail, in the course of which I shall endeavour to point out their offensive and defensive strength, and in what manner they may be besieged or relieved.

Dunkirk is in the happiest position of the whole line. As soon as his Majesty shall have duly repaired its fortifications, it will be a most formidable object to the most powerful enemy. The first operation should be to connect its defences with those of Bergues, Fort Louis, and Fort Francois. It will then be impossible to effect its circumvaliation, and it may at all times be assisted from Bergues, Gravelines, and St. Omers.

A small force of cavalry, introduced through Gravelines, would spread confusion through their ranks, for they could not approach to an equality with us in this arm of war, and cavalry could act upon the strand with great effect.

Bergues is almost unassailable till Dnnkirk be taken; for it may be inundated from the locks at Dunkirk. Neither could an enemy pass the Colme against a force ranged against its left bank formed in parapet; and if our troops should be pressed, we should only have to open the locks of the river Aa, by which we should throw all its waters into the Colme, and thereby inundate the country.

Let us suppose that the enemy debouche from Ipres and Furnes towards Bergues and Dunkirk; and that the opening of the dams and locks should inundate the country. Their only road would then be along the strand, in a heavy sandy road, till they came to the canal of Hondschotte, which they would have to pass. But this would give ample time for our defending army to come up; and a very small defensive force may do much with such advantages of ground. Dunkirk and Bergues are in fact the key of this country; they are the wing of an army, which our engineers have very properly rendered very strong. Their defences are completed by the line of the Aa and the canal of Artois. The neighbouring towns of Flanders are very weak.

Furnes is a small town, fortified only with a wet dyke, and on the farther side a rampart. It is defensible only against a coup de main-Nieuport is an irregular fortification in masonry, having walls and towers; and Ostend is chiefly protected by being in a situation to be in-undated. Bruges is of the same character; a part of its ancient walls and towers remain, but it is nearly as defenceless as an old church.

Let us suppose, however, contrary to all reasonable calculation, that Dunkirk and Bergues should be taken by the enemy, and that they should thence move upon Gravelines and St. Omers. It would be then necessary for us to fortify the posts of Bourbourg and Watten, and to ensure the communication with them by means of the water-dykes. The duration of the sieges would give us the time to erect these works, which would thus secure the points from which we could inundate Gravelines by the waters of the Aa. The communication between Bourbourg and Gravelines would greatly strengthen the latter. The main object of Gravelines is to strengthen the line of the Aa, to hinder the enemy from making the siege of St. Omers without first forcing that line.

Next to the siege of Dunkirk and Gravelines, the enemy may move upon Calvas or St. Omer, but most probably the former, as the road to it along the strand is not so difficult, as would be the forcing the different canals so as to reach St. Omer. This line might be put into condition whilst the enemy were occupied in the siege of Gravelines; the principal labour should be to erect redoubts in proper points, so as to hinder the enemy from draining off the waters. Its main and sufficient defences are these canals; and the place is so long safe as long as these shall be maintained.

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OFFICIAL NARRATIVES

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS OF BUONAPARTE,

SINCE THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

BEING A COMPLETE COLLECTION OF THE WHOLE OF THE BULLETINS PUBLISHED BY BUONAPARTE TO HIS ABDICATION.

IT is the well known opinion of some of our ablest Generals, that the French Bulletins of Buonaparte contain the most complete practical lessons of modern warfare, and with a due allowance for some exaggeration, include the fullest narrative of the most memorable campaigns on record. A wish, therefore, has often been expressed that they were all published in one form, so as to form a portable manual as well for future reference as for present study. It is our present purpose to effect this. In this, and in the following numbers of the Chronicle, we shall accordingly give a complete collection of the whole of the Bulletins published by Buonaparte. This began only in the first Campaign after he was Emperor. The form of a Bulletin being considered in foreign Cabinets as belonging only to Sovereigns.

CAMPAIGN IN PRUSSIA OF 1806-1807.

SEVENTY-FOURTH BULLETIN, continued from Vol. II.

AS soon as the enemy knew that his maritime expedition had arrived before Dantzic, his light troops began to reconnoitre and alarm the whole line, from the position occupied by Marshal Soult, on the Passarge, to that of General Morand, upon the Aller. They were received at the mouth of the musket by the voltigeurs, lost a considerable number of men, and retired with more precipitation than they came. The Russians also presented themselves at Malga, before General Zayonchek, the Commandant of the Polish corps of observation, and carried off one of his posts. The General of Brigade Fischer pursued, routed them, and killed sixty men, one colonel, and two captains. They likewise presented themselves before the 5th corps, and insulted General Gazan's advanced posts at Willenberg. This general pursued them several leagues. But they made a more serious attack upon the bridge of Omelew at Drenzewo. The General of Brigade Girard marched against them with the 88th, and drove them into the Narew. General Suchet arrived, pursued the Russians closely, and defeated them at Ostrolenka, where he killed 60 men, and took 50 horses. On the same day, the 13th, the enemy attacked Gen. Lemarrois, at the mouth of the Rug. This general had passed that river on the 10th, with a Bavarian brigade, and a Polish regiment, who, in the course of three days, had constructed several têtes-du-pont, and had advanced to Wiskowo, with the intention of burning the rafts which the enemy had been at work upon during six weeks. This expedition completely succeeded, and the ridiculous work of six weeks was destroyed in a moment. At 9 o'clock in the morning six thousand Russians arrived from Nur, and attacked him in his entrenched camp. They were received by musquetry and grape: three hundred were killed. And when General Lemarrois saw them on the borders of the ditch, he made a sally and pursued them with the sword in their loins. The Bavarian colonel of the 4th regiment was killed; and the Bavarians lost 20 men killed, and about 60 wounded. All the army is encamped in divisions of square battalions, in very wholesome situations. These affairs of advanced Vol. III. No. 13. N S

posts have not occasioned any movements in the army. Every thing is quiet at the head quarters. This general attack upon our advanced posts seems to have had no other object than to occupy the French army, so as to prevent them from reinforcing the troops employed in the siege of Dantzic. The hope of succouring Dantzic, by means of a maritime expedition, appears very extraordinary to well-informed military men, acquainted with the ground and the position occupied by the French army. The leaves begin to appear; and the season resembles the month of April in France.

SEVENTY-FIFTH BULLETIN.

FINCKENSTEIN, May 18th .-- THE following are the particulars of the affair Marshal Lefebvre makes a very favourable report of General Schramm, to whom he, in a great measure, imputes the favourable issue of the affair at Weichselmunde. On the morning of the 15th, at two o'clock, General Schramm had formed in order of battle, covered by two redoubts, thrown up opposite the fort of Weichselmunde. He had the Poles on the left, the Saxons in the centre, and the regiment of Paris in reserve. The Russian General Kaminskoy sallied from the fort at day-break; and after two hours hard fighting, the 12th regiment of light infantry, sent by Marshal Lefebvre from the left shore, and a battalion of Saxons, decided the victory. Scarcely a battalion belonging to Oudinot's corps had any occasion to take part in the action. Our loss is very trifling. M. Paris, a Polish colonel, was killed. The loss of the enemy is greater than we supposed. We have buried 900 Russians. We cannot reckon their loss at less than 2,500 men. We observed no more movements on the part of the enemy, who seemed to confine himself very prudently within the circuit of the works. The number of vessels sent off with the wounded was The Emperor has issued a decree for making every person who distinguished himself on this occasion a member of the Legion of Honour: they are about 30 in number. On the 14th, a division of 5,000 men, mostly Prussians, from Konigsberg, landed on the Nehrung, and advanced against our light cavalry as far as Karlsberg, who thought proper to fall back upon Furtenswerder. The enemy advanced to the extremity of the Frisch Haff. We expected they would have penetrated from thence to Dantzic. A bridge thrown over the Vistula at Furtenswerder made the passage easy for our troops cantoned in the island of Nogat, so that the infantry might have attacked the enemy's rear; but the Prussians were too wary to proceed. The Emperor ordered Gen. Beaumont, Aid-de-camp to the Grand Duke of Berg, to attack them. On the morning of the 16th, at two o'clock the General of Brigade Albert advanced, at the head of two battalions of grenadiers of the reserve, the 3d and 1st regiments of chasseurs, and a brigade of dragoons. He met the enemy about day-break, between Passenwerder and Stege, attacked him, routed, and closely pursued him 11 leagues: made 1100 prisoners, killed and wounded a great number, and took four pieces of cannon. Thus the enemy has suffered considerable losses, at various points, since the 12th. On the 17th the Emperor caused the fusileers of the guard to manœuvre: they are encamped near the castle of Finckenstein, in barracks equally as handsome as those at Boulogne. On the 18th and 19th the imperial guard encamped upon the same spot. Prince Jerome is encamped in Silesia, with a corps of observation, covering the siege of Neisse. On the 12th the Prince learned that a column of 3000 men had left Glatz to surprise Breslau. He ordered General Lefebvre to advance with the 1st Bavarian regi-

ment, and a detachment of 300 Saxons. In the morning of the 14th, the General came up with the enemy's rear near Cauth, which he immediately attacked. made himself master of the village with the bayonet, and took 150 prisoners: 100 of the Bavarian light cavalry fell upon those of the enemy, 500 in number, routed and dispersed them. The enemy again formed in order of battle, and offered resistance: 300 Saxons fled; this extraordinary conduct must have been the effects of dissatisfaction, as the Saxons have always behaved with valour ever since they joined the French. However, this unexpected event brought the 1st Bavarian regiment into a very critical situation. They lost 150 men, who were made prisoners, and they were compelled to beat a retreat, which they effected in good order. The enemy retook the village of Cauth. In the morning, at eleven o'clock, General Dumuy, who had advanced from Breslau with 1000 French dismounted dregoons, hussars and chasseurs, attacked the enemy in the rear: 150 of the hussars retook the village, after a charge with the bayonet; made 100 prisoners, and liberated all the Bavarians made prisoners by the Prussians. The enemy, in order to facilitate his retreat to Glatz, had separated in two columns. General Lefebvre, who left Schweidnitz on the 15th, fell in with one of these columns, killed 100, and made 400 prisoners, including 30 officers. A Polish regiment of lance-bearers had arrived on the preceding evening at Frankenstein, and a detachment of these being sent to join General Lefebvre; by Prince Jerome, distinguished themselves on this occasian. The second column endeavoured to regain Glatz, by passing the Silberberz. Lieutenant-General Ducoudrais, the Prince's aid-de-camp, fell in with them, and threw them in disorder: Thus a column of between 3000 snd 4000 men, that left Glatz, was unable to return. They have been either killed, made prisoners, or dispersed.

SEVENTY-SIXTH BULLETIN.

FINCKENSTEIN, May 20th.—A FINE English corvette, copper sheathed, having 120 English for her crew, and laden with powder and ball, presented herself off Dantzic, with an intention to enter that port. proaching near our works, she was attacked from both the shores with a heavy shower of musketry, and forced to surrender. A picquet of the regiment of Paris was the first to leap on board. An aid-de-camp of General Kalkreuth, who was on his return from the Russian head quarters, and several English officers, were taken on board the vessel. She is called the Undaunted, and had 60 Russians on board, besides the 120 English. The enemy's loss in the affair of Weichselmunde, on the 15th, was greater then was at first supposed. A Russian column, which held out to the last, was put to the bayonet to a man. There were 1300 Russians buried. On the 16th, a Russian division of 6000 men, under General Turkow, advanced from the Brock to the Bug, and towards Pultusk, with a view to prevent the execution of some new works for strengthening the tête-du-pont. These works were defended by six Bavarian battalions, under the command of the Crown Prince in person. The enemy advanced four times to the attack, and were four times repulsed by the Bavarians, and covered with grape shot from the batteries of the different works. Marshal Massena estimates the enemy's loss at 300 killed, and twice as many wounded. And what renders the conflict still more glorious is, that the Bavarians were not quite 400. The Royal Prince commends in particular the Bavarian General Baron Wrede, an officer of conspicuous merit. The loss of the Bavarians amounted to 15 killed and 150 wounded. The same mismanagement, as in the

attack of the 16th at Pultusk, was displayed in that which the enemy made on the 13th, against the works of Gen. Lemarrois; nor was their want of judgment less conspicuous in the preparation of a great number of rafts, which the enemy were preparing on the Bug for these six weeks past. The result was, that those rafts, which took them so long in preparation, were burnt in two hours' time; and that those repeated attacks upon works well contrived, and defended by strong batteries, without a chance of success, have produced them We are almost induced to think, that the purport of a considerable loss. these attacks was to draw the attention of the French army to their right wing. But the position of the army was calculated, by anticipation, for every case, and for all operations of attack and defence. In the mean while, the important siege of Dantzic is continued. The loss of that important fortress, and of the 20,000 men shut up within the same, will be severely felt by the enemy. A mine which was contrived near the outer bastion, had the effect of blowing it up. A communication has been opened with the covered way by four entrances, and we are employed in filling up the ditch. This day the Emperor reviewed the 9th provisional regiment. The first eight of those regiments have already been embodied. The Genoese conscripts among those regiments are much extolled for the readiness and zeal displayed by them.

SEVENTY-SEVENTH BULLETIN.

FINCKENSTEIN, May 29.—DANTZIC has capitulated. That fine city is in our possession. Eight hundred pieces of artillery, magazines of every kind, more than 500,000 quintals of grain, well-stored cellars, immense collections of clothing and spices; great resources of every kind for the army; lastly, a place of the first order for strength on our left wing, as Thorn supports our centre, and Prague our right; these are the advantages obtained during winter, and which have signalized the leisure hours of the grand army; this is, indeed, the first fruit of the victory of Eylau. The rigour of the season, the snow which has so often covered our trenches, the ice, which has added fresh difficulties, have afforded no obstacles to our operations. M. Lefebvre has braved all; he has animated with the same spirit the Saxons, the Poles, the troops of Baden, and has made them all conduce to his end. The difficulties which the artillery had to conquer were considerable. One hundred pieces of artillery, 5 or 6000 pounds weight of powder, and an immense quantity of bullets have been drawn from Stettin, and the strong places in Silesia. It was necessary to surmount many difficulties in removing the artillery, but the Vistula afforded easy and expeditious means. The marines of the guards have passed their boats under the fort of Graudentz with their accustomed skill and resolution. seloup, Gen. Kirgener, Col. Lacoste, and in general all the officers of the engineers, have served in the most distinguished manner. The sappers have shewn an uncommon degree of intrepidity. The whole corps of artillery, under Gen. Lariboissière, has sustained its reputation. The 2d regt. of light infantry, the 12th, and the troops of Paris, with Generals Schramm and Puthod, have distinguished themselves. A detailed journal of this siege will soon be drawn up with care. It will consecrate a great number of acts of bravery, worthy of being exhibited as examples, and such as must excite enthusiasm and admiration. On the 17th, the mine blew up a block house, attached to the guard-houseon the covered way. On the 19th, the descent and passage of the fosse were executed at seven o'clock in the evening. On the 21st, M. Lefebvre, having prepared every thing 1815.

for the assault, they were proceeding to the attack, when Colonel Lacoste. who had been sent in the morning into the place upon some business, signified that General Kalkreuth demanded to capitulate on the same conditions that he had formerly granted to the garrison of Mayence. This was agreed The Hackelsberg would have been stormed with very little loss, but the body of the place was yet entire. A large fosse, full of running water, presented such difficulties that the besieged might have held out for fifteen days longer. In this situation it appeared proper to grant them an honourable capitulation. On the 27th, the garrison marched out, with General Kalkreuth at its head. This strong garrison, which at first consisted of 16,000 men, was reduced to 9000 men, of which number 4000 have deserted. Among the deserters there are even officers. "We will not," they say, "go to Siberia." Many thousands of artillery horse have been given up to us, but they are in very bad condition. They are now drawing up the inventory of the magazines. General Rapp is named Governor of Dantzic. The Russian Lieutenant-General Kaminskoy, after having been beat on the 15th, retired under the forti cations of Weichselmunde. He remained there without venturing to undertake any thing; and he has been a spectator of the surrender of the place. When he perceived that they were erecting batteries, to burn his ships with red-hot balls, he embarked and retired. He has returned to Pillau. The fort of Weichselmunde Marshal Lefebvre summoned it on the 26th, and while they still held out. were regulating the terms of capitulation, the garrison advanced from the fort and surrendered. The commandant, thus abandoned by the garrison, saved himself by sea. and thus we are in possession of the town and port of Dantzic. These events are a happy presage of the campaign. The Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, were at Heiligenbeel. They might have conjectured the surrender of the place from the cessation of the fire. They might have heard the cannon from that distance. The Emperor, to express his satisfaction to the besieging army, has granted a present to each soldier. The siege of Graudentz is now commencing under the command of General Pictor. Gen. Lazowsky commands the engineers; and Gen. Dant's mard the artillery. Graudentz is strong from the number of its mines. The cavalry of the army is in fine order. The divison of light cavalry, two divisions of cuirassiers, and one of dragoons, have been reviewed at Elbing, on the 26th, by the Grand Duke of Berg. On the same day, his Majesty arrived at Bishoverden and Stalsburgh, where he reviewed Hautpoult's division of cuirassiers, and the division of dragoons of General Grouchy. He has been satisfied with their appearance. and with the good condition of their horses. The Ambassador of the Porte, Seid Mohammed Emen Vahid, has been presented, on the 28th, at two o'clocks to the Emperor, by the Prince of Benevento. He delivered his credentials to his Majesty, and remained an hour in his cabinet. He is lodged at the Castle, and occupies the apartments of the Grand Duke of Berg, who is absent on account of the review. It is confidently said, that the Emperor told him that he and the Sultan Selim would be, for ever after, inseparably connected as the right hand and the left. All the good news respecting the success at Ismail and in Wallachia have just arrived. The Russians have been obliged to raise the siege of Ismail and evacuate Wallachia.

Capitulation of Dantzic.

After a long resistance, and fifty-one days' open trenches, circumstances having rendered it necessary to negociate for the surrender of Dantzic to the

troops of his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and his Allies, the following Capitulation has been agreed upon, between his Excellency General Kalkreuth, Knight of the Orders of the Black Eagle of St. Andrew; and the General of Division Drouet, Commandant of the Legion of Honour, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Bavaria, Chief of the General Staff of the 10th Corps of the Army, provided with full powers by the Marshal of the Empire Lefebvre, Commandant in Chief of the said Corps:—

Art. I. The garrison shall march out on the morning of the 27th, with arms and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, with two pieces of light artillery, six pounders, and their ammunition waggous, each drawn by six horses.

II. The remainder of the artillery horses shall be delivered up to the French.

III. All the arms, of every kind, beyond what may be necessary for the officers and troops who leave the place, shall be delivered up to the Officers of Artillery nominated for that purpose.

IV. The garrison shall be conducted to the advanced posts of the army of his Prussian Majesty, at Pillau, passing through the Nehrung; and night quarters shall be assigned them for a march of five days.

V. The garrison engages not to act against the French army or its allies, during one year, reckoning from the day of signing the capitulation. General Count Kalkreuth, his Highness Prince Scherbatow, and the rest of the officers, engage, upon their honour, to observe, and cause the present article to be observed.

VI. Hackelsberg, and the gates of Oliva, Jacob, and Neugarten, shall be delivered up to the troops of his Majesty the Emperor and King, and those of his allies, on the 26th, at noon.

VII. The officers, subalterns, and privates, at present prisoners in Dantzic, whether belonging to his Majesty the Emperor, or his allies, shall be liberated without being exchanged.

VIII. In order to prevent confusion, the troops of his Majesty the Emperor, and those of his alties, shall not enter Dantzic till the Prussians and Russians have withdrawn. However a piquet shall be admitted into the place, and guards be posted at the gates.

IX. As the means of conveying the whole baggage out of the place are not sufficient, a vessel shall be granted to sail directly for Pillau. The freighting of this vessel shall be made in the presence of a French Officer, nominated for this purpose.

X. Officers of the Engineers and Artillery shall be nominated on both sides, to take charge of what relates to the army, not forgetting the plans, charts, &c.

XI. The magazines, regimental chests, and every thing in general, belonging to the King, shall be given up to the French Administration, and a Commissary shall be nominated to deliver them to the person provided with full powers to receive them by his Excellency Marshal Lefebvre.

XII. The Prussian Officers, prisoners on parole, who were with their families in Dantzic before the blockade commenced, may remain there, waiting for fresh orders from his Excellency the Prince of Neufchatel, Major-General; nevertheless, to enjoy this advantage, it will be necessary for them to produce a certificate, to attest that they have not taken any part in the defence of the place.

XIII. All the women belonging to the officers, and others, or persons in a

civil employ, shall be free to leave the place, and shall have passports granted them.

XIV. The sick and wounded shall be left to the generosity of his Excellency Marshal Lefebvre; Officers and Surgeons shall be left to take care of them, to preserve good order, and provide necessaries. As soon as they recover, they shall be sent to the advanced posts of the Prussian army, and enjoy the privileges of the capitalistion.

XV. An accurate list of the officers, subalterns, and privates of each regiment, shall be delivered to his Excellency Marshal Lefebvre. The military remaining in the hospitals shall be inscribed in a separate list.

XVI. His Excellency Marshal Lefebvre has assured the inhabitants of Dantzic, that he will use every means to cause persons and property to be respected; and that the best order shall be maintained in the garrison.

XVII. A superior officer shall be sent to the respective head-quarters to guarantee the execution of the capitulation.

His Excellency the Governor has nominated Major Lestocq.

His Excellency Marshal Lefebvre has appointed the Adjutant Commandant Guichard.

XVIII. The present capitulation shall be carried into execution, if, by the 26th at noon, the garrison shall not have been relieved. It is understood, that from the present time till then, the garrison of Dantzic shall not make any attack upon the besiegers, supposing any engagement should take place in the vicinity of the place.

Done at Dantzic, May 20, 1807.

1815.7

(Signed)

The General of Cavalry,
KALKREUTH, Governor.

SEVENTY-EIGHTH BULLETIN.

Battle of Spanden.—ON the 5th of June the Russian army put itself in motion. Its divisions on the right attacked the tête-du-pont of Spanden, which General Frere defended with the 27th regiment of light infantry. Twelve Russian and Prussian regiments made several ineffectual attempts. Seven times did they renew the attack, but were as often repulsed. The 17th regiment of dragoons charged the enemy immediately after the last assault, and forced them to abandon the field of battle. Thus, during a whole day, two divisions attacked without success a single regiment, which, it must be admitted, was entrenched. The Prince of Ponte Corvo, in visiting the entrenchments during the intervals of attack, received a slight wound, which will take him from his command fifteen days. Our loss in this affair was trifling. The enemy lost 1200 men, and a number of wounded.

Battle of Lomitten.—Two Russian divisions belonging to the centre attacked at the same time the tête-du-pont of Lomitten. General Fetry's brigade (part of Marshal Soult's corps) defended the tête-du-pont. The Russian General was killed, along with 1100 men; 100 were taken, and a great many wounded. We had 120 men killed and wounded. During this period, the Russian Commander in Chief, with the Grand Duke Constantine, the Imperial Guard, and divisions, attacked the positions of Marshal Ney, at Altzirken, Gutstadt, and Volfsdorff. The enemy were every where repulsed; but when Marshal Ney perceived that the force opposed to him exceeded forty thousand men, he obeyed his orders, and conducted his corps to Ackendorff.

Battle of Deppen.—On the following day, the enemy attacked the 6th corps in its positions at Deppen, on the Passarge. They were repulsed. The management of Marshal Soult, his intrepidity, which he imparted to all his troops, the abilities displayed in this situation by the General of Division-Marchand, and his officers, merit the highest eulogiums. The enemy acknowledges having lost this day 2000 killed, and more than 3000 wounded. Our loss was 180 killed, 200 wounded, and 250 taken. The latter were for the most part taken by the Cossaques, who, on the morning of the attack, had got into the rear of the army.

Battle of June 8.—The Emperor arrived at Marshal Ney's camp, at Deppen, on the 8th. He immediately gave the necessary orders. The 4th corps marched to Volfsdorff, where meeting the Russian division of Kaminskov, which was on its way to rejoin the main body, the 4th corps attacked it, deprived it of between four and five hundred men, made 150 prisoners, and in the evening took its position at Altzirken. At the same moment the Emperor advanced to Guttstadt with the corps of Marshal Ney and Lannes, his guard and the cavalry of reserve. Part of the rear-guard of the enemy, comprising 10,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry, took a position at Glottan, and attempted to dispute the way. The Grand Duke of Berg, after some very skilful manœuvres, drove the enemy from all their positions. The light brigades of cavalry under General Pagol, Bruyeres, and Durosnel, and the division of the heavy cavalry under General Nansouty, triumphed over all the efforts of the enemy. In the evening at eight o'clock we entered Guttstadt by main force: 1000 prisoners, all the positions in advance of Guttstadt, and the redoubts of the infantry, were the results of this day. The regiments of cavalry and the Swiss guard suffered more than any of the rest.

Battle of June 10.—On the 10th the army moved towards Heilsberg. It took several of the enemy's camps. About a quarter of a league beyond these camps the enemy shewed himself in a position. He had between 15 and 18,000 cavalry, and several lines of infantry. The cuirassiers of the division d'Espagne, the division of Latour Maubourg's dragoons, and the brigade of light cavalry, made several charges, and gained ground. At two o'clock the corps under Marshal Soult was formed. The divisions marched to the right, while the division of Lagrande marched to the left, to seize on the extremity of a wood, the occupation of which was necessary, in order to support the left of the cavalry, and make various efforts to maintain themselves in the positions before Heilsberg. More than 60 pieces of cannon scattered death in supporting the enemy's columns, which our divisions nevertheless repulsed, with the most unexampled intrepidity, and the characteristic impetuosity of the French. Several Russian divisions were routed, and at nine in the evening we found ourselves under the enemy's entrenchments. The fusileers of the guard commanded by General Savary were put in motion to sustain the division of Verdier; and some of the corps of infantry of the reserve, under Marshal Lannes, were engaged, it being already night-fall; they attacked the enemy with the view of cutting off his communication with Lansberg, and succeeded completely. The ardour of the troops was such, that several companies of the infantry of the line insulted the entrenched works of the Russians. brave men met their death in the ditches of the redoubts at the foot of the palisades. The Emperor passed the 11th on the field of battle. He there arranged the corps of the army and the divisions, preparatory to a decisive action, such a one as should put an end to the war. The whole of the Russian

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army was collected. The Russian magazines were at Heilsberg. The Russians occupied a fine position, which nature had rendered very strong, and which they increased by the labour of four months. At four in the afternoon the Emperor ordered Marshal Davoust to change his front, and push forward his left; this movement brought him upon the Lower Aller, and completely blocked up the road from Eylau. Every corps of the army had its post assigned to it; they were all re-assembled, the first corps excepted, which continued upon the Lower Passarge. Thus the Russians, who were the first to begin the battle, found themselves shut up in their entrenched camp, and were compelled to give battle in the position they had chosen themselves. It was for a long time believed they would make an attack on the 11th. At the moment when the French were making their dispositions, the Russians shewed themselves, ranged in columns, in the midst of their entrenchments, fortified with numerous batteries. But whether those entrenchments did not appear sufficiently formidable, after viewing the preparations which they saw before them; or whether the impetuosity which the French army had shewn on the 10th, had an effect upon them, they began to pass the Aller at ten o'clock at night, abandoning the whole country to the left, and leaving at the disposal of the conqueror, their wounded, their magazines, and their entrenchments, the result of long and painful labour. On the 12th, at day-break, all the corps of the army were in motion, and took different directions. The houses of Heilsberg and its neighbourhood are filled with wounded Russians. The result of the different affairs from the 5th to the 12th has deprived the Russian army of about 30,000 fighting men. They have left between three and four thousand prisoners in our hands; seven or eight pairs of colours, and nine pieces of cannon. According to the reports of the prisoners several of the most eminent Russian Generals have been killed or wounded. Our loss amounted to six or seven hundred killed, 2,000, or 2,200 wounded, and 500 prisoners. The General of Division Espagne was wounded. General Roussol, chief of the staff of the guard, had his head carried away by a cannon ball. The Grand Duke of Berg had two horses killed under him. M. Segur, one of his aides-decamp, lost an arm. M. Lameth, Marshal Soult's aide-de-camp, was wounded. M. Lagrange, Colonel of the 7th regiment of borse chasseurs, was killed. The detailed reports will communicate particular acts of bravery, and the names of those who were wounded in the memorable battle of June 10. Several thousand quintals of grain, and a great quantity of different kinds of provisions, have been found in the magazines of Heilsberg.

SEVENTY-NINTH BULLETIN.

Werlau, June 17.—THE actions of Spanden and Lomitten, the battles of Guttstadt and Heilsberg, were only the precursors of still more important events. On the 12th, at four in the morning, the French army entered Heilsberg. General Latour Maubourg pursued the enemy with his division of dragoons, and Generals Durosnel and Wattiers' brigade of light cavalry, to the right bank of the Aller, near Bartenstein. In the mean time the light corps advanced in various directions, in order to pass the enemy, to cut off his retreat to Kænigsberg, and get between him and his magazines. Fortune favoured the execution of this plan. On the 12th, at five o'clock, P. M. the Imperial Head-quarters arrived at Eylau. Here the fields were no longer covered with ice and snow; on the contrary, they presented one of the most beautiful scenes in nature. The country was every where adorned by beautiful woods, inter-

sected by lakes, and animated by handsome villages. On the 13th, the Grand Duke of Berg advanced towards Kænigsberg with his cavalry; Marshal Davoust followed to support him. Marshal Soult advanced towards Creutzberg; Marshal Lannes towards Domnau; Marshals Nev and Mortier towards Lampasch. Meanwhile General Latour Maubourg wrote that he had pursued the enemy's rear-guard; that the Russians had abandoned a great number of wounded in their flight; that they had evacuated Bartenstein, and that they had directed their retreat on Schippenheil on the right bank of the Aller. The Emperor immediately proceeded towards Friedland. He ordered the Grand Duke of Berg, Marshals Soult and Davoust, to manœuvre against Kænigsberg, while he advanced with the corps of Nev, Lannes, Mortier, the Imperial Guard, and the first corps, commanded by General Victor, on Friedland. On the 13th, the 9th regiment of hussars entered Friedland, but was driven out of that place by 3000 of the enemy's cavalry. On the 14th the enemy advanced on the bridge of Friedland, and at three in the morning a cannonade was heard. "It is a fortunate day," said the Emperor; "it is the anniversary of the battle of Marengo." Marshals Lannes and Mortier were first engaged; they were supported by General Grouchy's dragoons, and by General Nansouty's cuirassiers. Several movements and actions took place. The enemy were stopped, and could not pass the village of Postenheim. Imagining that they had only a corps of 15,000 men opposed to them, they followed the movements of our troops towards Kornigsberg; thus the French and Saxon dragoons and cuirassiers had the opportunity of making a brilliant attack, and of taking four pieces of cannon. By five in the evening the several corps were at their appointed stations. Marshal Nev was on the right wing, Marshal Lannes in the centre, Marshal Mortier on the left wing; the corps of General Victor and the guards formed the reserve. The cavalry under the command of General Grouchy supported the left wing. The division of dragoons of General Latour Manbourg was behind the right wing as a reserve. General Lahoussayes' division of dragoons, and the Saxon cuirassiers, formed a reserve for the centre. Meanwhile the enemy deployed the whole of his army. His left wing extended to the town of Friedland, and his right wing a mile and a half in the other direction. The Emperor having reconnoitred the position, instantly determined to take the town of Friedland. Then suddenly changing his front, and advancing his right, he commenced the attack with the first part of that wing. About half past five Marshal Ney began to move forward. Some shots from a battery of 20 cannon were the signal. At the same moment the division of General Marchand advanced sword-in-hand upon the enemy, and proceeded towards the tower of the town; being supported on the left by the division of General Bison. When the enemy perceived that Marshal Ney had left the wood in which his right wing had been posted, they endeavoured to surround him with some regiments of cavalry, and a multitude of Cossaques; but General Latour Maubourg's division of dragoons rode up in full gallop to the right wing, and repelled the attack of the enemy. In the mean time General Victor erected a battery of 30 cannon in the front of his centre. General Sennarmont, who commanded this battery, pushed his works forward more than 400 paces, and greatly annoyed the enemy. The several manœuvres they attempted, in order to produce a diversion, were all in vain. Marshal Ney was at the head of his troops directing the smallest manœuvres with that coolness and intrepidity peculiar to himself,

and maintained that example which has always distinguished his corps among the other corps of the grand army. Several columns of the enemy which attacked his right wing were received with the bayonet, and driven into the Aller. Thousands found their graves in that river, and some escaped by swimming; meanwhile Marshal Ney's left wing reached the ravelin, which incircles the town of Friedland. The enemy, who had posted the Imperial horse and foot guards in ambush there, advanced with great intrepidity, and attacked Marshal Ney's left, which for a moment was in confusion : but Dupont's division, which formed the right wing of the reserve, fell upon the Russian imperial guards, defeated them, and made a most dreadful slaughter. The enemy sent forward several other corps from his centre, to defend Friedland: vain efforts! Friedland was forced, and its streets bestrewed with dead bodies. The centre, commanded by Marshal Lannes, was at the same time engaged. The attempts which the enemy had made upon the right wing, being frustrated. he wished to try the effect of similar efforts upon our centre; he was however. suitably received by the brave divisions of Oudinot and Verdier, and the commanding Marshal. The repeated attacks of the enemy's infantry and cavalry were incapable of obstructing the march of our columns, all the powers and all the courage of the Russians were exerted in vain. Marshal Mortier, who during the whole day, had given great proofs of coolness and intrepidity, in supporting the left wing, now advanced, and was in his turn supported by the fuzileers of the guard under the command of Gen. Savary. The cavalry, infantry, and artillery-all, on this occasion, generally distinguished themselves. The imperial horse and foot guards, and two divisions of the first corps, were not in the action. The victory was never for a moment doubtful. The field of battle is horrible to behold. It is not too much to estimate the number of the dead on the side of the Russians, at from 15 to 18,000. The number of the dead on the French side was not 500, but we have 3000 wounded. We have taken so cannons, and a great number of caissons. A great number of standards have also fallen into our hands. There are 25 of the Russian Generals either killed, wounded, or taken. Their cavalry has suffered an incalculable loss. General Drouct, Chief of Marshal Lannes' corps; General Cohorn; Colonel Regnaud of the 15th of the line; Colonel Lajonquire of the 60th; Col. Lamotte, of the 4th dragoons; and Brigadier General Brunryn, are wounded. General Latour Maubourg is wounded in the hand. Deffourneux, Colonel of the Artillery, Hutin, Chef d'Escadron, and first Aid-de-Camp of General Oudinot, are Two of the Emperor's Aides-de-Camp, Mouton and Lacoste, are slightly wounded. Night prevented us from pursuing the enemy; they were followed until 11 o'clock. During the remainder of the night, the cut-off . columns tried to pass the Aller at several fordable places, and, next day we saw caissons, cannon and harness, every where in the river. of Friedland is worthy to be numbered with those of Marengo, Austerlitz and Jena. The enemy were numerous, had fine cavalry, and fought bravely. Next day the enemy endeavoured to assemble on the right bank of the Aller, and the French army made manœuvres on the left bank to cut them off from Kenigsberg. The heads of the columns arrived at the same time at Wehlau, a town situated at the confluence of the Aller and the Pregel. The Emperor had his head-quarters in the village of Peterswelde. The enemy having destroyed all the bridges, took advantage of that obstacle, at day-break, on the 16th, to proceed on their retreat towards Russia. At eight in the morning,

the Emperor threw a bridge over the Pregel, and took a position there with the army. Almost all the magazines which the enemy had on the Aller have been thrown into the river, or burnt. Some idea may be formed of the great extent of their loss by what remains to us. The Russians had magazines in all the villages, which, in their passage, they every where burnt. We have, however, found more than 6000 quintals of corn in Wehlau. Kænigsberg was abandoned on the arrival of the intelligence of the battle of Friedland. Marshal Soult has entered that place, where much wealth has been found. We have taken there some hundred thousand quintals of corn, more than 20,000 wounded Russians and Prussians, all the ammunition which England had sent to the Russians, including 160,000 musquets which had not been landed. Thus has Providence punished those, who instead of negociating with good faith to bring about a salutary peace, treated that object with derision, and regarded the repose taken by the conquerors, as a proof of timidity and weakness. The army is now in a delightful country. The banks of the Pregel are rich. In a short time the magazines and cellars of Dautzic and Kœnigsberg will afford us new resources of superfluity and health. The names of the brave men who have distinguished themselves, cannot be contained within the limits of one bulletin. The staff is employed in collecting their deeds. The Prince of Neufchatel gave extraordinary proofs of his zeal and knowledge in the battle of Friedland. He was frequently in the hottest part of the action, and made arrangements which were of great advantage. It was on the 5th the enemy renewed hostilities. Their loss in the ten days which followed their first operations may be reckoned at 60,000 men, killed, wounded, taken, or otherwise put hors de combat. A part of their artillery, the necessary supply of military stores, and all their magazines, on a line of more than 40 miles, are lost to them. The French army has seldom obtained such great advantages with so little loss. . (To be continued.)



THE LONDON GAZETTES.

Published by Authority.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE Of TUESDAY, Sep. 20, 1814.

Downing-street, Sept. 20.—Extract of a Dispatch brought by Capt. Jervoise, aide-de-camp to Lieut.-general Drummond, from Lieut-gen. Sir G. Prevost, bart.

Head-quarters, Montreal, Aug. 5.—I have the satisfaction of transmitting to your Lordship Lieut.-gen. Drummond's detail of the distinguished exertions of that division of the army near the Falls of Niagara on the 25th of last month, when the skill of his Majesty's generals and the valour and discipline of his troops were eminently conspicuous; and I beg leave to join the Lieutenant

General in humbly soliciting his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's gracious consideration of the meritorious services of the officers particularized in his report.—This Dispatch will be delivered to your Lordship by Capt. Jervoise, aide-de-camp to Lieut-gen. Drummond: having shared in the events of the 25th, he can satisfy your Lordship's inquiries respecting them, and is well calculated from his local knowledge to give your Lordship full information upon the state of the Upper Province.

Head-quarters, near Niagara Falls, July 27 .- Sir,-I embarked on board his Majesty's schooner Netley, at York, on Sunday evening, the 24th inst. and reached Niagara at day-break the following morning. Finding from Lt.-col. Tucker, that Major-gen. Riall was understood to be moving towards the Falls of Niagara, to support the advance of his division, which he had pushed on to that place on the preceding evening, I ordered Licut-col. Morrison, with the 89th regiment and a detachment of the Royals and King's, drawn from Fort George and Mississaga, to proceed to the same point in order that, with the united force, I might act against the Enemy (posted at Street's Creek, with his advance at Chippawa) on my arrival, if it should be found expedient. I ordered Lieut.-col. Tucker at the same time to proceed up the right bank of the river, with 300 of the 41st, about 200 of the Royal Scots, and a body of Indian warriors, supported (on the river) by a party of armed seamen, under Capt. Dobbs, Royal Navy. The object of this movement was to disperse or Some unavoidable capture a body of the Enemy encamped at Lewiston. delay having occurred in the march of the troops up the right bank, the Enemy had moved off previous to Lieut.-col. Tucker's arrival. I have to express myself satisfied with the exertions of that officer .- Having refreshed the troops at Queenston, and having brought across the 41st, Royals, and Indians, I sent back the 41st and 100th regiments, to form the garrisons of Forts George, Mississaga, and Niagara, under Lieut.-col. Tucker, and moved with the 89th, and detachments of the Royals and King's, and light company of the 41st, in all about 800 men, to join Major-gen. Riall's division at the Falls.-When arrived within a few miles of that position, I met a report from Major-gen. Riall, that the Enemy was advancing in great force. I immediately pushed on, and joined the head of Lieut.col. Morrison's column, just as it reached the road leading to the Braver Dam, over the summit of the hill at Lundy's land. Instead of the whole of M.gen. Riall's division, which I expected to have found occupying this position, I found it almost in the occupation of the Enemy, whose columns were within 600 yards of the top of the hill, and the surrounding woods filled with his light troops. The advance of Major-gen. Riall's division, consisting of the Glengarry light infantry, and Incorporated Militia, having commenced a retreat upon Fort George, I countermanded these corps, and formed the 89th regiment, the Royal Scots detachments, and the 41st light companies, in the rear of the hill, their left resting on the great road; my two 24-pounder brass field guns a little advanced, in front of the centre, on the summit of the hill; the Glengarry light infantry on the right; the battalion of Incorporated Militia, and the detachment of the King's Regiment on the left of the great road; the squadron of the 19th light dragoons in the rear of the left, on the road. I had scarcely completed this formation when the whole front was warmly and closely engaged. The Enemy's principal efforts were directed against our left and centre. After repeated attacks, the troops on the left were partially forced back, and the Enemy gained a momentary possession of the road. This gave him, however,

no material advantage, as the troops which had been forced back formed in the rear of the 89th regt. fronting the road and securing the flank. during this short interval that Major-gen. Riall, having received a severe wound, was intercepted as he was passing to the rear, by a party of the Enemy's cavalry, and taken prisoner. In the centre, the repeated and determined attacks of the Enemy were met by the 89th regt. the detachments of the Royals and King's, and the light company 41st regt. with the most perfect steadiness and intrepid gallantry, and the Enemy was constantly repulsed with very heavy loss. In so determined a manner were their attacks directed against our guns, that our artillerymen were bayonetted by the Enemy while in the act of loading, and the muzzles of the Enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of our's. The darkness of the night during this extraordinary conflict occasioned several uncommon incidents: our troops having for a moment been pushed back, some of our guns remained for a few minutes in the Enemy's hands; they, however were not only quickly recovered, but the two pieces (a 6-pounder and a 5 and a half inch howitzer) which the Enemy had brought up, were captured by us, together with several tumbrils, and in limbering up our guns at one period, one of the Eenmy's 6-pounders was put by mistake on a limber of ours; and one of our 6-pounders limbered on one of his: by which means the pieces were exchanged; and thus, though we captured two of his guns, yet, as he obtained one of ours, we have gained only one gun.-About nine o'clock (the action having commenced at six) there was a short intermission of firing, during which it appears the Enemy was employed in bringing up the whole of his remaining force; and he shortly afterwards renewed his attack with fresh troops, but was everywhere repulsed with equal gallantry and success. About this period the remainder of Major-gen. Riall's division, which had been ordered to retire on the advance of the Enemy, consisting of the 103d regt. under Col. Scott; the head quarter division of the Royal Scots; the head quarter divison of the 8th or King's; flank companies 104th; and some detachments of Militia, under Lieut-col. Hamilton, Inspecting field officer-joined the troops engaged; and I placed them in a second line, with the exception of the Royal Scots and flank companies of the 104th, with which I prolonged my line in front to the right, where I was apprehensive of the Enemy outflanking me.-The Enemy's efforts to carry the hill were continued till about midnight, when he had suffered so severely from the superior steadiness and discipline of his Majesty's troops, that he gave up the contest, and retreated with great precipitation to his camp beyond the Chippawa. On the following day he abandoned his camp, threw the greater part of his baggage, camp equipage, and provisions, into the Rapids, and having set fire to Street's Mills, and destroyed the bridge at Chippawa, continued his retreat in great disorder towards Fort Erie. My light troops, cavalry, and Indians, are detached in pursuit, and to harass his retreat, which I doubt not he will continue until he reaches his own shore. The loss sustained by the Enemy in this severe action cannot be estimated at less then 1500 men, including several hundred of prisoners left in our hands; his two commanding Generals, Brown and Scott, are said to be wounded, his whole force, which has never been rated at less then 5000, having been engaged. -Enclosed I have the honour to transmit a return of our loss, which has been very considerable.—The number of troops under my command did not for the first three hours exceed 1600 men; and the addition of the troops under

Col. Scott, did not increase it to more then 2800 of every description. - [Here follow warm praises of Major-gen. Riall, Lieut.-col. Harvey, Major Glegg. Lieut. Moorsom, 104th regt. who was killed towards the close of the action; Capt. Elliott, Major Maule, Lieut. Le Breton, who was severely wounded; Capts. Jervoise, Holland, and Loring (the latter taken prisoners whilst in the execution of an order); also the steadiness and good countenance of the squadron of the 19th light dragoons, under Major Lisle; the excellent defence made by the Incorporated Militia, under Lieut.-colonel Robinson, who was dangerously wounded; and a detachment of the 8th, under Colonel Campbell and Capt. Robinson. Gen. Drummond then proceeds: -In the reiterated and determined attacks which the enemy made on our centre, for the purpose of gaining, at once, the crest of the position, and our guns, the steadiness and intrepidity displayed by the troops allotted for the defence of that post, were never surpassed; they consisted of the 2d battalion of the 89th regt. commanded by Lieut.-ccl. Morrison, and after the Lieutenantcolonel had been obliged to retire from the field by a severe wound, by Major Clifford; a detachment of the Royal Scots, under Lieutenant Hemphill. and after he was killed, Lieut. Fraser; a detachment of the 8th (or King's), under Capt. Campbell; light company 4th regt. under Capt. Glew; with some detachments of militia under Lieut.-col. Parry, 103d regt.: these troops repeatedly, when hard pressed, formed round the colours of the 89th regt., and invariably repulsed the desperate efforts made against them. On the right, the steadiness and good countenance of the 1st batt. Royal Scots, under Lieutenant-Gordon, on some very trying occasions, excited my admiration .- The King's regiment, 1st. batt. under Major Evans, behaved with equal gallantry and firmness, as did the light company of the Royals, detached under Capt-Stewart; the grenadiers of the 103d, detached under Capt. Browne; and the flank companies of the 104th under Captain Leonard; the Glengarry light infantry, under Lieut.-col. Battersby, displayed most valuable qualities as light troops; Col. Scott, Major Smelt, and the officers of the 103d, deserve credit for their exertions in rallying that regiment, after it had been thrown into momentary disorder .- [The dispatch concludes with warm praise of the exertions of Col. Scott; Lieut.-cols. Pearsons, Drummond (104th), and Hamilton; Capts. Mackonachie, and M'Lauchlan; Lieut. Tomkins, and Serjeant Austin, who directed the Congreve rockets, which did much execution; and recommends for promotion, Capts. Jervoise, Robinson, Elliot, Holland, and Glew.] I have, &c. GORDON DRUMMOND, Lieut.-gen

Killed, Wounded, Missing, and taken Prisoners in Action on July 25.

Total.—Killed, 84; wounded, 559; missing, 193; prisoners, 42.—Grand total, 878.

Names of Officers killed, wounded, missing, and Prisoners.

Officers killed.—General Staff—Lieut. Moorsom, D. A. Adjt.-gen. Royals—Lieut Hemphill. 89th—Capt. Spunner, Lieut. Latham. Incorporated militia—Ensign Campbell.

Officers wounded.—Gen. Staff—Lieut.-gen. Drummond, sev. (not dang.); Major-gen. Riall, sev. and prisoner; Lieut.-col. Pearson, sl.; Lieut. Le Breton, sev.; R. Art. Capt. Maclachlan, dang. Royals—Capt. Breeton, sl.; Lieut. Hasswell, sev. (not dang.); Lieut. Fraser, sev. (not dang.) and missing. 8th—Lieut. Noell, Ensign Swayne, sl.; Ensign M'Donald, sev. 89th—Lieut-col.

Morrison; Lieuts. Sanderson, Steel, Pearce, Taylor, Lloyd, and Miles, sev. (not dang.); Lieut. Redmont, Adj. Hopper, sl.; Lieut. Grey, Ens. Saunders, dang. 103d—Lieut. Langhorne, sl. Glengarry light infantry—Lieut. R. Kerr, sl. Incorporated Militia—Lieut.-col. Robinson, dang.; Capt. Fraser, sev.; Capt. Washburn, sl.; Capt. M'Donald, sev. (left arm amputated); Lieut. M'Dougall, mortally; Lieut. Ratan, sev.; Lieut. Hamilton, sl.; Ens. M'Donald, sev. 2d Lincolu Militia—Adj. Thompson, sl. 4th ditto—Capt. W. Neelis, Ensign Kennedy, sl. 5th ditto—Major Heath, sev. 2d York Militia—Major Simons, sev.; Capt. Mackay, slightly; Capt. Rockman, severely.

Officers missing —R. Eng.—Lieut. Yall. Royals—Lieut. Clyne; Lieut. Lamont, (supposed prisoner). 8th—Qr.-Mas.-Gen. Kirnan. 4th Lincoln

Militia-Capt. II. Nellis, Qr.-Mas. Bell.

Officers Prisoners.—Gen. Staff—Captain Loring, aid-de-camp to Lieut-gen. Drummond. 103d—Capt. Brown, Lieut. Montgomery (wounded), Ens. Lyon. Glengarry light infantry—Ens. Robins. Incorporated Militia—Capt. Maclean Ens. Whort, Qr.-Mas. Thompson. Provin. Lt. Drag.—Captain Merritt \$9th—Capt. Gore.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-street, Sept. 27.—Captain Smith arrived this morning with a Dispatch from Gen. Ross, of which the following is a copy.

Tonnant, in the Paturent, Aug. 30.-My Lord,-I have the honour to communicate to your Lordship, that on the night of 24th inst. after defeating the army of the United States on that day, the troops under my command entered and took possession of the city of Washington.—It was determined between Sir A. Cochrane and myself, to disembark the army at the village of Benedict, on the right bank of the Patuxent, with the intention of co-operating with Rear-adm. Cockburn, in an attack upon a flotilla of the enemy's gunboats, under the command of Commodore Barney. On the 20th inst. the army commenced its march, having landed the previous day without opposition: on the 21st it reached Nottingham, and on the 22d moved on to Upper Marlborough, a few miles distant from Pig Point, on the Patuxent, where Adm. Cockburn fell in with and defeated the flotilla, taking and destroying the whole. Having advanced within 16 miles of Washington, and ascertained the force of the enemy to be such as might authorize an attempt at carrying his capital, I determined to make it, and accordingly put the troops in movement on the evening of the 23d. A corps of about 1200 men appeared to oppose us, but retired after firing a few shots. On the 24th, the troops resumed their march, and reached Bladensburg, a village situated on the left bank of the eastern branch of the Potowmack, about five miles from Washington.—On the opposite side of that river the enemy was discovered strongly posted on very commanding heights, formed in two lines, his advance occupying a fortified house, which, with artillery, covered the bridge over the eastern branch, which the British had to pass. A broad and straight road leading from the bridge to Washington, ran through the enemy's position, which was carefully defended by artillery and riflemen.—The disposition for the attack being made, it was commenced with so much impetuosity by the light brigade, consisting of the 85th light infantry, and the light infantry companies of the army under the command of Col. Thornton, that the fortified house was shortly carried, the enemy retiring to the higher grounds. To be continued.





TALLEYRAND.

Drince of Benevente.

THE ROYAL

MILITARY CHRONICLE;

OR.

BRITISH OFFICERS

MONTHLY REGISTER, CHRONICLE, AND MILITARY MENTOR.

FOR JUNE 1815.

EMBELLISHMENT.

Portrait of Prince Talleyrand.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

AS the valuable contents of the late number of the Chronicle have occasioned an unprecedented demand for the former numbers and volumes; and as the number of our other works will not admit of our printing a stock beyoud immediate demand, we must earnestly solicit our subscribers to complete their sets with the least possible delay. They would thus prevent a frequent disappointment to themselves, as well as much regret to us,—as we have frequently been compelled to reprint a number at a great loss, merely to supply these defective sets. Three and even four editions of the Military Chronicle have been quite exhausted, and we feel ourselves compelled to say that our capital will not permit us to continue this practice. We attribute this great sale of the Chronicle to the circumstance of its being the only periodical work which contains three most important collections:-1st, the Original Journals of the Campaigns in the Peninsula: -2d, a complete collection of the Gazettes in full from the first commencement of the War in Spain and Portugal; and 3d; an equally complete collection of the Bulletins of Buonaparte. In this new series of the Chronicle we have added another feature. which we find has met with much approbation. The French press is daily publishing some most important historical works; these are usually translated into English, as soon as they arrive, by the London booksellers, and are published in London in expensive volumes, at Twelve Shillings and One Guinea each. Now by adopting the plan of giving a Quarterly Supplement to our Military Chronicle, which only puts our subscribers to the expence of Half a Guinea in the year, we are enabled to give these books as they come out; and thus to give them a 12s. book in a 2s. 6d. number. Our next Quarterly Supplement, which will be published on the first of next month, price 28. 6d. will contain Rocca's Memoirs of the War in Spain and Portugal; translated from the French. It is our intention in this way to give all the most valuable books of the French Press as they come out, and invariably to give them without abridgement, and at the rate of 2s. 6d. for an octavo volume of four hundred pages, which is exactly one fifth of the London trade price.

The 14th number of D'Anville's Atlas, containing two large Maps, is published this day, price 5s. 6d.; the 15th number, which concludes the work, will be published on the 1st of next month.

On the Market of the Control of the

ROYAL MILITARY CHRONICLE.

Vol. III.]

NEW SERIES, JUNE, 1815.

[No. 14.

ORIGINAL NARRATIVE OF THE REGENCY OF BLOIS;

Or the Last Moments of the Imperial Government.

(Translated from the French.)

DURING the ever-memorable crisis of the campaign of 1814, the town of Blois, though near to the theatre of war, enjoyed a state of repose.

After having been for some time occupied by the Swedish officers detained as prisoners in France, Blois had become the residence of the English Detenues. They were removed from one place to another, according to the movements of the armies, which forced them from the extremities to the centre of the empire. They did not remain long at Blois; for scarcely had a mouth elapsed after their arrival, before they were ordered to depart. This change was occasioned by the battle of Brienne. In their stead, the members of the government were expected, arrangements having been made for their quitting Paris, and the most valuable articles having been accordingly deposited in safe custody; but the advantages gained at Champ-Aubert, Montmirail, and Vauchamp, retarded this movement, and it required the sanguinary combats of six weeks, with all their marches and counter-marches, to exhaust the powers of Napoleon.

It was after this interval that Paris was left without defence, and that the town of Blois received so many guests:—the court of a fugitive sovereign, and the ministers of Napoleon, whose capital was occupied The environment of the control of th by the Allies.

It was then that we saw the government, which for a long time had been the terror and scourge of the world, breathe forth at Blois its last sigh, and terminate by a death the most gentle an existence the most difficult to be maintained. Having witnessed this event, I propose to retrace the principal circumstances of it.

After the departure of the Swedes and English who had successively resided at Blois, and had imparted much vivacity to the place, the town became, as it were, a tomb, which was every day filled with the unfortunate victims of the war. The castle, formerly the residence of kings, The vessels, conveying the wounded, was crowded with prisoners. which covered the Loire, supplied more than sufficient tenants for the hospitals, and the same was the case at the towns more remote from the scene of war. In fact, no other travellers were seen. The roads not long since covered with fugitives who had escaped from Paris, troops belong-

Vol. III. No. 14. N. S.

ing to the army of Spain who had found their way hither, national guards, and recently levied conscripts, were then deserted. The capture of Bordeaux tended to augment this melancholy solitude; and for three weeks the inhabitants lived in this deceitful calm, the general precursor of a storm, till towards the end of March, a new emigration on the part of the inhabitants of Paris, informed those of Blois that the capital was threatened a second time.

On Monday, the 28th March, news arrived that Napoleon, who had not published any account of his movements for several days, had left Paris, and that he was more than fifty leagues from that city, at Saint Dizier. Travellers and private letters agreed in stating that it was his intention to manœuvre on the right of the Allies, without any fear of seeing them advance towards the capital, which he conceived that he had left proof against invasion.

It is said that, after having undertaken this manœuvre, Napoleon demanded whether Paris could hold out three days, and that he departed, in consequence of the answer having been in the affirmative.

On Tuesday the 29th of March, the number of fugitives became so considerable, that we evidently saw the increasing consternation of the Parisians. Every one said that the denouement was at hand; but no one said that it was the downfall of Napoleon;—not even those who were of this opinion, and most wished it.

On Wednesday 30th of March, at ten o'clock at night we learnt that the Empress and the King of Rome had quitted Paris, taking the route of Tours by Rambouillet and Chartres. This intelligence was brought by the Countess Chaptal who escaped from Paris, and fled to Chanteloup; and it was soon confirmed by the proclamation of King Jeseph to the Parisians.

On the morning of Thursday, the 31st, the diligences brought to Blois a much greater number of passengers, and these were much more alarmed than those who had arrived on the preceding night. They had left Paris on the 30th st six o'clock in the morning, amidst the roar of cannon, which they had continued to hear till they reached Etampes. They reported that the national guard had made a sortie from the walls, and had supported the troops of the line in a brilliant affair, but that the capture of Paris would inevitably ensue.

There were nevertheless many incredulous persons, who would not believe that Paris was besieged, and still less that there was any probability of its being shortly taken. But they were soon convinced of its truth by the arrival of an ocular witness—an author and actor in this grand drams—the chief of the National Guard at Paris. This was Count Regnault, the minister of state. His excellency reached Blois about nine o'clock at night, and demanded horses to go forward; but with these he could not be supplied; this obliged him to suspend for some hours a journey of a nature apparently very urgent.

The mail from Paris did not arrive at all, and that which left Blois the day before, returned. Every thing announced to the inhabitants of Blois that the communication with the capital was entirely cut off.

1815.]

On Friday, the 1st of April, about eleven o'clock in the day, two hours after the time, at which the diligences usually arrive, and when no hopes were entertained of seeing them, one made its appearance, which had left Paris the day before. With what curiosity did all pass round this vehicle, in order to obtain, as a special favor, the news, which they now despaired of receiving in any other way. The Mayor himself sent to request such particulars as the passengers would please to communicate. If they did not entirely agree as to the circumstances of the battle, which had taken place before the gates of Paris on the 30th, they were at least unanimous as to the capitulation, which had been the consequence. At the time of their departure the National Guard still occupied the posts of the barriers; but were to resign them, in a few hours, to the troops of the Allies,

Nothing could be more exhilarating than these details as to the occupation of Paris. It appeared evident that the conquerors had only entered it as liberators, and that terror had given way to joy. But where was Napoleon? Where was his army? What force had he still remaining? what would be the fate of Paris if he again arrived? To what point would he retreat if he failed in the object of his movements? These were points not to be settled without a great contrariety of opinion, which left the spirits balanced between the fear of Napoleon's return, and the hope of a downfall, from which he could never rise again. The best informed persons were of opinion that he was in the presence of the Prince de Schwartzenberg's army, and that a great battle was inevitable.

A few hours before the arrival of the Diligence, the Ministers of Police and Justice had passed. Their Excellencies were on their way to Tours, which place they seemed most anxious to reach. It was thought that this town had been fixed upon for the residence of the Empress, who had taken the route of Chartres and Vendôme; but it appeared that her Majesty, after having been for several days without tidings from Napoleon, received some at Vendôme. They changed her destination, and fixed the seat of Regency at Blois. It was also stated, in order to account for this alteration, that Blois had been preferred to Tours from possessing a more salubrious air, and from the beautiful situation, which the Hotel of the Prefecture could boast—advantages most valuable with regard to the health of her Imperial Majesty. To this might be added a greater degree of security than she could have at Tours.

Be this as it may, the Prefect, who had already repaired to the boundaries of his department for the purpose of complimenting the Empress, received a dispatch by a courier, which caused his return to Blois with all possible speed, for the purpose of removing from the Hotel of the Prefecture, and causing arrangements to be immediately made for the reception of the Empress, and the King of Rome.

The principal inhabitants and functionaries, particularly those in the neighbourhood of the Hotel of the Prefecture, received an invitation to prepare apartments for Madame, the Emperor's mother, the Kings

Joseph, Louis, and Jerome, the Arch-Chancellor, the ministers, and chief officers of administration; with further accommodation for eighteen hundred of the military.*

On Saturday the 2nd of April, in the course of the morning, we saw the first detachments of cavalry arrive; they were soon followed by a large quantity of baggage, and particularly by fifteen covered waggons, containing the Imperial treasures: couriers succeeded each other every hour. About three o'clock, the Prefect went to meet their Majesties at the distance of a league from the town. The local guard and garrison were under arms, forming two lines, between which the troops and a great number of the carriages passed. Towards five o'clock those of the Empress and the King of Rome appeared. Their Majesties made their entry through an immense crowd, and amidst a silence, which had not the slightest interruption.

The ministers, who had pushed forward to Tours, now hastened their return. Several were still at Orleans. Others had fled as far as Britanny. Of this number were the Count Bigot-Prémeneau, minister of general improvements, and Baran Pommereul, director general of the libray, who doubtless considered the exercise of their tranquil functions to be incompatible with the tumult of arms, and the benefit of their advice to be superabundant.

On Sunday the 3rd mass was celebrated at the palace by Monsieur Gallois, the pastor of St. Louis; for neither almoner, nor chaplain, nor clergymen of the Imperial chapel were to be found among the persons, who formed the suite of the Empress.

After mass a council of the ministers was held; and at five o'clock her Majesty received the constituted authorities of the town. She passed through the midst of them, followed by the King of Rome, and addressed a few words to each, beginning with the clergy—a remarkable innovation, and honourable to the piety of this Princess. Melancholy was depicted on her countenance.

The town of Blois was still left in complete ignorance as to the movements of the army of Paris, from which place there were no arrivals of letters, journals, or travellers. It had been stated at two o'clock, that the court would be removed to Orleans on the following day; but a a later hour this was contradicted, and the intention announced of remaining at Blois. In fact, the orders of Napoleon were to decide this point, and communication with him now became more and more difficult. Perhaps, too, the court meant to be guided by circumstances, which became every day more critical; for its spies in Paris had not failed to communicate

^{*}This neigh bourhood was chosen on account of the situation of Blois, which rises like an amphitheatre over the left bank of the Loire. The Hotel of the Prefecture crowns one of the extremities of the amphitheatre, and cannot be reached but by very steep streets, or by a flight of more than a hundred steps. Their excellencies who lodged at the lower part of the town, had to ascend these steps. The Prince Arch-Chancellor, who had apartments mid-way, used a sedan.

the declaration of the Allies, dated the 31st, that they would neither treat with Napoleon, nor any member of his family, the decree of the Senate on the 1st of April, by which a provisional government was established; and finally, that of the 2d, by which the dethronement of Napoleon was fixed.

But though the court was acquainted with these facts, none of them were allowed to transpire in the place.

On Monday the 4th, we were left in ignorance and anxiety as to what had taken place on the preceding day. The only intelligence from Paris was brought by a waggoner, who had left that city by a passport signed Sacken, and who reported that all was quiet there. Such was not the case at Blois. The ministers, directly after breakfast, assembled in a body at the residence of her Imperial Majesty, where they held a council which lasted till dinner-time, without any result being announced. About three o'clock in the afternoon, however, we saw King Joseph and King Jerome set out from Blois, taking the road towards Orleans, accompanied by the Minister of War.

The object of this journey was to ascertain whether the Regency could not be established at Orleans for the purpose of having more easy communication with the Emperor; but on their arrival at that city about three o'clock in the morning, the two monarchs found dispatches from Fontainebleau, in which the dissatisfaction of Napoleon, as to the Regency, was avowed in terms dictated by the last transports of fury and despair. Napoleon, doubtless, attributed the subjugution of Paris to the flight of the Lieutenant-General, who had received orders to remain there.

Far from attempting to protect the Regency by any military movement, Napoleon proposed, on the contrary, to manœuvre on Paris, leaving the right bank of the Loire undefended. He appears to have actually abandoned the Regency; for he communicated his order of the day, without mentioning his intent to abdicate. The army was still numerous, and in no degree disheartened. The city of Orleans was full of troops, baggage, and artillery. The bridge of Orleans was undermined, for the purpose of protecting the retreat of Napoleon to the left bank of the Loire. On the 5th, Joseph and Jerome returned. They did not appear to be disconcerted by the news from Paris and Fontainebleau; but, on the contrary, had determined to maintain one government against another; for which purpose they were preceded by the Ministers of the War Department, and by forty Commissioners, who had received orders to recruit for the army by night and by day. There were several military divisions with which the communication was still open, and in these unfortunate districts the new levies were undoubtedly to be made, while volunteers were to assemble in the departments occupied by the Allies.

Monsieur Regnault and Monsieur Lacuee passed the Loire, and took the road to Berry, charged with a mission of importance. The former stated, that he was sent to Lyons, there to meet the Emperor of Austria,

and showed a letter from the Empress to her august father. The object of this conduct was merely to raise a false report.

On the same day, the Allies entered Pithiviers by main force, where a hundred chasseurs made a most honourable resistance to two thousand men. The place was given up to plunder, as an atonement for the death of a gentleman, who had been killed by a revenue officer. The fate of Pithiviers is the more deplorable, and the circumstance which gave rise to it the more criminal, because the place had been before occupied by the Allies, and the inhabitants found their conduct unexceptionable.

On Wednesday, the sixth, Messrs, Regnault and Lacuee, whose mission had not been of long continuance, returned. The environs of Blois were inspected by the engineer of the department; all useless carriages were sent away, particularly those of the consecration; these were removed to Chambort; a quarter-master set out for Tours; the Polytechnic schools, the schools of Charenton and Saint Cyr, and several pages arrived in the town. Blois was already full, there was not an inhabitant who had not received somebody into his house, or his lodgings; some had even given up their beds to the visitors. But these guests were polished, the fear was, that they might soon have others of a very different description. It was rumoured that two camps were to be formed near Blois, and this news kept people's minds divided between the spectacle of the present, and the fear of what was to come :between the astonishment excited by the living picture of the instability of human things, so strikingly displayed in this itinerant court, and the fear of an army which might be called for the defence of Blois, and which would pay for the hospitalities received, by spreading around all the ills attendant upon war. A rumour of the suspension of arms was, however, circulated; it was also reported that the Duke of Cadore was gone on a mission to the Emperor of Austria. This double news was again communicated in confidence by Count Regnault to his hosts, who did not fail to impart it to their friends.

Another thing was not communicated—the whole town of Blois was kept in ignorance of it. This was, that the bridge was mined, that under one of the arches was six hundred pounds of powder! The confiding citizens slept every night upon a volcano, the existence of which would only have been revealed by its explosion, and the protection thereby afforded to the flight of their guests, unless gratitude had urged some of these guests to confess the fatal secret.

The last news of the day was the arrival of two mails from Paris. It was known that they had been escorted by some of the allied troops as far as Mount Desire, but that when they arrived at Orleans the Prefect had stopped them, and sent them to Blois to the Minister of the Police.

On Holy Thursday, the seventh of April, mass was said in the palace by the almoner of the pages, after which a council of the ministers was held. The news, and the entertainment of the town, was a proclamation which was posted about early in the morning. Its contents were as follows:

" FRENCHMEN,

"The events of war have placed the capital in the power of strangers. The Emperor is hastening to defend it at the head of the armies, so often victorious. They are in the presence of the enemy, under the walls of Paris.

"It is from the residence that I have chosen, and from the ministers of the Emperor, that will issue the orders which alone you are to follow.

"Every town in the power of the enemy ceases to be free, every order that comes from them is the language of a stranger, or that which it belongs to his hostile views to propagate.

"You will be faithful to your oaths, you will listen to the voice of a princess, who is trusted to your faith, who considers it as her glory to be a Frenchwoman, to be associated with the destinies of a sovereign whom you have freely chosen.

"My son was less sure of your hearts in the time of our prosperity: his rights and his person are under your safeguard.

(Signed) "MARIA LOUISA.

(Countersigned) "MONTALIVET,

Performing the functions of Secretary to the Regency.

This piece was dated the third, two days before a decree of the fifth, which appointed the Count Montalivet secretary to the regency. The publication of it was decreed by the counsel on the sixth; it was printed and posted about in the night between the sixth and seventh. From the antedate it may well be supposed that the plan of their Excellencies was to leave the door open for accommodation with the provisional government, and at the same time give proofs of an active zeal for Napoleon. Be this as it may, the proclamation was sent into all the departments where there was a possibility of sending it.

It did not create any great sensation at Blois; it served, on the contrary, to give greater credibility to the news from Paris. The presence of the government, however, created a constant apprehension of the arrival of the army. Some fugitives from Chartres announced that a body of the allied troops were advancing upon that city, whence they would not fail to march upon Blois, attracted by the hope of seizing upon the treasury.

The Court was much more embarrassed than the town. The government appeared from this moment principally occupied with guarding the Empress, the King of Rome, and the treasury; they saw all these ready to escape them, and that they ought to take some decisive step without delay. For six days much time had been lost in deliberating upon the place of retreat; sometimes Tours was thought of, sometimes Nantes, sometimes Berry. It appears as if the Empress did not approve these projects; that she even resisted King Joseph and King Jerome, who endeavoured to persuade, who would even have constrained her to

accompany them to the other side of the Loire, urging her own personal safety and the safety of the state.

The account given of the scene is this. On Good Friday, the eighth of April, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, the Kings Joseph and Jerome went with two carriages to the habitation of her Majesty, the Empress, telling her that they were about to depart, and that they came to propose her accompanying them, so that her person might be placed in greater security. The Empress answered, that her fate appeared decided; that she was under no apprehensions for her person, whether she fell into the hands of the Germans or into those of the Russians; that she was, therefore, determined to wait the event. Her two brothers-in-law represented to her that the ties which united her to the imperial family rendered her a voluntary and necessary hostage for that family and for the state, and that the safety of both required her removal. The Empress enquired whither they proposed to conduct her, and whether they acted thus by order of the Emperor. The two Kings answered that they had no positive orders to this effect, but that it was necessary for her, as Regent, to retire beyond the Loire, and that two carriages were at the door, one for her, and one for her son.

The Empress answered this proposal only by tears. The Kings, little affected, took her each by the arm, and endeavoured to force her to the carriage; but by her cries she brought some of the officers of her household into the room. The Empress, addressing these gentlemen, desired them, as one of the last services they could render her, and as a proof of their attachment, to go and learn from the officers of her guard, whether it was their intention to sanction the violence offered to her. The officers, informed of what was passing by M. d'Haussonville, the chamberlain, hastened to the Empress's apartment, which they found already filled with other witnesses. The presence of all these people disconcerted the two Kings so much, that they retired no less ashamed of their attempt than mortified at the ill success which had attended it.

The officers were eager to satisfy the Empress's mind; they protested that they were not to receive orders from any one but her Majesty, and that they never would listen to any other. The rumour of this scene transpired in the town, but in a vague manner and without any details. When and how such a state of things would terminate, no one could conjecture. The ministers, always booted and ready to set off, came to the palace at an earlier hour than usual.

About two in the afternoon news was spread on a sudden that Count Schuvaloff had arrived at the hotel of the Galley, and that he came to seek the Empress. He was alone, and without any armed force. The proclamation of Blois was still posted about every where; neither the local authorities, nor the imperial government, had done any thing to supersede it. No one ventured to open his mouth, either to dispute the mission of Count Schuvaloff or to acknowledge it. A few moments after his arrival, some of the ministers were seen coming out from the palace, and it was thought, from the consternation which might be read

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in the countenances of their Excellencies, and which they no longer sought to disguise, that the last sigh of the imperial government was breathed.

This truth received strong confirmation from a circumstance which must not be omitted. When their Excellencies quitted Paris, they had not time to furnish themselves with passports; perhaps it was a thing they never thought of; they, possibly, considered their dignities as a sufficient safeguard for their persons. But how much soever they might be a security to them in their departure, they must be useless, or even dangerous, to them in their return. They must pass through a long chain of the allied troops, and it will be easily understood that in their eyes, being the ministers of Napoleon, far from proving a recommendation sufficient to supply the place of a passport, was more likely to expose them to danger and insult. They consulted together on what was to be done, and at length agreed that they would get passports from the mayor of Blois, and intreat M. de Schuvaloff to add his counter-signature.

The first of these objects was attained without any other difficulty than what arose from the thing itself, in the description which it was necessary to give of their persons. But of this M. Bruere, to whose lot it fell to make out the passports, in the mayoralty at Blois, acquitted himself with all the respect that the singular position in which these gentlemen stood would permit. This position the honest clerk would gladly have softened, and it was not without sympathizing in their feelings that he described the features of princes, ministers, counsellers of state, and other such great personages! These all shared his zeal, without exhausting it; he had still a portion left for others, though the number of

passports delivered amounted to four hundred.

But one, of two operations, was, however, here accomplished; the second concerned Count Schauvaloff. This general had, in fact, not been arrived many hours before the different members of the government presented themselves before him, requesting his signature to their passports. The room which he inhabited, at the inn, was soon found too small to contain his numerous visitors. Every one wanted the business dispatched, and every one wanted to be the first served. Those who had been able to procure letters of recommendation came with them in their hands, presenting them to the general. The latter answered that he entertained the utmost respect for those by whom they were given, but in the little time he had, it was impossible to sign so many at once, and he must beg some to wait, or to come again. Throughout the whole transaction he shewed different degrees of politeness towards the different persons; this evinced plainly that he was well acquainted with the conduct of all. It was observed that every possible respect was paid to the Duke de Feltre, but that in signing the passport of the Duke of Reggio he wrote in the margin M. Savary.

As to what concerns the court.—The town was at length in possession of the public papers which had been so long withheld by the ministers

of the police; they were now distributed both among private families and in public places. Still the joy which they inspired dared not entirely break forth; the effusions of it were repressed, whether by the presence of the troops, or by the proclamation, which remained still posted about, or, perhaps, from a certain sentiment of hospitality which would not add insult to misfortune. Thanks to this disposition, the illustrious personages who were suddenly deprived of the dignities which they possessed but the day before, were always treated as if they still retained them.

We have noticed a first act of the Regency which had for its aim the safety of the state. Delivered from so great an object of solicitude, the members of the government did not now disdain to turn their attention towards one of less importance; they took measures relative to the payment of their several stipends. The minister of the treasury, and the treasury itself were upon the spot; nothing opposed their taking the last advantage they might be able to take of both. This salutary measure met with no oppsition; every one received what was due to him with some addition to defray the expenses of the journey. The troops received three months pay, without any distinction, whether more or less was due to them, and notwithstanding any observations made upon the subject, to which no one had time to listen.

Thus was terminated Good-Friday, the eighth of April. These loyal subjects took their passports with one hand, and their money with the other, immediately after which the most zealous hastened to send in their adherence to the acts of the provisional government.

The night was devoted entirely to making preparations for the departure which was to take place the next day; and in arranging some reforms in the housholds of the Empress-mother, and the Kings her sons. On Saturday, the ninth, between ten and eleven, the Empress, whose orders Count Schuvaloff had requested the day before, and towards whom he conducted himself with the utmost possible delicacy—the Empress, I say, with the King of Rome and her court, set out from Blois, accompanied by the appointed escort. Their Majesties took the road to Orleans; they found it bordered by a double row of spectators, who confined themselves at looking at the illustrious travellers, remaining as if absorbed in a gloomy silence.

The order and trauquillity of the journey was no where disturbed, excepting in the envirous of Beaugency, where the sudden appearance of three hundred Cossacks occasioned a very unexpected interruption. One of the string of carriages was already plundered by these troops, ever greedy of booty, before the others were aware of their presence. The effects were, however, in a few minutes after, restored, through the intervention of an aide-de-camp to Count Schuvaloff, as he passed rapidly from the head to the end of the convoy;—the funeral procession it might well be called.

The civil and military authorities of Orleans came out to meet their Majesties the Empress and the King of Rome. The city guard, and a

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numerous garrison, formed two hedges between which their Majesties passed, and who escorted them from the gates of the town to the episcopal palace. It was six o'clock when they arrived; the crowd was immense, and their reception here was not with the profound silence that they had been seen to depart from Blois. The Prefect had all the journals taken away from the public places: some few cries of Vive FEmpereur were heard.

Several of the ex-ministers who had sent in their adherence, received, on arriving at Orleans in the evening, notice from the minister of the police, that the next day, Easter Sunday, the Empress would have mass celebrated, and afterwards would hold a council of regency. One of them, the Duke de Feltre, who had intended passing the day at Orleans, could find no other means of getting out of this awkward situation than by setting off immediately for Paris. We know not whether the council was numerously attended, or what passed there, but her Majesty did not receive the constituted authorities of the place.

The town of Orleans was in a very singular situation. After having seen its gates barricaded, its bridge ruined, its walls armed with pieces of artillery, it was now encumbered with the ruins of the court, of the government, and of the army. It was full of troops of every kind, who arrived without chiefs, and chiefs who arrived without troops. It had no longer any reason to fear the horrors of a siege, but it was by no means safe from the disorder to which a disbanded army may resign itself. The public papers which, for three days, had been in free circulation, made them acquainted with the acts of the new government; but they still did not the less live under the regime of the old, and the proclamation of Blois remained posted up every where, without the authorities attempting to interfere, and put order in any part. By the side of the proclamation alone was to be read an exhortation to every one to conduct themselves pacifically, yet from no quarter did it appear towards whom this pacific conduct was to be observed, by whom it was to be guaranteed. All was done without mentioning the imperial government which they no longer dared invoke, or the royal, which they did not yet dare to proclaim.

This state of neutrality or interregnum, doubly grievous to a town animated with an excellent spirit, and which, after experiencing two months of oppression and terror, wished for nothing so much as to testify the joy felt at its deliverance, appeared more particularly in the religious solemnity of Easter. The hymn of Salvum fac Imperatorem was not performed, it would have been too much in contradiction with known events, and with wishes of the faithful; but though the Salvum fac Regem was in every heart, they dared not yet pronounce it with the lips. Easter Monday passed much the same. It was expected that the Empress would depart; some said that she was going to Fontainebleau to meet Napoleon, others said that Napoleon had departed, and that a very different meeting was prepared for Her Majesty.

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On Tuesday the twelfth, Prince Etterhazy arrived, sent to Maria-Louisa by her august father, and the Archduchess departed for Rambouillet without an escort, with a train of six carriages for the people of her own houshold and that of her son. On Thursday the twenty-first, this Princess quitted Rambouillet to return into the bosom of her family and of her nation. They must ever see in her, a victim who devoted herself for their safety, while France can never forget that twice she saved her from the horrors of a civil war; once in quitting Paris where her presence would have occasioned a fatal resistance; the second time in remaining at Blois, and opposing with courage and resolution the violence of her brothers-in-law.

The Empress-mother quitted Blois with Cardinal Fesch, her half-brother, who arrived there only the evening before by a long and circuitous route. From the time of the first alarms at Lyons, on the 12th of January, his Eminence found himself very much divided between his affection for his family and love for his country. The voice of blood was the strongest; it took the lead in his Eminence's heart; he quitted his see, and followed the civil authorities to Roanne, little satisfied with the spirit of the Lyonnese, who he said were so inert that they would not defend themselves. From Roanne his Eminence proceeded to Pradines into a religious house of nuns which he had established; but he was soon obliged to quit this retreat. Happily, he escaped meeting a detachment of allied cavalry, whom chance had brought thither, and who left him but just time sufficient to mount his horse, and ride away in the utmost haste.

His apartment was visited as an object of curiosity, but without the least injury to the property. His stables were equally visited, but not equally respected; the cavaliers found there several fine riding-horses, which they thought in the absence of the master they might appropriate to themselves.

From Pradines, his Eminence proceeded to Avergue, then into the Lower Languedoc, whence he reached the banks of the Loire by the Mountains of the Vivarais. He arrived at Blois only at the moment when it was necessary to quit it again. He stopped at Orleans for Easter-day, and the next morning set off for Rome with the Empressmother. This latter evinced more ill-humour than resignation. Her lady of honour, who had attended her to Blois, quitted her at Orleans; she was desirous to replace her by some one under a more modest title, but this she found impossible at Orleans. Unable to restrain her indignation, "It is not yet finished," said she, as she departed, "we are not inexperienced in revolutions."

The Kings Joseph and Jerome contrived to lose themselves among the crowd. Louis remained at Blois, where some interest was shewn for him. He found also in religion a more solid source of consolation. On Palm Sunday and on Holy Thursday, he attended the holy offices in the church of St. Louis, in the dress of a general. He soon after set out for Switzerland, where he purposed fixing his residence at a country house

which he had in the neighbourhood of Lusanne, living upon a pension derived from Holland. Joseph and Jerome remained a week at Orleans, or in the neighbourhood; on the 18th of April they quitted it, taking also the road to Switzerland.

Thus ended this family of Kings, who had not been placed on thrones from their merit, nor even through their ambition; and who knew not how to preserve a power they had not known how to refuse.

MEMOIR OF THE FRENCH WAR-OFFICE ON THE FRONTIERS OF FRANCE OPPOSED TO HOLLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS.

Published from the Depôt de la Guerre during the Ministry of Carnot.

FIRST MEMOIR.

On the Frontier of Flanders from Dunkirk to Charlemont and Givet.

By M, de la Fitte Clavé.

(Continued from our last.)

AFTER the enemy, following the line of the coast, should have rendered himself master of Dunkirk, Gravelines, and Calais, he would come upon the barrier of La Canche, and would thus be enabled to come both on the flanks and rear of the towns of Ardres, St. Omer, Aire, Bethune, St. Venant, and Lille. It is very improbable, indeed, that he should succeed in the sieges of three such strong places as Dunkirk, Gravelines, and Calais, and is infinitely more likely that he would be diverted to the attacking some other point of the frontier. But if he persisted in pursuing this line, he would have to attack in the first place the line of the Canche, and afterwards that of La Somme.

Calais is then the Appui to the new line of defence formed by the canal from thence to St. Omer, and covers the places of Artois. But if the enemy should penetrate by the Lys, it would be necessary to change the disposition of the entrenchments of this line, and to transfer them to the opposite bank.

After the capture of Dunkirk and Bergues, the enemy would find it easier to besiege Gravelines than St. Omer. The enemy, in fact, could not venture against St. Omer till after having taken Gravelines and the post at Watten, and he would then only have diminished a mass of difficulties, which no prudent general would incur.

I should suppose under these circumstances, that the enemy, if desirous of penetrating into Artois, would attempt in preference the passage of the Lys, the nature of whose banks, being occasionally very reentrant (jutting inwards) renders it more easy of attack than of defence. The proximity of Lille indeed would enable us to harass them upon this line of attack. The enemy, however, by this line would turn our line of defence of the Deule, and would thus enable himself to move either to the right or left, and to make the siege of Lille, or if he preferred it, those of Aire, Saint Venant, and Bethune.

If the enemy should cross the Lys, and direct his attack along this line, (as he will do, if he comes from Ghent, or Antwerp) the first place which he meets upon this river is St. Venant,—a town of no great strength,—having entrenchments only of earth, and depending chiefly upon its waters. St. Venant, however, has an advantageous situation, being in advance of Bethune and Aire, and thus well situated to receive aid from either of these points. Mount Bernecton, moreover, affords a most favourable position for the defending army. In this position, between Bethune and St. Venant, were the celebrated lines of retrenchment in 1710, which Marlborough forced, and thence proceeded to the siege of Douay, Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant.

After the siege of St. Venant, the enemy will proceed to that of Aire, by which alone he can render himself master of the Lys, and thus have that river to convey his provisions. On the other hand, as we shall have the advantage of the Lower Lys till the enemy shall have taken Aire from us, we shall be enabled to harass him extremely in that attempt, and particularly as to his line of circumvallation. The taking of Aire will put him into a condition of proceeding to the sieges of St. Omer and Andres upon the right, and Bethune and Lille upon the left.

After the loss of St. Venant and Aire, our defensive line is reduced to the Scarpe and La Canche, which we must join by a short connecting entrenched line between them. We shall then have to leave Lille to defend itself, and confine ourselves to the defence of the line of the Scarpe and the Canche. The enemy, as I have said, will then have a choice of two proceedings,—either he will besiege St. Omer and Ardres, or he will proceed to the siege of Lille and Bethune.

St. Omer is a very considerable town situated upon the river Aa, and for three parts of its circuit surrounded by marshes,—a circumstance which renders its circumvallation very difficult. It serves for a communication to the towns of maritime Flanders, and may even serve for a depot, as the Aa and the canals afford an easy mean of transport. The canal of Artois, which connects the Lys and the Aa, connects St. Omer with Aire, and it is thus necessary to take the latter, before proceeding to the siege of the former.

Ardres is a small place about three leagues from Calais on the road to St. Omers. It may be easily attacked, and can with difficulty be defended. Bethune and Lille would be the next objects of the enemy. Bethune is a small place upon the river Lave. Marlborough laid siege to it in 1710, after having previously taken Lille and Douay. The siege was regular, but the allies could not reduce it till after forty days open trenches. Their covering army was encamped, the right at Houdaine, the left at Aubigni. Our own defensive army had its position between the sources of the Scarpe and the Canche, ready to transfer itself behind one or the other river according to its need, and having its right at Montnescourt, its left at Couroi, and its centre at Fresseux.

Marlborough, after having taken Bethune, proceeded to the sieges of Aire and St. Venant; but as he had not previously taken Ipres, our

garrison in that town interrupted the navigation of the Lys, and burned great quantities of ammunition, &c. on its way to their army. This accident compelled the allies to direct their convoys by the Scheldt to Tournay, from whence they transported them to Lille, and thence to Bethune and Aire. It was then that our defensive army, always retaining its position between the sources of the Scarpe and the Canche, sent forth large detachments, and greatly harassed their convoys between Bethune and Lille. It is true, that after having taken Aixe, St. Venant, and Bethune, the enemy would find it easier to proceed to the siege of Lille than if he began with the latter siege first, since, by the passage of the Lys he would have turned the defences of the Deule, and have intercepted our direct communication with St. Omer, Arras, and Lille. Your Lordship will therefore perceive the necessary inference, which is, that the line of the Lys should be put into a stronger state of defence than now exists, the strength of this line being necessary both to prevent the enemy from turning the Deule, and to prevent him from pushing a point towards Hesdin and Dourlens.

If the enemy should at once begin with the siege of Lille, it would be necessary to be particularly attentive to the line of the Lys, and to this end to entrench all the towns and small places between this river and the Deule, such as Merville, Le Gorgne, Estaires, Saelli, Armentieres, and Deulemont. Every one is acquainted with the noble defensive position of Marshal Saxe at Courtrai in 1744, when having his front covered by the Lys, and retaining his communication with Lille, he lived upon the enemy's country, and held the superior army of the allies in check during the whole campaign. He had twenty-three squadrons at Lille, and eight at Douay to keep the enemy, as he said, on the alert, and to hinder him from passing with his detachment the Scarpe and the Deule. Of so much military value is the position about Lille in a defensive view; and in an offensive one, Lille, Douay, Valenciennes, and Maubeuge, are the very portals and master-keys of the Netherlands.

Lille is a place of immense strength, admirably well fortified, and which the enemy cannot besiege till he shall have forced the passage of the Lys or the Deule. When the allies laid siege to it in 1708, they had previously been masters of Menin; but not having taken Tournay and Ipres, our army had a double means of greatly annoying them, namely, either by the attack of their covering army, or by an assault upon their line of circumvallation, which was of immense length. Mariborough, who commanded this covering army, encamped at Helchen upon the Scheldt, in order to assist his convoys from Ath, Brussels, and Oudenarde. But when our army approached Lille, this general found it necessary to quit this position; and after a variety of movements, to take up a new position by La Marque, his right at Antreulle, his left at -Pont-a-Tressin, and his centre at head-quarters at Peronne. To attack him in this position, it was ecessary for our army to turn the little river Marque at its sources, and when he saw our army, which was encamped between Tournay and Lille, was in movement for this purpose, the Dukea second time changed his position, and took up a new one, having its right upon the Deule, and its left upon the Marque. The time which our army employed in defiling in these marshes of the Deule and Marque, enabled Marlborough to entrench his army, and thus protect himself from every thing but a bombardment. Our general, seeing the strength of this position, returned to the plain between Tournay and Lille, and there resumed his measures for interrupting the convoys.

As the enemy's line of circumvallation, in the siege of Lille, would be of great extent, we might attack it with great advantage, and particularly in the open country between the Deule and the Lys. These attacks will be more dangerous to the enemy, as in the event of being defeated, he would have no point to retreat to. Douay is an excellent point from whence to make these attacks, because equally convenient for the right or left of the Deule.

Should the enemy take Lille, he would procure the means of either entering Artois by the right, or of falling upon Douay by the left. In the war of 1708 we defended this post by a line which began at Ponta-Wenden on the canal of Douay, and finished at the Lys, covering Bethune and St. Venent. Marlborough forced these lines, and immediately laid siege to Douay. These places are so important, and their loss might lead to such fatal consequences, that your Lordship will not deem me tedious in this developement of the means of defending them.

(To be continued.)

ACCOUNT OF THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE NETHER-LANDS.

You have requested me, where you should rather have commanded me, to give you some information of the Netherlands, which may assist you upon your arrival in a country so new to you. I have very great pleasure in replying to your letter and your request, and have done it, as you will see, at greater length than you probably anticipated. My reason for this length is very simple. With more formality than was consistent with a just consideration of my regard for you, you have said that you made your request with great pain; and as this, therefore, gives me cause to apprehend that you will not repeat this opportunity of obliging you, I eagerly avail myself of the present occasion.

The ordinary route from England to the Netherlands is by the way of Ostend. You will see by the advertisements in any of the morning papers, that packet-boats daily sail from Gravesend to Ostend, and that the regular packet proceeds every Sunday from that place. The packet is fitted up with every convenience, both of cleanliness and delicacy. It usually takes forty cabin passengers, and the greater part of them at present are officers or their families.

The passage seldom takes more than twelve hours. But as the entrance of Ostend is extremely difficult, except during high water, on account of a bar of sand at its mouth, there is a signal staff, on which a

flag, hoisted at the proper time, informs the masters of vessels that the water is sufficiently deep. The height of the water is, indeed, exactly marked by flags of different colours.

Upon arriving at Ostend, you will be rather disappointed as to what you will have conceived of that town. Its fortifications are very insufficient; it depends chiefly, indeed, upon its dykes and sluices. On the north east, from Bruges and Blakenburgh, great labour has been employed in barricading the different passes and entrances to the town by rows of piles and trees driven in the ground, about six feet high, and cut pointed at the tops. But the Emperor Napoleon, during his former government, had more confidence in armies than in fortresses; and hence the Netherlands were not so well secured, as might otherwise have been expected from the activity of his character.

The town is very considerable, and not unpleasant. It is made up of several long paved streets, having in the centre an open square or market place. Here are the town-house, and other public buildings. The basin and dockyard are worth a momentary inspection. They are full of the wrecks and remains of the flotillas destined by Napoleon to act against England. This man's character and acts are a singular mixture of weaknesses and strength,—of much that was truly great, and all that was truly little. His English invasion was as farcical as his continental system was tremendous. How nearly (as far at least as human means are concerned) had he succeeded in establishing for centuries the domination, or in other words, the military despotism of France, both over the nation itself, and, under the name of Mediator, Protector, &c. over all the powers of the continent. The pacquet will land you at the inn called the Cour Imperial, but you will find better accommodation at the Hotel d'Angletarre.

From Ostend, where there is nothing to detain you, you will doubtless wish to make your best way to Ghent, Brussels, and Antwerp. From Ostend to Brussels is about 60 English miles,—namely, from Ostend to Bruges 12 miles,—thence to Ghent 22, and thence to Brussels 25. The general conveyance (where you have baggage) is by the canal to Bruges. The Treschyut, or barge, proceeds at the rate of four miles an hour, and you will see objects enough to amuse you. The banks of the canal are agreeably diversified by several pleasant villages and small farms. The hour of departing is perhaps rather too early. You must set off from Ostend at five o'clock in the morning, and reach Bruges by eight. You are supplied with breakfast in the barge; it consists of tea, coffee, eggs, &c. all very good, and very cleanly and neatly served. The expence, both of passage and break fast, does not exceed twenty English pence.

You will be much pleased with Bruges. You will find it very pleasantly situated, and surrounded by deep canals. The houses are very large and antient, possessing the remains of their former grandeur and opulence. The town is nearly four miles in circuit, and has numerous streets, many of which are long and spacious. The steeple at the top

of the grand market is reckoned one of the most beautiful of the kind in Europe; it is of immense height, and has an excellent set of chimes, which play every quarter of an hour. There are several good churches. The cathedral is now superbly decorated with sculpture and paintings of the first Flemish masters; but the ancient plate has been concealed. The church of Notre Dame of Bruges is likewise a beautiful structure, and its steeple is a sea-mark to sailors coming into Ostend.

From Bruges to Ghent is 22 English miles, and the usual conveyance is by a canal. The boat sets out every morning at nine o'clock, and reaches Ghent between three and four in the afternoon. You can have no conception of the neatness of these roads from what you see in England. They are capable of containing two hundred persons. The state cabin is most handsomely decorated with damask furniture, over which is the quarter-deck or roof, having seats for fine weather, and covered with an elegant canopy, after the manner of the Venetian Gondolas. The passage affords a most delightful view of the country, passing through the most fertile part of Flanders, every where intersected with the ornamental grounds of gentlemen's seats, and small villages. You must not form your notions of these Flemish canals by the nakedness which you may have seen along those in our own country; our canals are all new, whereas these canals, being the works of centuries ago, rather resemble rivers flowing through parks, fields, and groves.

The accommodations as to refreshments are likewise very respectable; the vessel is divided into three separate cabins, according to price. The first cabin, and dinner at the first table (for dinner is included, if agreeable), is about four shillings and sixpence each; the price of the second table and cabin is half a crown; and that of the third cabin, as for passage without dinner, tenpence English.

The principal dinner, which is served in the best cabin at one o'clock, is not inferior to any in a London tavern.

Within a mile of Ghent, is Marienkirk, containing many country houses of the citizens. On the arrival of the barge at what is called the Bash Gate, at the head of an extensive basin, there are a number of coaches, and one or two horse chaises ready to convey you with your baggage for a franc or a franc and a half, to any part of the city, to which you enter by the Bruges gate, and passing up the high street, towards the middle of the city, you again pass another bridge through the Tower-gate, and then enter the square of the corn-market, where is the Stag Inn. The streets of Ghent in general are spacious and paved, the houses large and lofty, with very antique fronts crowded with windows. The coach-offices are in the corn-markets, from whence the diligence departs night and morning to Brussels, Antwerp, Gramont, Outlenard, and Courtray. The price is from seven to nine francs for a distance of about thirty miles, either to Antwerp or Brussels; but the misery of this conveyance to an Englishman is beyond all description: you are close confined; for as the opening on each side is not above a

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foot square, you can see little or nothing of the country as you pass; and ten persons are generally crowded in a space not so large as is allowed for six in England. No passengers are taken outside, as the roof is occupied by an immense wicker locker about four feet high, for stowage of goods and trunks, and boxes out of number fastened behind. The driver sits in front under a head similar to that of a one-horse chaise, sometimes only taking a passenger along with him, which is the most preferable place.

As Ghent will be your head-quarters, I shall now suppose you arrived in that town, and proceed to give you a brief description of those principal towns in the Netherlands which are the chief subjects of present interest, and which you will do well to visit at your leisure. The chief of these are Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, and Liege.

NAMUR is situated at the conflux of the Sambre and the Meuse, twelve miles south-west of Huy, and thirty-two of Brussels. In 1781 the Emperor Joseph destroyed the fortifications of all the frontier towns in the Austrian Netherlands, Namur excepted. In 1792 it was taken by the French republicans, and has since been the scene of other vicissitudes. On the road from Charleroy to this city, various alleys of lofty trees are seen leading down to the different houses, which though rather Gothic in their appearance, exhibit a considerable degree of neatness and cleanliness, corresponding with the good taste and easy circumstances of their proprietors.

An eminence close to Namur exhibits a charming view, though the rivers Sambre and Meuse are not visible. Upon the declivity of an immense rock, which in a manner hangs over this city, there are several kitchen gardens that have a very picturesque appearance. There are also some small habitations very near its summit. Upon this eminence there is likewise the remains of an immence citadel; but the place was at the same time defended by a double chain of mountains, extending along both sides of the river. The bed of the Sambre being considerably higher than that of the Meuse, this inconvenience has been remedied by the construction of a sluice.

Among the delicious fish abounding here, are carp, trout, barbel, salmon, and crabs in abundance; great numbers of the latter are an article of exportation, and are well known by the appellation of the *Ecrivisses de Namur*.

Among the churches in this city, the cathedral, and that of the cidevant Jesuits, appear the most striking. The first, which is modern, is of the Corinthian order, and has a beautiful dome. The interior is interesting, and merits the attention of travellers. Its portico is embellished with twenty fine columns of the same order, supporting a façade, the cornice of which serves for a pedestal to several statutes of white marble. This Jesuits' church is, beyond contradiction, superior to the cathedral. Its arches of white marble, sculptured in the taste of the times, at a great expence, are uncommonly rich. The nave is supported by twelve rustic columns of red marble, surmounted by Ionic capitals.

The stones of the marble pavement of different colours, are curiously jointed in each other. Wood, richly sculptured, adorns the lower part of the walls, and the confession boxes are extremely beautiful, each of them presenting the appearance of three arcades, supported by spiral columns, which produce a very fine effect.

Most of the streets in Namur are large and clean, and have agreeable openings. The houses in general built of a darkish blue stone, exhibit a whimsical, though rather pleasing appearance. The houses in the Grand Place, or Square, which is rather an oval, are all three stories

high; but the Hotel de Ville here is scarcely worth notice.

The iron-mines in the neighbourhood of Namur and the forests near the Meuse, supply such an abundance of charcoal, that a great portion of the population is employed in the iron-works. A lead-mine at Vedrin, a small distance from Namur, is also very profitable. The stone. or rather the marble quarries in this neighbourhood, produce excellent lime, and stones of very large dimensions. The perfection with which they polish marble here, renders it very beautiful. The best black marble is also said to be had only here, so that the Italians themselves have for some time past been compelled to use it. Here is also a brisk trade in cutlery and copper. The immense vein of marble that commences in the quarry called Des Malades extends as far as Luxembourg, but not without varying in its colour, so that at Vausore and St. Remi, the red tinge predominates over every other. Entering the ci-devant Duchy of Luxembourg, by Fontaine L'Eveque, a rocky and mountainous appearance meets the eye, not to be found in any of the Belgic provinces, excepting when near the sea coast. Still activity, industry, and easy circumstances, are every where visible, even upon the rocky shores of the Meuse; and yet in the appearance of the country here, and the other parts of Belgium, there is almost as much difference as between day and night.

The ruins of the Abbey of Aulne, situate on the Sambre, between Mons and Fontaine L'Eveque, are extremely magnificent. The country about it is wild and woody. The building originally formed a kind of amphitheatre on the banks of the river; here the cloisters alone contained three hundred columns of marble. The church was one of the finest and largest in the country. The farm-house and part of the brewery belong. ing to the Abbey still remain: from the magnitude of the ruins, the extent of the whole appears to have been considerable. The gardens were situated behind the Abbey, on the brow of a range of hills, and a part of these are still cultivated by three monks, who being attached to the place, have remained there ever since the year 1794, when the French Republicans expelled the religious, and seized their treasures. Of several apartments in the Abbey still standing, the vaulted roofs alone have been destroyed. In one of the vaults many skeletons were seen entire in 1813, with their sanduls also in a perfect state. The Abbey of Aulne, founded in 656, by St. Landelin, was occupied in the tenth century by Canons Secular; but in 1144, Albiron, Bishop of Liege, obliged these

Ecclesiastics to take the habit of Canons Regular of St. Augustin. The annual revenue of this abbey was upwards of an hundred and thirty thousand crowns.

CHARLEROY is about fifteen miles west of Namur; and has been often taken and retaken. Its chief commerce used to be in nails and cannon, and other iron-work. The middle quarter, full of melting-houses, mills, and forges, very much resembled Birmingham. To the north-east of it stands the abbey of Fleurus, famous for the battle between the French and the allies in 1690, being gained by the former.

But though the traveller going from Namur to Luxembourg finds no more of that which used to enchant him in Flanders, Brabant, and the other provinces, the Cosmopolite, the naturalist, and the painter will never want subjects to interest them. Even the epicure will find his account in the savour and the exquisite relish, and the moderate price of his common aliment.

LUXEMBOURG. This city, situated on the Moselle, is about seventy miles south-east of Brussels. In this province the forests and the mountainous groupes appear varied almost to infinity, and on this account it has been described as a Switzerland in miniature. But as mining is the principal business of this quarter, the immense forests which have been destroyed to produce fuel, have of course given the country the appearance of wildness. Between Wirton and Longwy, it is allowed, there are some fertile tracts; but their extent bears no comparison with that of the cantons, where the ground is of little or no value. In the whole extent of what is called the Ardennes, it is observed, a single atom of calcareous earth is not to be met with; nothing but immense layers of quartz and schist, decomposed upon the surface, producing a soil of the most ungrateful description.

To several other causes that militate against the improvement of Luxembourg, is to be added the want of good roads, as there is not more than one which is at all times passable; and this so far from resembling those fine-paved highways in Belgium, is little better than a heap of raised rubbish, crumbling away with a rapidity that defeats the purpose for which it was designed. Some of the bread made here from a kind of smelt (epautre) is not eatable above three days, though by no means disagreeable to the taste. The few vineyards upon the Moselle afford tolerably good wine. The sheep fed upon wild and aromatic herbs are exquisite in their flavour; the horned cattle are very small, but not less delicious. The horses also are small, but well-shaped and active. The winged fowl, and the game with which Luxembourg abounds, are objects of research among all the connoisseurs in good eating. It is the same with the fish, especially the crabs, and the eels found in the brooks and the small rivulets. Very fine pearls are often found in the Semor, rather of a yellow cast, but very brilliant.

The villages in Luxembourg are so thinly strewed, that a traveller ought to regulate his route accordingly, if he would wish to dine towards noon, or to insure a place of reception at night. Large towns here are

by no means to be compared with the villages in Belgium; the capital only is worthy of attention. Luxembourg is not only well built, but nothing is more singular than its picturesque situation, upon two solid rocks, running along each bank of the little river Else. One of these is of an elevation sufficient to turn the strongest head that could venture to look down upon the river and the Lower Town, where the people appear of the size of puppets. These naked rocks may be said to form the glacis of the place, the approaches to which are thus rendered extremely difficult. They constitute a part of an immense bank of solid marble. extending as far as Namur. Out of this solid rock the fortifications and the batteries have been cut, most of which are of course bomb-proof. Here is also a well of an immense depth in the centre of the Upper Town, from which the people and the garrison might be supplied. should the course of the Else be turned in case of a siege. But as nothing could effectually prevent the destruction of the houses by a bombardment, this place, generally supposed to be impregnable, was entered by the French, after starving out the garrison, in 1795.

LIEGE. This city is situated about twelve miles south of Maestricht, and thirty north-east of Namur, used to be one of the largest and most wealthy cities upon the Continent. Here the Maese is divided into three branches; and entering this city from Namur, we pass this river over a good bridge of nine arches, entirely constructed of blue stone, in the same style as the ancient bridges of Paris. The route, almost all the way from the gate of Namur to the right bank of the Meuse, is through a superb alley of trees. Nothing can be more agreeably variegated than the prospect between this part of the town and the opposite bank of the Meuse, which exhibits a number of comfortable habitations on both shores. But what renders this country most interesting to strangers, is the magnificent coup d'œil of the precipices which run along both sides of this river to a considerable extent. It is impossible for the pen to describe the truly romantic beauty, and the delightful and imposing aspect of these views, which the Belgian artists, who study nature, come here to enjoy. These rocks, sometimes covered with wood, sometimes naked to the summit, are of different hues, white, blue, gray, or sombrous, and varied more or less at every step. From the numerous fissures in these rude unformed masses, trees, copses, and plants of different descriptions, frequently meet the eye, particularly the box and the creeping ivy; the pendent wreaths of the latter have a very agreeable effect. As the pathway to Huy is at the foot of these precipices, which have certainly been formed by some violent convulsion of nature, the passage has in some places been cut through a part of the rock, which seems pendant over the heads of the traveller; and he who is not at times subject to some apprehension of danger, must be void of feeling. Happily, apprehension can only be momentary amidst this picturesque scenery, in which the enjoyment is otherwise without interruption.

ORIGINAL NARRATIVE

OF THE DEPOSITION AND DEPORTATION OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON; AND HIS ITINERARY TO ELBA.

Translated from the French. (Concluded from page 18.)

BUT let us return to Buonaparte, whom we left at Bouillidou. He set out from thence on the 27th, early in the morning, and arrived in good time at Frejus. The prefect of the Var, M. Leroi, came to see him: he was accosted with the reproach—"Is this the levée en-masse that you announced to me?" It is said that the mayor told him, that his two greatest enemies were the conscription and the united duties. It is farther said, that Napoleon having asked how the people of Frejus were disposed, the mayor answered, that they were favourable to him, and that he had nothing to fear. "Yes," said Buonaparte, "I have been satisfied with my reception this night." The mayor repeated the assurances which he had given him. Buonaparte then said, "I am sorry that Frejus is in Provence, and that I have never done any thing for you; but I hope that in some months I may be able to repair the omission."

When he was alone in his chamber, he walked about hastily, going at intervals to the window to look at the frigates as they arrived in the road of Frejus. He never went to the window that looked to the high street.

In the morning of the twenty-eighth, the whole train prepared for their departure to Saint Rapheau. Some of the commissaries, and a party of hussars took the lead. The effects were embarked, but Buonaparte did not arrive. At nine o'clock, tidings were brought that he was indisposed. This delayed the embarkation, which did not take place till cleven at night. At the moment of his coming on board, the Russian commissary said: "Adieu Cæsar and fortune." The English fired a salute of one-and-twenty guns, contrary to their usual custom. Let us now awhile leave him peaceably to pursue his course towards his new empire, while we give a sketch of the disposition of the people there, and of the events which had taken place from the twentieth of April.

On the twenty-first of April, the garrison of Porto Longono, composed chiefly of Italians, revolted. After breaking one of the arms of the commandant, and killing or wounding several other of the officers, they directed their course to Rio, where they embarked for the Continent. The next day, the twenty second, in the fear lest something of the same kind should happen at Porto Ferrajo, the troops were assembled. They were required either to remain faithful to the French Government, or to return to their own homes. The greater part of them being Italians, preferred the latter alternative, and they were accordingly sent to Piombino.

On the twenty-seventh, there was an insurrection at Porto Ferraje, occasioned by some of the inhabitants who wanted to give the Island up to the English. These latter, availing themselves of the circumstance, sent a flag of truce to summon General Dalesme, commandant of the

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Island, to surrender the place, urging the fall of Napoleon as the reason for his so doing, sending in the journals to attest the truth of his fall. The council of war answered, that they were going to dispatch a French officer to Paris to procure information concerning what had passed, and intreated the English commander, Montresor, to give him a safe-conduct. This the commander refused to grant, and renewed his summons. Great murmurings were occasioned in the Island by this event; the inhabitants of Porto Ferrajo were only restrained by the cannon of the forts, which were in possession of the French. But the discontents broke out in the villages, particularly at Marciana, where Napoleon was burnt in effigy.

On the twenty-eighth of April, at nine in the morning, an English flag of truce arrived at Porto Ferrajo, bringing an aide-de-camp of the minister at war, who was the bearer of dispatches to his Excellency General Dalesme. These dispatches announced the fall of Napoleon, and his future residence at the Island of Elba. Such news excited the greater astonishment in the General, inasmuch as he had not received any for two months. Napoleon was then triumphant, and it appeared scarcely possible that so great a revolution should have been effected in so short a time. The bearer of the news was, besides, not known to any one belonging to the garrison. To all these motives for doubting the truth of the relation was joined another, that was the repeated attempts which had been made by the English to get possession of the Island.

The distrust of the general was only increased, and his doubts were almost changed into certainties, when a quarter of an hour after the arrival of the aide-de-camp, and during his conversation with the general, a second flag of truce came with a fresh summons to surrender the place. This being communicated by the general to the aide-de-camp, the latter did not know to what a demand of this nature was to be attributed, and intreated the English captain to land alone, that he might explain the matter. The general consented; and a person was sent to invite the captain on shore. When he came into the town, the people, who were still ignorant of what had passed in France, and who persuaded themselves that this officer came to take possession of the island in the name of his Britannic Majesty, received him with acclamations, which testified the desire they had to pass under the dominion of England.

The general having communicated to the English captain the dispatches of the French aide-de-camp, the captain answered that he had been informed of the news two days before, but that the commandant Montresor, to whom doubtless it was not known, had charged him when he quitted Leghorn, to go to the island of Corsica, with the mission which he had now executed. He said, however, that he would go and seek information relative to the state of things. He afterwards desired permission for himself and the other vessels that were cruizing to come into port and salute the new flag. This the general refused, observing that such a step might occasion a commotion among the people, whom he had great difficulty to restrain. The captain then withdrew, and departed, in a few minutes after, with the aide-de-camp.

By noon the English vessel was no longer in sight, and discharges of artillery announced the return of the Bourbons. Some of the peasantry, however, attached to their ancient sovereign, cried out in favour of Ferdinand. Many others assumed the black cockade, the soldiers were disposed to abandon their standards, appearances of a disposition to revolt were manifested all over the town. The general then ordered the gates to be shut, placing about them four pieces of artillery, four and twenty pounders, loaded with case shot. He summoned the National Guard to patrole the town, and arrest all who shewed a disposition to be turbulent; the guarding the forts was confided to the French, to whom orders were given to fire upon any assemblages of the people. By these dispositions, which intimidated the mutinous, order and tranquillity were maintained. The neighbouring villages confined themselves some to hoisting the English flag, others that of their ancient sovereign.

Such was the state of things when on the 3d of May, at five in the evening, an English frigate, the *Undaunted*, was seen to moor at a quarter of a league from the town. In a few minutes a boat was dispatched from it, which came to the Office of Health requesting admission into the town.—Having obtained it, the Grand Marshal Bertrand, General Drouot, a Russian General, an Austrian General, a Colonel of the Lancers of the Guard, an English Colonel, and two foragers of the palace landed, and waited on General Dalesme, to inform him of the arrival of the Emperor Napoleon, and to take possession of the Island in his name. This, General Bertrand proceeded to do immediately, putting the seals upon the public chest.

General Dalesme immediately ordered the garrison under arms, and went accompanied by all the authorities of the town, on board the English frigate. The Emperor could ill disguise his mortification at so pitiful a deputation. After putting some questions relative to the island and its inhabitants, he dismissed them, ordering that all the Mayors and Ministers of the neighbouring villages should be immediately convened. The inhabitants of Porto Ferrajo assembled upon the port to attend the debarkation of their new sovereign; but at eleven o'clock at night, after having luffed for some time about the island, Napoleon ordered notice to be given to General Dalesme, that the ceremony of his reception should be deferred till the next day at two in the afternoon.—The foreign commissioners and the French officers in the meantime passed a part of the night, and the next morning, in walking about the town, visiting all the public places, and endeavouring to learn the temper of the inhabitants.

On Wednesday the 4th at noon, the troops were all under arms, and the authorities went down to the port. At three o'clock the emperor's debarkation was announced by a discharge of twenty-one guns from the frigate, which were answered by a like number from the forts. The Emperor was then seen coming in a boat, dressed in a blue great coat, which he wore over a coat embroidered with silver, on which was some particular decoration also of silver. He wore a round hat with a cockade in it.

Immediately on coming on shore, he received the keys of the town from the hands of the Commandant, and was addressed by the Sub-prefect. He afterwards placed himself under a canopy which was brought for the purpose, and proceeded on foot to the parish church. His countenance was singularly gloomy, his eyes were fixed

alternately upon all the people by whom he was surrounded, as if seeking to hide the distrust and fear by which he was agitated; nor did the acclamations he received appear to inspire him with any confidence. When he arrived at the church, a Te Deum was sung, during which he appeared extremely affected, even shedding tears as he raised his eyes to heaven.

This ceremony concluded, the Emperor directed his steps, with extreme baste, almost running, to the mayoralty, where apartments were prepared for him. He was followed by a great number of people, who were permitted to enter with him. He began to put questions to those around him, and seemed to recover somewhat from his agitation. Nature soon resuming her rights, he began to reproach the mayor of Marciava upon his effigy being burnt there, and upon the inhabitants having hoisted the English flag. He exhorted the mayor to preserve order in his commune, and charged him to assure the administrators that the liberty of the seas would soon afford them the means of repairing their losses. The ministers were exhorted to preach concord among their parishoners, and the chiefs of the different corps were recommended to preserve a strict discipline. After this audience, he mounted his horse, and rode about the island for some time, notwithstanding that the wind and rain rendered the ride very disagreeable.

The same day, his taking possession of the island was attested in the following proces verbal:

"This day, May 4th, 1814, his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon having taken possession of the island of Elba, General Drouot, governor of the island, had the flag of the island, a white ground, crossed diagonally with a stripe of red, on which are three bees embroidered with gold, hoisted upon the forts. This flag has been saluted by the batteries from the forts upon the coast, by the English frigate the Undaunted, and by the French vessels of war in the port. In witness whereof, we, the Commissaries of the Allied Powers, have signed the present procès verbal, with General Drouot, governor of the island, and General Dalesme, commandant in chief of the island. Done at Porto Ferrajo, May 4, 1814."

At the same time General Dalesme issued the following proclamation:

- "Inhabitants of the island of Elba.—The vicissitudes of human life have conducted among you the Emperor Napoleon, and his own choice gives him to you as a sovereign. Before he entered your walls, your august and new monarch addressed to me the following words, which I hasten to impart to you, as the pledge of your future happiness.
- "General, I have sacrificed my rights to the interests of my country, reserving to myself the sovereignty and property of the island of Elba, to which all the Allied Powers have consented. Please to make known to the inhabitants the new state of things, and the choice which I have made of this island as my place of residence, in consideration of the mildness of their manners and their climate. Tell them that they will be always the objects of my most anxious solicitude.
- "Inhabitants of the island of Elba, these words want no commentary, they pronounce your fate. The emperor has judged you rightly. I owe you this justice, and I freely render it to you.

[&]quot;Inhabitants of Elba, I shall quit you shortly; it will be painful to me to be se-

parated from you, for I love you sincerely; but the idea of your happiness will soften the bitterness of our parting. Wherever I am, I shall always be near to this island in the recollection of the virtues of its inhabitants, and in the vows I shall incessantly offer for their welfare. "The General of Brigade, Dalesme."

"Given at Porto Ferrajo, May 4, 1814."

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Two days after the date of this piece, another was published, infinitely more envious. This was the Mandate of the Vicar-general of the island, Joseph Philip Arrighi, the relation of Buonaparte. It ran as follows:

MANDATE.

and of the Metropolitan Church of Florence, &c. Vicar General, under the Eichop of AJACCIO, of the Island of Elba, and the Principality of Pioneino. To our well-beloved in the Lord, our bretheren composing the clergy, and to all the faithful inhabitants of the island, health and blessing.

"Divine Providence, who in his benevolence disposes irresistibly of things, and assigns to nations their destinies, has pleased that in the midst of the political changes of Europe, we should become in future the subjects of Napoleon the Great.

"The Island of Elba, already celebrated for its natural productions, will henceforth become illustrious in the history of nations, by the homage it will render to
its new prince, whose glory is immortal. The Island of Elba takes, in effect, a
rank among nations, and its little territory is ennobled by the name of its sovereign.
Raised by an honour thus sublime, she receives into her bosom the anointed of the
Lord, and the other distinguished persons who accompany him.

"When his Imperial and Royal Majesty made choice of this island as his place of retreat, he announced to the universe how great was his preference for it. What riches are about to flow into your country!—What multitudes will flock to it on all sides, to contemplate a Hero.

"The first day that he set foot on these shores, he announced our fate and our happiness. 'I will be a good father to you,' he said; 'be you to me dear children.' What words of tenderness! what expressions of benevolence: what a pledge of our future happiness!—Let these words be ever cherished in your recollections, let them be the charm of your thoughts; imprinted deeply in your souls, you shall ever find in them an inexhaustible source of consolation. Let fathers repeat them to their children, let the remembrance of words which assure so much glory and prosperity to the island of Elba, be perpetuated from generation to generation.

"Happy inhabitants of Perto Ferrajo, it is within your walls that the sucred person of his Imperial and Royal Majesty will reside. Renowned of old for the mildness of your character, and for the affection you have borne your princes, Napoleon the Great will reside among you; never forget the favourable opinion he has conceived of his new subjects.

"And you, brethren, the faithful in Jesus Christ, conform yourselves to your destiny: Non sint schismata inter vos, pacem habete, et Deus pacis co dilectionis erit vobiscum. Let fidelity, let gratitude, let submission reign in your hearts; be all united in respectful love towards your prince, who is rather your good father than your sovereign; celebrate with a holy joy the goodness of the Lord, who has reserved this happy event to you from all eternity.

"We order, in consequence, that ou Sunday morning next a solemn Te Deum be sung in all the churches, in thanksgiving to the Almighty for the favour he has granted us in the abundance of his mercy." (Signed) Arright, Vicar-general.

FRANCESCO ANGIOLETTI, Secretary.

Given at the Episcopal Palace of the island of Elba, May 6, 1814.

BUONAPARTE AT ELBA.

On the 5th of May, Napoleon went out on foot at five in the morning, to visit all the public establishments. He returned at nine, after having overpowered every one whom he met with questions, and harassed those who accompanied him with fatigue. He directed many changes to be made; he would have wished that the barracks of St. Francis could be metamorphosed in a moment into an Imperial palace for his residence. It was observed to him, however, that the island did not offer resources sufficient for satisfying his wishes so instantaneously. He paid particular attention to the salt-works which occasion the bad air breathed in the country; they are so noxious, that no one can sleep near them without catching a fever. He gave orders for converting the premises into a vast lazaretto.

The next day, the 6th, he set out very early in the morning, accompained by General Bertrand, the Austrian and Russian commissaries, the colonel of the lancers, and an English colonel, to visit the mines at Rio. When arrived there, he examined every thing with very great attention, proposed several improvements, and paid a warm tribute of commendation to the chief of the works. At ten o'clock he went to the house of M. Pons, the director of the mines, to breakfast. While he was waiting for the table to be spread, he walked about the room with hasty steps, appearing absorbed in reflection; at length, starting on a sudden from his reverie, he said with much warmth to the Austrian General—' If I had not been deceived by that scoundrel De I should have arrived at Paris two hours before you—I should have raised all the people in the suburbs—I should have attacked you, should have crushed you, and driven you beyond the Vistula. I had besides a sufficient number of adherents to have maintained a civil war for three years; but I preferred the peace of France to all the laurels which I might still have gathered."

After breakfast, he desired to speak with M. Pons, and told him, that since it was his intention to come sometimes to Rio, and his house was very convenient for being converted into a palace, he wished him to seek another habitation for himself and his family. He gave a plan himself of the alterations which he wished made in the house, and charged General Bertrand with attending to the immediate execution of the plan.

On the seventh of May, the Emperor took possession of the pavilion belonging to the officers of the Corps-de Genie, and for the interval between that and the departure of the officers, he gave up to them the apartments which he had inhabited at the mayoralty. This pavilion has only one story, consisting of six windows in front, but it stands insulated in a pretty garden, and overlooks the sea and the town.

At the same time the emperor established his houshold which was to consist:—first, of four chamberlains, who were also to be counsellors of state. The persons named to these offices were.

M. Lapi Ex-mayor of Porto Ferrajo.

M. Vantini, Ex-judge of the Criminal Tribunal.

M. Gualante, Mayor of Rio.

M. Tradite, the existing Mayor of Porto-Ferrajo.

The salary of these united places was fixed at twelve hundred francs.

Secondly. Three officers of ordinance, viz:

M. Vantini, the son.

M. Binelli, the son.

M. Peré, the son.

Thirdly. Two foragers of the palace:

M. Deschamps.

M. Baillon.

1815.

The Emperor next announced, that he should be at home to receive ladies, twice a week, at eight in the evening. The Elbese fair did not fail to accept the invitation. Napoleon presented himself in the midst of the circle, and asked many questions; in particular he inquired of each lady her name and her husband's profession. The greater part answered, that their husbands were in trade. Napoleon then enquired what trade, when he found that one was a baker, another a butcher, and so on. Little satisfied with the rank of his visitors, he retreated in a very short time; the ladies retreated also, and in a fortnight he found his court wholly deserted

From the seventh of May to the twenty-fifth, Napoleon was principally occupied with arranging his house, and closing up the avenues to it. He presided himself at the works, going among the masons at five o'clock in the morning, in his silk stockings and buckles.

On the 25th of May, the Dryad frigate, commanded by M. de Montcabrie, and the Inconstant brig, commanded by the Viscount de Charrier-Moissard, arrived at Porto-Ferrajo. The frigate was destined to carry home the French garrison, and the brig was to remain with Napoleon. After an exchange of salutes between the French and English ships, which was made gun for gun, the Count de Montcabrie paid his respects successively to General Dalesme and to General Drouot, the governor of the island; he had previously intimated to the latter his arrival and the object of his mission. In the night between the 25th and 26th, five English transports arrived, bringing with them the Imperial guard of Napoleon, consisting of a thoutand men, grenadiers, chasseurs, officers and soldiers of the artillery and Polish lancers, with nineteen marines and six Mamelukes.

On the 26th, at five in the morning, as the sailors were washing the decks of the Dryad, Napoleon arrived there, accompanied by General Bertrand, General Cambrune, Commandant of the guard, who was just arrived, and several other officers, with the commandant of the transports. As he came on board he said to the Captain and the officers that he could not pass a French vessel without visiting it. He made the tour of the decks and the forecastle, asking a variety of questions of the sailors whom he met, and then withdrew to go to the English frigate. He was there cheered with five rounds of huzzas from the crew; all the vessels in the road saluted him except the Dryad and the Inconstant. He presided himself at the debarkation of the guard, and of his effects, and seemed very much pleased at receiving the latter.

Sunday, May 29th. After mass a public andience was held, at the conclusion of which the emperor had a private conference with M. de Montcabrie. That officer was then invited to dine with the Emperor; at the dinner were also present, General Bertrand, General Dalesme, and two ladies of the island, Madame and Mademoiselle Vantini. It was the festival of the patron saint of the towp, and a ball was given at which the Emperor with his whole court attended.

June 1st. The Princess Paulina arrived in a Neapolitan frigate, called the Letitia, commanded by Vice-Admiral Lostange.

June 2d. This princess and the frigate both departed.

June 4th. Every thing being prepared for the departure of the garrison, the Captain of the Dryad gave orders for the embarkation. He, accompanied by M. Charrier, the Captain of the Inconstant, went to inform Napoleon of their intended departure, and were well received by him.—After conversing with them for a few minutes, he invited them to breakfast, during which the conversation continued upon indifferent subjects. The breakfast concluded, he wished them a prosperous voyage and departed. He sent them a renewal of his adieus by the Grand Marshal, at the moment when they sailed.

June 26th. The Imperial Guard gave an entertainment to the inhabitants. There was a ball at which Napoleon was present; he stayed three hours, walking about, and talking to the ladies as at the Thuilleries. When he quitted the ball at two in the morning, he got into his carriage, and went to Marciana.

August 2d. Madame Buonaparte his mother, arrived with two ladies of honour,

and M. Colonne, the Chamberlain.

August 15th. Being Napoleon's birth-day, the guard would give an entertainment. Napoleon added a ball to it, at the expence of the town. He sent the following note to the governor:

"As I have not yet a house which will permit of my giving entertainments, I shall wait for the arrival of the Empress, or the Princess Paulina, whom I expect early in September, for a display of fireworks. I wish the commune to be at the expence of a ball, which shall be given in the Place, a building of wood being run up for the purpose; and that the officers of the Imperial guard, and of the free battalion may be invited to it. Near this building let an orchestra be constructed, that the soldiers may dance, and let there be some flaggons of wine that they may drink. I desire also that the commune will marry two young men, and give them portions. The Grand Marshal and the authorities to assist at these marriages, which shall be celebrated at the bigh mass."

A ball was accordingly given by the commune, on the Place, at which the Emperor's mother, Madame Bertrand, and the two ladies of honour attended. There were present about thirty ladies, în a room which would have held three hundred.

Napoleon did not appear, and the ball was very dull.

Porto Ferrajo is no longer the same place. Artists of all professions are established there; three hundred masons have arrived within a month; strangers flock thither from all parts, some attracted only by curiosity, others to make speculations. This influx has doubled the price of every thing; house-rent is beyond all price. Pavilious are to be constructed for the officers, and the houses are to be raised, as the only means of enlarging the town, since the site of it is confined by the sea, and the fortifications. One change has been made, in which the true genius of Napoleon is conspicuous; the church of the hospital has been converted into a theatre, and actors were expected to open it on the 1st of October. The streets have been repaired, and rendered fit for carriages. The soldiers appear little satisfied with their residence on the island.

The Emperor's life is very uniform. He goes out regularly every morning at five o'clock, commonly either to Saint Martin or Marciana; at ten he returns home to breakfast. He then remains at home till six in the evening, when he takes a ride or walk, accompanied only by a single officer. When he is on foothe stops the first person he meets, and if he likes his conversation, makes him walk with him for hours together.

On this subject I must mention a circumstance which happened the very day after his arrival. At two o'clock he mounted his horse to ride round the bay. A peasant who perceived him, escorted by several English, persuaded himself that the island had been surrendered to England, and that he was a commander sent thither by the king of Great-Britain. He accordingly went down on his knees, and in this posture made a most pompous ealogium on the English, at the same time breaking out into violent invectives against the French Emperor. As he spoke Italian the English did not understand a word that he said, but Napoleon asked him the accasion of the invectives he uttered. At this question the peasant entered upon an enumeration of the misfortunes he and his family had experienced, occasioned by the conscription, the taxes, &c. &c. He would never have finished if Napoleon had not continued his ride, without saying a word in answer. The peasant being told that it was the Emperor himself to whom he had been speaking, remained stupified for some moments, and then ran away as fast as possible. From that moment, notwithstanding all researches made, he was never to be found.

ORIGINAL LETTERS

WRITTEN BY OFFICERS DURING THE SEVERAL CAMPAIGNS IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN,

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE CAMPAIGNS.

SIR,—The following collection of Letters is extremely at the service of the Editor of the Military Chronicle, and I think will be valued by his Readers, as being so many original cotemporaneous documents, written at the time, and on the spot, of the several Campaigns. I would likewise suggest, that in printing them in the Chronicle you would follow the order in which I have sent them. I have arranged them, as you will see, in distinct packets according as they belong to different Campaigns. Perhaps, you will find it convenient to adopt the same order, in which case you might entitle the first Packet,—Letters During the Campaign of 1808; and as the value of this kind of document depends upon its authenticity, you will find I have added to every Packet at the end the name of the officer by whom the Letters were written, and you are at liberty to print it. And where the whole of the Letters are not by one Writer, but are intermixed, you will find the intermixed letters signed with the name of the Writer. Thus, in the first Campaign, you will find some of the letters to be from Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Frere, and others.

LETTERS DURING THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1808 AND 1809.

AFTER the gaining of these two battles every thing was expected from our arms; the Portuguese were in the highest spirits, believing that the next stroke would force Junot and his army to surrender at discretion. And, certainly, their hopes were not too sanguine, when we recollect the able dispositions of the British troops on those memorable days; they were highly honourable to the hero who planned them; and whose resistless execution added another bright page to the annals of Britain.

You, my good S——, know how ardently I admire this general; and will believe the pleasure with which I read the following paragraph from the pen of Sir Harry Burrard.

"On my landing this morning (21st of August), I found that the enemy's attack had already commenced; and I was fortunate enough to reach the field of action in time to witness and approve of every disposition that had been made, and was afterwards made, by Sir Arthur Wellesley; his comprehensive mind furnishing a ready resource in every emergency, and rendering it quite unnecessary to direct any alteration."

I wish to heaven, as these sentiments must have been the sentiments of all, that all had acted corresponding to their tendency; and then our transports would not now be riding on the indignant ocean with hordes of exulting Frenchmen on board.

I have accompanied this letter with a little sketch of the ground on which the battle of Vimeira was fought. It is not drawn according to military rule; as you will be better able to form an idea of its character by a view, than by a regular plan. Let me beg of you to get the Gazette which contains the letter of Sir Arthur Wellesley: you will read it with double satisfaction when looking on the enclosed memorandum.

Since I began this epistle I have Tearnt that orders are arrived to recal Sir Hew Dalrymple; the command of the army, consequently, devolves on Sir Harry Burrard; and he, I understand, intends to remove head-quarters to Lisbon, proposing to inhabit the house lately occupied by general Junot. It belongs to a very rich diamond merchant of the name of Quintilla; whose warehouses, no doubt, added greatly to the French commander's collection of precious stones.

I believe in my former letter I mentioned that Benefecca was the residence of Sir Hew. It is a delightful, though odd looking little place; being an assemblege of handsome mansions, and rich gardens laid out in the Dutch taste; with all the characteristics of stiff-cut myrtle trees, triangular intersections, and a most swarming population of clumsy leaden gods, nymphs and heroes.

The convent at Benefecca is rather picturesque; and possesses an excellent picture, called a Vandyke, which it certainly is not. This valuable production had been stolen by the French collectors; and, with great perseverance, was recovered by the British officer who was entrusted with the ardnous duty of answering, if possible, all the claims which the poor plundered Portuguese made for their lost property. This picture being at length rescued by our gallant countryman, the rejoicings, prayers and processions of the holy brotherhood, as well as the neighbouring residents, were as great as if a descended saint had appeared amongst them; and their thanks and praises were poured forth in so ardent a style to the officer, that I should not wonder to hear they had set him down for the next canonization.

In a magnificent valley called that of Alcantara, stands the celebrated aqueduct. In passing to Lisbon from Benefecca you behold its high expanse stretching from hill to hill. This work is of hewn stone; and is, undoubtedly, a sublime monument of human ingenuity, taste, and industry: certainly, since the time of the ancients, no European production has equalled it in usefulness and grandeur Emulative of known greatness, it forms the august union of the two heights, while its stupendous arches rise proudly across the valley; their number, I understand, is thirty-four; and they are said to be the highest to the world. The water runs in a channel along their tops; and two noble stone terraces on each side, protected by strong walls, gratify the pedestrian with the enjoyment of pure air, and a splendid and extensive view of the city, Tagus, and opposite country. On looking down into the ravine below, objects are reduced to a diminuteness hardly conceivable. The villages, vineyards, and people, when seen from above, almost verified a description I once read of the earth's appearance when viewed from a balloon. The commencement of the last century beheld the completion of this great work.

I wish to heaven you were here to participate with me in these my rides and walks! I lose half the enjoyment by being alone; for I ever found that when accompanied by those we regard, the relish for observation and gratification is rendered doubly sweet. But not being present, I must do as well as I can without you; and so give you, at second hand (or rather at second eyes), another prospect of Lisbon.

The best point of view whence this city and the circumjacent landscape appears to the greatest advantage, is on the castle or citadel. This spot commands, in all directions, the wide Tagus covered with ships of every description, whose gay ensigns float in the languid breeze of this balmy atmosphere, and on every side you behold the romantic mountains, once the theatre of many a Moorish exploit, now clothed with Christian hamlets to their saudy

feet. The uneven ground on which the metropolis is built; the white aspect of its structures, broken by the black and mouldering relics of past horrors, present scenes at once interesting and picturesque. One great embellishment in all town-views is here much wanted; the elevated tops, which in other cities are usually given to churches, palaces, and other public buildings. No large or towering edifice here strikes the eye, to break the disagreeable monotony of the undulating line of Lisbon; indeed the only objects which at all partake of the character required are the ruins of the ancient cathedral, and the beautiful convent at Buenos Ayres.

During the public rejoicings for the departure of the French I visited this last holy edifice, and also several others; but in none found any fine work of art; nothing but bad pictures appeared, great gaudiness and splendour, many lighted candles blazing in vast rows of new silver and gilt candalabrums, and the usual compliment of large chalices. Most of these articles have been lately purchased, as all their old plate being seized by the enemy, was either coined into money, or is now on its way to France amongst the baggage of the departed.

In walking the streets of this capital a stranger is painfully struck with the wretchedness of its lower class: sad mementos of the effects of Gallic protection and modes of dispensing happiness! The multitude of Africans we meet at every turn is incredible, and to an English eye and smell very annoying. Their plight is not a whit better, in point of habiliments, than the ragged natives; and the sombre hue of their visages, with the strange discolourings they exhibit from disease and nastiness, give no very agreeable additions to the sight of a fellow creature in poverty.

However, amidst the common people, there is a race called Galicians, who are industrious, well clad, cleanly, and cheerful. Whether they come immediately from that province, or are descendants of old emigrants, I cannot pretend to say; but I am told that all of the Portuguese, of whatever birthplace, who condescend to carry burthens and become thus industrious, are so denominated. The idle Lisboners proudly disdaining to bear any load but that of dirt, it is no difficult matter to distinguish this laborious and well-dressed wholesome race from the squalid native, who would think himself insulted were you to call him a Galician. In consequence of this absurd contempt of manly toil, all the labour and profit of the day devolves on strangers: they carry the water from the fountains to the houses; are the porters of merchandize; and, in fact, monopolize all the health and decent appearance of the lower orders.

Had I come hither during the reign of the French general, I could have had no opportunity of making these observations, as all traffic, commercial confidence, and security in property then took to flight, and hid themselves behind the shut-up doors and windows of their shops. But now, the spoilers gone, a repovated life seems to re-animate this lately persecuted place; the shops are again thrown open, and shine with jewellery, plate, and articles of every kind. The merchant again walks abroad, and, confident of protection, enters on new speculations; while the trading part of the city in every corner exhibits the busy faces of buyers and sellers, the proud looks of commercial consequence. Indeed, you need only cast your eyes upon the map of the world and the port of Lisbon, to see how admirably it is calculated to be a rich mart from every quarter of the globe; and as soon as the acas are open

to carry to and fro the argoises of her merchants, her busy exchange, heaped with the products of the two Indies, and crowded with traffickers of all complexions, may remind you of the wealthy shores of Carthage, where the swarthy sons of Africa mingled with those of Europe; and, decked by the hand of commerce in all the splendors of dress, shone forth not less magnificently than their fairer brethren.

Since I am now descauting on the merits of this old capital, let me transport you back a few ages; let me introduce you to the venerable personages whom the tonsured antiquarians here say were its founders!

The city was built (so these legends tell) in the year of the world 1935; 278 years after the deluge, by a grandson of Noah, named Elisa. What happened to it from the days of the patriarch to the Trojan war I am not prepared to relate; but while the widely wandering Ulysses was encountering his various circumstances of glory and misfortune, by good-luck he landed on the shores of the Tagus, found Elisa in ruins; and being so charitable as to rebuild it while his ship's crew were probably taking in water, new christened the restored town by the name of Ulyssiponna (which derivation you may trace in its present appellation); and then sailed away with his disinterested workmen, to take a hard lodging amongst the caves of the Cyclops. It is a pity that Homer was ignorant of this masonry of his favourite hero, as it might have afforded him a fine subject of encomium: and no doubt can be made that his poetry would have been better than the emblazoned archives of his present holy historians, to set forth the brave monarch's cunning in arts as well as in arms.

The Romans next adopted this mural offspring of two fathers: they made it a municipal city; since then, its various masters and sovereigns greatly increased its extent, and augmented its architectural beauties. Religion has done it much honour; it is the seat of a ruler in the church, called a patriarch: and became possessed of a collegiate institution, to which many of the nobility belong. So marked by the papal see was the elevation of its rank, that the patriarch was allowed to wear the dress of the pope, and the chanions that of cardinals. Formerly, about thirty-two religious brotherhoods, and eighteen holy sisterhoods, out off from society thousands of the useful and lovely inhabitants of this city; at present, the number of establishments of this sort arc not diminished, but the professors are fewer, the recent examples in France deterring many devout persons from taking vows which a revolution might break; and those who might have chosen a cloister from motives merely prudential, regarding it as now a very uncertain asylum, turned their thoughts to ther modes of maintaining a quiet existence. Indeed, the monastic rage is now so thoroughly subsided, that I have no doubt a very short time will weep away all these detestable masses of hypocrisy and idleness, and leave men to serve God in the only proper stile, by honest industry, and promoting 2 12 happy communion with their fellow-creatures. Lave bere been also seem a

None of these consecrated structures, as public buildings, have any claim to admiration. Indeed, this pleasing state of the mind is very seldom excited by any effort of architecture crowning the banks of the Tagus. The Place de Commercio, in the centre of which stands an equestrian statue as bad as possible, is by far the most spacious and superb place in the town, commanding a view of the Tagus, wast ranges of prazza colonnade its sides, and form an agreeable walk before its thops, ware-houses, private dwellings, and the room

in which the mercantile exchange is held. From this magnificent spot branch the most regular and best built streets in Lisbon, many of which lead to the Rocio; the square where formerly stood a royal palace, and where now stands the Inquisition, once so terrible and iniquitous, and still a disgrace to the country.

I am sorry to say, that since the departure of the French those in power are again making its horrors the instruments of their vengeance against persons supposed to have fallen in their allegiance either to their religion or their prince.

The remains of what Lisbon was previous to the dreadful earthquake in 1755 still present themselves in many parts of the city; and certainly the complete devastation made by that tremendous catastrophe well accounts for the present barrenness of the capital with regard to public curiosities or splendid buildings. You may form an idea of the truth of my remark by the following extract from a description I the other day met with, of the horrors of that ruinous scene.

"The royal palace, its fine paintings, plate, jewels, furniture, &c. &c. were all destroyed, amounting to many millions; also all the costly and ancient ornaments of the patriarchical church, as well as the riches of the palace of Braganza, wherein was kept the crown and regalia. What escaped the convulsion of the earth was sacrificed by the flames in every part of this destined city. Most of the strong buildings fell first. The Misercordia, for the maintenance of poor female orphans, was swallowed up, together with all those unhappy virgins. The fine church of St. Domingo, wherein one of the largest libraries in Europe was deposited, became a mass of ruins. The magnificent church of the Carmelites, with its miraculous image of our Lady of Mount Carmel, who, though present in effigy, could not save her favourite temple from destruction; together with the old cathedral establishment of the Canons of St. Augustine, supposed to be the finest piece of architecture in ohristendom, and containing the ashes of King Juan the First, and a long line of kings, all fell into the yawning gulph! The eastle, with its archieves; the prison of the Inquisition; and the Zimoira, an ancient Moorish palace, with a hundred other superb buildings of all descriptions, were lost amid the mingled horrors of fire and the earth's convulsion. Of lives, upwards of 60,000 perished."

From this sad catalogue, you will perceive that Lisbon has no attractions for the traveller who seeks for specimens of architecture, of the fine arts, or antiquity. It is a capital of not more than fifty years standing; and, instead of being re-erected by public spirit or royal munificence, it has been huddled together by an indolent people, too indifferent to mental excellence to cultivate any genius amongst themselves, and too jealous to allow the restoration of their city to be planned by the taste of artists from other countries. I think I must have tired you with so dismal a subject: in hopes that my next may be more amusing, I bid you a short farewell.

LETTER III. Was to the first of the second o

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Lisbon, October 29, 1808.

nubo Marpear Sorous.

HAVING an opportunaty of sending a letter to England, I cannot allow it to escape. Last night we gave to the poblity and others of this place as gay

a ball as our taste could bestow. The opera house was the scene of our revels; and certainly, the male and female Lisbonites shone in their brightest spleudour and beauty. Old and young partook of our entertainment; and considering our clumsiness, when compared with the dexterity of other nations in managing these sort of assemblies, all went off pretty well; not forgetting to crown the whole with a superb banquet.

Lisbon, like almost every other continental capital, appears to an Englishman to want even common comforts. Not an inn is to be found in which you could pass the night without undergoing the tortures of uncleanliness. I made an attempt to lodge in one of them. It would be impossible to find in all Great Britain a habitation so ruinous, so ill furnished, so filthy, and so infested with vermin; and yet this was the Leon d'Or, the chief hotel in the city. I do not speak like one who never till now felt the difference between the warm niceness of a British inn, and the cold discomforts of a continental tavern; I have seen much of foreign inconveniences, and am callous to any thing but the squalid nastiness of Portuguese hotels.

Mules are here used in the same proportion as in Spain, being equally fine and costly when of the first order. A hundred and fifty guineas are often given for a pair; and even a very so so animal costs twenty or thirty monnais. They are far more serviceable than horses, and much less expensive to subsist: a small cabriole and a couple of them, driven by a postiliou, form the equipages of all, being vehicles without taste, but for use very commodious; they hold only two persons. Most people of distinction ride mules finely caparisoned, whose beauty, excepting their ungraceful length of ear, rivals the best of the native horses:

Another valuable animal here is the ox. It does all the actual labour of the country, transporting on a car of a very primitive and picturesque construction incredible leads. These creatures are yoked by the neck; the back of which, from continued rubbing against the wood that attaches the oxen to each other, becomes like the skin of a rhinoceros. The car is massive and strong; of so attique a shape, that I dare say ever since Lusitania knew the Roman juris, diction, this machine has held its primeval form. Not only its fashion, but the temper of the people assure me of this; as they do not seem of a genius either to invent or to improve on the customs of their ancestors.

But now a word or two as to the females of this country. I shall begin with the lower classes: they display a surprising taste in their dress, wearing a wrapping mantle with sleeves which hang down from their shoulders. It is generally of red with, bound and ornamented with black velvet, cut, with midd ingenity. Their mode of infolding themselves in this habit, is very grateful and attracts much attention, as the whole form of the figure is seen flished by a neat foot and ankle. These extremities of their persons are very pretty, and adorned with nicest care: when the filth of the streets is considered, one is amused at the universal cleanliness with which this national mark of female pride is preserved. Their heads are enveloped in a white handkenchief, dot of which peeps an interesting, though sallow countenance, with a pair of fine dark eyes. Such is the tasteneous leaf a Lisbon beauty.

The higher orders; though possessing an equally fine foot and ankle with their frambler sisters, paymery little attention to this part of their persons; and, in fact, the fashion of their dress throughout is inferior to the elegant simplicity of the fair phebeignal I say elegant in form; I do not mean always

in state or materials, as they are often, as you will remember I have before hinted, both ragged, coarse, and dirty; all abandoned to the national infirmity, but the pretty foot and lego soot as game.

There is a middle class which array themselves in black lace veils and cloaks. These females have a neat appearance; and are generally followed by an old woman, a sort of duenna, who keeps a respectful distance from her fair charge.

The nobility seldom go out in the day; and when they do, it is in their carriages to pay visits, or to hear mass. Hence, entertainments, or church, are the only opportunities a stranger has of seeing the females of the equestrian orders. However, since the French brought their own manners into this capital, less ceremony has been used; and the ancient custom of the ladies being so constantly kept a la Ture, is declining rapidly: a great blessing to the fair prisoners, as well as a gratification to the traveller, who can say he has seen half a nation only, when the most beautiful part of it is immured from his eyes.

I cannot speak in commendation of their powers for conversation. The best parts of female education are here not much attended to; therefore our eventing amusements, when we are so honoured as to be admitted of their parties, are generally cards and dancing; for though they always conclude the evening with a supper, it is a repast of which, with them, they have never allowed us to partake. Their hour of dinner is about three o'clock; though some have fallen so far into the English fashion as to make it five.

Professions and ceremonies are passing to and fro without end. No day escapes but what you witness whole trains of monks, accompanied by swarm of idle people, traversing the streets in every direction. Independent of these personages, groups of singers, bearing baskets, and begging in couples, interrupt your walks. Yesterday eight or ten large cars, containing empty copper botters, and drawn by fat oxen, decorated with branches of olive trees, trailed in funeral order about the city. They were preceded by about sixty ill and well-dressed persons, a few monks, and many other people bearing conveniences for collecting loaves from the charitable, in order to make soup for the unprovided. The collection made, the cooking afterwards publicly took place on a spot near one of the holy edifices; around which attended hundreds of naked, lame, lazy, and disgusting wretches, each armed with their various means of receiving the steaming concoction.

Our army is marching in three columns towards Spain. Twenty-one thousand men compose this force. Sir John Moore is their commander-in-chief; Sir Harry Burrard remaining here. A few troops with brigadier general Stewart go to Oporto; and the regiments of the German legion, with some others, amounting to about seven or eight thousand men, remain to garrison the town and forts of Lisbon.

Tintend remaining here myself some few days longer; purposing to eventable the troops before they advance far into Spain. By this little delay I shall certainly find more comforts in the towns I may pass through, than if with the army. During the interval I intend visiting Ciutra, Mafra, &co dish and all with respect to amusements, balls, parties, and other things off a similar sore occupy our evenings. It wish I rould say that the drama was amongst them? That are is like many others here which requiremental exertions, etc. very low ebblas They have two theatres, it is true jobsty then the operations what are they? The opera once was very well sustained; indeed, in no way

inferior to our own, or to the most celebrated on the continent. A few months ago several excellent dancers were brought hither, and ballets were produced in great splendor. But this was under the *regime* of the late French governors of Lisbon; with them, departed some of the best performers; and so this

species of amusement has ceased.

I went the other evening with a very pleasant family to the Salitro theatre. Its entertainments consist of three pieces. One of them was a ballet. Most of the performers were Portuguese; and seemed to place the perfection of their elastic art in the force and height with which they sprung from the ground, cutting, certainly, an unparalleled number of capers in the air. The female dancers were all well formed, with perfectly beautiful legs and feet. Every motion was wonderfully light and dextrous, and yet totally devoid of grace or delicacy. These wanton motions were hailed by the most vociferous acclamations. The dance, which originated in South America, is universal. It has even descended to the lowest classes, as all the peasants foot it to their guitars. It resembles the primitive dances of most savage nations; being a performance between a man and a woman, who sing, and twist their persons in every possible indecent position; advancing to each other, and retreating occasionally, with all the indelicacy of action and grimace conceivable; figurative of rights, which disgrace any art employed to commemorate them. During my observance of an amiable pair thus employed, whilst exerting their agile persons to the best of their lascivious conceptions, I begged to know the sentiments of their song. I put my question to a lovely woman who sat next me. "You can easily judge," said she, "by their action, what is the meaning of their song."

There is another theatre, not far from the square in which stands the Inquisition, where merely comedies are performed, and pieces of great import. I passed a stupid evening there, indeed a very disagreeable one; for not a few of our naval heroes, who had drank too freely of the juice of the grape, placed themselves on each side of the stage, and were no very quiet neighbours to the poor actors. I am happy to see an order from our military governor to prevent such exhibitions in future; as interruptions of the performance, and

fracas, were usually the consequence.

I have made my visit to Cintra since I closed the last paragraph, and have kept my letter open that I might give you the account.

I commenced my journey with the most heavenly weather; but, before I had reached the Lusitanian arcadia, a melancholy change took place in the atmosphere, and I arrived under a heavy storm of rain. As my time was limited, and the present obstacle to a fine view no inconsiderable one, I was obliged to make the best of my calamity, and not allow it to prevent me

gleaning at least a few of the minor beauties of this lovely spot.

It is rightly named the Switzerland of this part of the continent; and its vallies and richly-clothed heights form a luxuriant contrast to the burnt, arid, and barren tracks in its neighbourhood. Many romantic dwellings, belonging to nobility and merchants, are scattered about, and greatly animate the scene. Indeed, to a lover of nature nothing can be more enviable than a residence amid these beauteous hills and vallies. It seems the very garden of the sylvan deities; and I have no doubt, would be found the fountain of health also, were invalids to seek its pure and ambrosial air rather than the fetid and pestilential atmosphere of Lisbon.

[To be continued.]

THE LIFE OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM WINDHAM,

(Continued from our last.)

Mr. Windham having been previously returned not only for Norfolk, but for the borough of New Romney, now took his seat for the latter place; and Mr. Coke was unanimously chosen for Derby, upon his brother's vacancy. The pecuniary burthen on this occasion, which was by no means inconsiderable, did not fall with proportionate weight on Mr. Windham, who had originally been invited by Mr. Coke and his friends to join in the contest, upon the terms of being responsible for a stipulated sum. To the honour of both, it should be related, that when the expences were found to exceed their calculated amount, Mr. Windham pressed and Mr. Coke refused a further contribution in aid of them.

Previous to the meeting of parliament, an expedition for South America, the plan of which had been arranged by Mr. Windham, embarked under the command of Brigadier-General Robert Craufurd. The object of it was, to establish, by conciliatory means if possible, a permanent footing on the western coast of that continent, so as to enable us to turn to greater advantage the possession we had recently obtained of the important post of Buenos Ayres. The troops, consisting of about 5.000 men, proceeded on their voyage with uncommonly favourable prospects, the greatest attention to their health and comfort having been successfully bestowed on them by their commanding officer. But the unexpected loss of Buenos Ayres diverted the army from its course; for, by subsequent orders, General Craufurd was directed to join the troops sent out under the command of General Whitelocke, which were destined to attempt the recovery of our lost ground; an attempt, which contrary to all calculation that could be previously made, proved unsuccessful. From General Craufurd's extensive professional information, Mr. Windham had derived great aid in carrying into execution the measures for benefiting the army. On his departure Mr. Windham called in the assistance of his friend Sir James Cockburn, to whom he always professed himself much indebted for forwarding objects over which he continued to take a watchful interest.

Soon after the meeting of the new parliament, Mr. Windham found a welcome opportunity of giving full expression to those chivalrous feelings with which the successful exertions of British valour never failed to inspire him. In his official capacity, he had to call the attention of the House of Commons to the victory which had been gallantly achieved on the plains of Maida, by a small body of troops under the command of Sir John Stuart. As the task was grateful to him, he executed it in a manner which made the most lively impression on his auditors. The event of the battle of Maida, so glorious in itself, he

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pronounced to be a sure earnest of future triumphs; and his predictions have been happily verified. The rapid and splendid succession of our victories in Spain and Portugal has now incontestably established the position which Mr. Windham always maintained, that "British disciplined troops possess a decided superiority over those of the enemy."

It was during Mr. Windham's absence in Norfolk, that Lord Howick called the attention of the House of Commons to a clause which was intended by the ministers to be introduced into the Mutiny Bill, for enabling Roman Catholics to hold a certain military rank, and permitting to all persons in the army professing that religion the uncontrouled exercise of it. It was afterwards thought expedient that the intended provisions should be made the subject of a separate bill, and be extended to the navy. The misunderstanding which this measure occasioned between His Majesty and his ministers, and the consequent dismissal of the latter from their posts, are subjects that need not be minutely treated of. It will be sufficient to relate, that on the 25th of March, 1807, when called upon with the other ministers to deliver up his appointments, Mr. Windham received a flattering assurance of the sense which His Majesty graciously entertained of the motives that had guided him in executing the duties of his office.

In the very short period of a year and six weeks, Mr. Windham had done much for the benefit of the army. He had abolished service for life, and substituted service for periods:—he had increased the pay of the subaltern, as well as the ultimate rewards of the private soldier;—and (though circumstances had delayed the execution of it) he had passed a measure for arming and training a great part of the population of the country. Little, indeed, had been done in the way of offensive operations; nor, in the then circumstances of the war, was he at all desirous that his administration should be distinguished by services of that nature. He always professed to dislike a war upon sugar islands. But, had a glorious occasion presented itself, like that which has arisen in Spain, there can be no doubt that he would have displayed in the conduct of a foreign war, as much ardour and energy as he had shewn in establishing measures for internal defence, and for laying the foundation of an efficient army.

The Duke of Portland was placed at the head of the new administration. Lord Castlereagh, whom Mr. Windham had succeeded in the war and colonial department, again received the seals of that office; and Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Perceval, occupied the other prominent situations in the new cabinet. In the two successive divisions, the ministers succeeded in negativing the motions which had been brought forward for censuring the means of their attaining office. Their success, however, was not so decided as to render the continuance of the parliament adviseable. It was, therefore, dissolved on the 28th April, 1807, in its first session, and within five months after it had assembled.

The seat for Norfolk, which Mr. Windham had two months before been deprived of by a decision of a committee, was occupied, as has been related, by Sir Jacob Astley, who, after much entreaty, had been persuaded to accept it when Mr. Windham became disqualified; and who could not a second time be expected to retire in Mr. Windham's favour. The kindness, however, of Lord Fitzwilliam, always ready to be exerted towards him whenever an occasion called for it, supplied the loss of other opportunities, and Mr. Windham was returned to his sixth parliament as member for the borough of Higham Ferrers.

In the first debate of the new parliament he made a vigorous stand against the clamour of "no popery," which he complained had been raised against him and his late colleagues. Soon afterwards he gave his decided opposition to Lord Castlereagh's bill for allowing a proportion of the militia to transfer their services into the line, by enlisting at their option either for periods or for life. This he considered as a fatal interruption of his measures which parliament had sanctioned in the preceding year. At the conclusion of the session he brought forward, in the shape of propositions, a summary view of the advantages which had already been derived from the system of recruiting for periods.

The expedition which was sent against Copenhagen, in the summer of 1807, received his decided disapprobation. The following is a letter which he addressed to his nephew, Captain Lukin, who was employed in the naval part of that service:—

" DEAR WILLIAM,

1815.]

Pall Mall, Sept. 5th, 1807.

"I have a choice opportunity of writing to you in the return of Mr. Hoppner, from whom I received the latest, and at the same time the earliest intelligence of you. -Your letter up to the 16th did not reach me till after he had called, and given me an account of you as late as the 23d. I feel very doubtful and very anxious as to the result of your operations, though Hoppner seems to think that the whole will be settled by the time that he returns. If it should, the cause must be, either the want of provisions and water, or that the inhabitants cannot submit to the injury to be done to the town; for the works seem to be such as must, for a considerable time, enable a force, however weak, to hold out against a strong one. But success itself will bring with it no satisfaction. I cannot feel that the accomplishment of all we look for is an equivalent, either for the risk that will have been run, or for the certain discredit that we shall have excited. Buonaparte's designs upon England will not turn upon his having or not the Danish fleet. Our proceedings in the case of Portugal (though such as I never ceased to regret from the moment almost of my having consented to them) were not within a thousand degrees so exceptionable as these; and they ended accordingly in a way which produced neither reproach nor illwill. Had the worst happened, our conduct could not well have been charged as having any thing in it unjustifiable or irregular.

 and having shewn you the machine with which he was provided for blowing up ships. I am sorry to find, that from his account of the orders under which he acted, you might have been led into the belief that it was by my directions that the machine in question was put on board his vessel. Quite the contrary;—it was in direct opposition to my opinion. I deprecate such a mode of warfare, as bad in itself, and one by which we should have much more to lose than to gain.

"Farewell. You will let us hear from you at your leisure. When the fleet returns, we will endeavour to join off Cromer, or at Yarmouth.
"Your's affectionately,

" W. WINDHAM."

The latter part of the autumn, and beginning of the winter of 1807, he passed in Norfolk, in quiet retirement. Being now disengaged from the bustle of office, which he often described as "a perpetual contested election," he once more sought leisure to encourage pursuits in which he had always felt more real enjoyment than he had found as a labourer in the ungrateful soil of politics. A short extract of a letter which I received from him during this recess, may serve to shew how little relish he had for those employments which public men are supposed to regard as their earthly paradise. It should be observed, that a report appears to have reached him, respecting the probability of a change in the administration;—

"Felbrigg, December 12, 1807.

"Mr. ——'s news, which —— has inclosed to me, I can lay but little stress upon; though he may have grounds for believing it, as such things do sometimes transpire in ways that he may have had access to. Perhaps I am the more hard of belief, from having so little auxiety that the thing should be true. This residence at Felbrigg, though I have not, from circumstances, made it so comfortable as it ought to have been, has still increased my indisposition to public exertion; and I shrink from the prospect of returning to parliamentary duty, much more to that of office. I am at times inclined to wish that I had accepted an offer, which you know was pressed upon me, and by means of which I might have better indulged the inclination I now feel for retirement, without wholly losing my hold on public life.

"As to the lead of a party in the House of Commons, it is a situation which I have no reason to think would ever be offered to me, but which infallibly I would never accept. I took an early opportunity of preventing any difficulty upon that subject, by putting myself out of the question.

"You give me a delicate hint in some of your letters, about the task which I was to perform here *. I am sorry to say that I have as yet done nothing, but I hope soon to get into better ways."

In a subsequent letter to me, his dislike of London and of public business was repeated even in stronger terms:—

* The task alluded to was the revision of some of his military speeches, with a view to their publication.

Felbrigg, January 6, 1808.

"The time for returning to town comes now dreadfully near, and finds me, as I am sorry to say is too apt to be the case, very unprepared for it. "Unhouselled, unanointed," &c. I have been sinking fast in idleness, and have been worse, in fact, from not having been quite well;—not so much unwell indeed, as annoyed by a course of medicine."

The idleness, however, of which he here complains, is only to be understood as an absence from political employment; for a mind like his, which, besides being rich in its hoards of science and literature, could lay up stores of wisdom from the commonest events of ordinary life, could never, by any figure of speech, be pronounced idle, unless

through the modesty of its owner.

In the session of 1808, he took occasion to express the strongest disapprobation of the motives which had occasioned the expedition against Copenhagen. He also opposed the Local Militia Act; and took an active part in rejecting the bill for providing for the Maintenance of Curates; which he considered as introducing a dangerous interference with the property of the church. On a subsequent day, he had an opportunity of resisting what he deemed to be an attack on the accustomed comforts and conveniences of the London public. It had been understood that, for the accommodation of a few individuals, some further encroachments were intended to be made on Hyde Park, the "lungs of the metropolis," as it had been emphatically called by the late Lord Chatham. The matter was first noticed in the House of Commons by Mr. Windham, and on the next day he supported, in a short but characteristic speech, a motion which was made on the subject by Mr. Creevy. The scheme meeting with this opposition, was not proceeded upon.

Early in the summer of 1808, the eyes of all Europe were directed towards Spain, where a gallant spirit broke forth, such as few persons perhaps besides Mr. Windham had harboured a hope of. His anticipation of it will be found in a speech occasioned by the capture of Monte-Video, and delivered on the 16th of April, 1807, more than a twelvementh before the commencement of the resistance which he contemplated. From the first notice of this resistance to the latest period of his life, he was a jealous Spaniard. He not only took the most lively interest in the proceedings of the patriots, but even promised himself an opportunity of becoming a personal witness of them, by undertaking a voyage to the scene of action. With a view to give facility to this purpose, he actually began and made some progress in the study of the Spanish language. It happened, however, that a rheumatic complaint, for which, after other means had failed, he sought relief from the Bath waters, delayed his project, till the retreat of Sir John Moore, and the disasters with which Spain then seemed nearly overwhelmed, rendered the execution of it no longer desirable or expedient. The intended trip is alluded to in a letter which I received from him before his departure from Bath, and in which his description of his disorder may be thought not uninteresting by those who felt a personal regard for him, especially as it has been thought to have had a share in producing the fatal complaint which occasioned his dissolution:—

Pall Mall, October 21, 1808.

"I am still here, and still confined to my house, though likely I hope soon to be released. There is nothing, indeed, that either now or for for some time past should prevent my going out, but the fear of disturbing a course of recovery that seems to be going on well, and of which one of the means neight be, the avoiding motion and exposure to cold. I have dislocged the complaint from my back, and have no remains but in the leg and thigh on one side; these, however, though inconsiderable, make me walk much worse than before, while the medicines I am taking, and the confinement I am enduring, render me, for the time, less well in general health. The fineness of the day has tempted me for the first time to take a turn upon the leads at the back of the house; but I do not find that I make much hand (I should rather perhaps say much foot) in walking, while the air has not done me half so much good as I should have found in Hudson's garden.

"You will come up with a grand stock of health after these long holidays. I must have recourse to some expedient of the same sort, as soon as I am at liberty; but whether in Spain, in Norfolk, or elsewhere, I do not as yet know.

Your's, with great truth,

66 W. W."

In another letter to me, of the 30th of October, he describes himself to be recovering, but adds, "I have still a remnant of rheumatism near my hip, lying like snow under the hedges, and which, like that, may continue a long while after the general frost has broken up."—He at length sought relief at Bath, where he tried the waters, under the care of Dr. Falconer, who pronounced the complaint to be *Ischias*.

He remained at Bath till the intelligence arrived of the later operations of Sir John Moore's army. It should here be noticed, that, with respect to the assistance which this country was called upon to afford to the Spaniards, his opinion from the first was, that it should be exten-If any force were to be sent into the interior of Spain, he thought it should be a formidable one, but he doubted whether the operations of large coasting armaments would not prove much more effectual. The sending of a force, in the first instance, to Portugal, he regarded as a measure by no means necessary or desirable, but it having been resorted to, and the expulsion of the French from that country having been effected (though in a manner and upon terms which he considered to be highly unsatisfactory), he then thought that our further exertions should be directed to the coasts of Catalonia and Biscay; where the armies of the French, though their progress into the Peninsula might not be completely arrested, would at least be so harassed and diminished, that their subsequent operations might be rendered abortive. To use his own words, "it was the neck of the bottle which

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we ought to stop up." This opinion is referred to in the following extract from a letter which he addressed to me while at Bath:—

as Bath, January 2, 1809.

"Moore's purpose of advancing I have heard with greet pleasure from Lord Liverpool, who is in the adjoining room. I have lately received some very interesting accounts, both from Spain, and from those who have been there; and the result of them is to teach me great distrust of what we may hear unfavourable to the Spaniards. We are a sad people either to judge of, or to communicate with foreigners; and unless our army can strike some great stroke, which they will hardly do without some great risk, their presence will have done more harm than good. The best of the intelligence is the advance of Moore, after he had heard of the success of the French at Madrid. This success at Madrid, with the character which the inhabitants seem to have manifested, may possibly be to Buonaparte the very reverse of an advantage. It is a point too, on which, from pride and passion, he may be supposed to have committed an error.

"The part in which the greatest error seems chargeable upon our counsels is the eastern coast of Spain. I have seen officers who were with our squadron in that quarter, and witnessed the conduct of the Spaniards at Gerona. Nothing could exceed the ardour which was shown by the people, nor the means of resistance which the country afforded. It never can have been right, that no assistance was furnished on that side from Sicily, which it might have been worth while even to abandon, for the sake of what might have been done by that army in Catalonia. You were telling me, when I was in London, of what my opinion had been, respecting operations from hence on the northern coast, and which I had almost forgotten; but I found a confirmation of the fact of my having entertained that opinion, in a letter which I had begun, but left unfinished, to Lord Mulgrave."

Another letter, addressed to his nephew Mr. Lukin, may be inserted on account of its reference to this still interesting subject:—

"DEAR ROBERT, Bath, January 22, 1809.

"I thank you for your letter and for your enquiries. I am capable enough of going to London, and to the house, or any where else, but I am unwilling to carry away with me a complaint, when I am on the only spot where an easy cure may be hoped for. I begin, however, to be a little impatient. The Clangor Tubarum in the House of Commons, as heard through the reports of the newspapers, makes me rather restless and agitated, and uneasy at not being in the battle. I am not prepared to go the length of saying that there has been no case in which troops in the interior might be employed with advantage, though I have always seen great inconvenience likely to attend the measure, and have inclined rather to the course of keeping up a continual alarm upon the coast, and assisting the efforts of the inhabitants by occasional and desultory descents."

" W. W."

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The retreat of Sir John Moore, with all the respect which he entertained for the memory of that brave and unfortunate man, he never fully approved of; neither the measure itself, nor the mode in which it was conducted; but he gave ample credit to the gallantry which was manifested in the battle of Corunna. Two other letters which he addressed to me while at Bath will serve to shew how deeply he was interested in the passing events of the war:-

Bath, January 23, 1809.

JUNE

"I shall look with anxiety for the chance of a letter from you tomorrow, though with little hope that it will bring any mitigation of the dreadful news which we have received here to-day, and which to you perhaps is even yet only on its way. Moore killed, Baird with his arm and part of his shoulder carried away, ninety officers killed and wounded, and a loss of men proportionate to a loss of that amount in officers! Such are the particulars which our intelligence contains, and which stands upon authority that leaves little room to hope that the statement may be much exaggerated. The news is not indeed the worst that could have been received, or that might even have been apprehended; but it is fatal under every view in which it can be considered; particularly if it is to have that further disastrous effect which is ascribed to it. of being the last exhibition which we are to make of ourselves in the Peninsula. Though I felt always most strongly the dangers to which we exposed ourselves by sending an army into the interior; and though it would seem at first view that we have tried the measure in a way the most exceptionable, yet I cannot concur in the censure of it which has been so broadly laid down, and from which I am happy in having some time ago expressed my dissent. * * *

"I am, I think, a little better, and am anxious not to be longer absent, though I do not know what it may be in my power to do."

" Bath, January 26, 1809.

66 I have received your letter to-day, and but for the interruption of the post should have had it yesterday. General Hope's letter is felt, I conclude, by every body, to be a very excellent one. I had before been satisfied by the account of officers who had been at Corunna at the time, that the victory was one which Buonaparte could not conceal, and would establish a new proof of the superiority of our troops in any contest in which their qualities could be fairly tried. This is a great consolation in the midst of all that we have to lament, both in the result of our operations, and in the way of individual loss.

"I know not what to say about my return. My complaint is very little, but I cannot say that it shews much disposition to go away. I shall take a new opinion to-morrow."

(To be continued.)

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THE LIVES OF THE

GREAT CAPTAINS OF MODERN HISTORY.

IT is our purpose under this head to execute a task very much wanted, that of giving a complete collection of The Lives of the Great Captains of Modern History. As far as respects France this has been already executed by Brantome, but we have no English Writer who has attempted it. The materials of these Lives will be as follows: 1. Where the subjects themselves have left their own Memoirs, they shall be given in full. 2. Where these Lives have been written by any author of authority, they will likewise be given in full,—such work being translated or reprinted. 3. In want of such materials, the best will be selected from the annals and memoirs of the age in which they lived.

THE LIFE OF JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

BOOK III.

To the Battle of Ramilies, and the Reduction of Brabant and Flanders.

(Continued from our last.)

THESE propositions not being attended to, the duke of Marlborough, having received all the honours due to his extraordinary merit, been publicly treated in the city of London, seen the trophies of his victories hung up in Westminster-hall, and, what was more than all, had the memory of his exploits perpetuated by a royal grant and an act of parliament, his grace prepared again to take the field. The forces of the states, under M. d'Auverquerque, began to canton the latter end of March, and every thing was ready to enter upon acting, immediately after the arrival of the duke of Marlborough. The forces of England and Holland, which were to take the field, consisted of 120 battalions, and 163 squadrons, besides some Palatines, and 4000 Wirtembergers in the pay of their high mightinesses, who were to serve on the Upper Rhine, under prince Lewis of Baden.

The duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague the 2d of April, and was every day all that month in conference with the deputies of the states, and the foreign ministers. His grace, having concerted with their high mightinesses the operations of the campaign, and sent brigadier Cadogan to confer with prince Lewis of Baden on the same subject, set out for Maestricht, where M. d'Auverquerque was arrived two or three days before, and had begun to assemble the army which was to act under his command. The projects of this campaign, like those of the last, were impenetrable to the French. They were every where on their guard, and seemed equally concerned for the lines in Brabant and on the Moselle. Marshal Villeroy commanded this year in the Netherlands; but the Elector of Bavaria ordered his equipage to be got ready, that he might put himself at the head of the army, in case the duke of Marlborough made any attempt against the Spanish provinces.

It gave no small alarm to the allies, when news came that the Emperor Leopold died at Vienna the 5th of May. That prince was born the

9th of June, 1640, was crowned king of Hungary June the 27th, 1655, and of Bohemia the 14th of September, 1656; and the 18th of July, 1658, he was elected emperor. He was succeeded by Joseph king of the Romans, born July the 26th, 1678, crowned king of Hungary, December the 9th, 1687, and elected king of the Romans, January the 24th, 1690. The declaration and vigorous proceedings of this new emperor soon made the confederates easy, who found that the alliance had lost nothing by this change in the head of the empire.

One part of brigadier Cadogan's commission was, to agree upon an interview between the duke of Marlborough and prince Lewis of Baden: but his highness being unable, by reason of his indisposition, to come so far as Creutznatch, according to appointment, his grace went to confer with him at Rastadt, where the operations of the next campaign were fully concerted. It was resolved to leave a sufficient number of troops for the security of the lines of Lauterberg and Stolhoffen, under the command of General Thungen; and that prince Lewis should march with a great detachment towards the Saar, to act in concert with the duke. His grace arrived at Triers the 27th of May, and having assembled all the troops in the neighbourhood of that place, the English forces passed the Moselle at Igel the 3d of June. The Dutch, Hessians, Danes, and Luneburghers passed the Saar at the same time, and so all the forces joined.

His grace advanced by the defile of Tavern, and, after a very long march, the right came within a mile of Syrk. The next day he made a motion, and took the camp of Elft, the right at Perle on the Moselle, and the left at Hollendorf. The design of his grace was, if possible, to bring marshal Villars to an engagement. But that general quitted his camp of Syrk, in great precipitation, though with a much superior army, upon the approach of the allies, and retired towards Coningsmacheren, taking a camp wherein it was impossible to attack him with success. Hence it was concluded, that he had positive orders not to fight, which he might have done with great advantage, in the difficult country the allies were necessitated to pass. But the duke of Marlborough was obliged to offer battle in this manner, if ever he expected the French to accept it; which finding they would not at this time, the siege of Saar Louis was resolved on, to be commanded by the prince of Baden, and covered by the duke of Marlborough.

The taking of that place was of so great importance, that the success of the whole campaign in a great measure depended on it. Yet neither the prince of Baden, nor the appointed detachment, came to carry on the enterprise.

Mean time forage was so scarce, that the English and Dutch army could not long subsist between the Moselle and the Saar. The duke sent frequent expresses to quicken the march of the Imperialists, and exhort the princes, who had promised to furnish artillery, horses, and waggons, to send them with all expedition. His exhortations, and those of the states, were to no purpose: for though some imperial troops were

detached from Lauterberg for the Moselle, they would march only their own way, that is, so slowly, that instead of being on the Saar the 9th or 10th of June, they were not arrived the 20th, and there were neither horses nor artillery provided. Prince Lewis of Baden, who had promised to accompany them in person, came indeed as far as Creutznatch, and then falling sick, took an opportunity to go to the bath of Sualbach, leaving those forces under the command of the count de Frise. The duke of Wirtemberg made a little more haste with his 4000 men in the pay of the states, and the Prussians arrived a day before the grand army was necessitated to decamp.

The French, during this interval, had taken Huy and invested Liege: whereupon the deputies of the states represented to the duke of Marlborough, that it was impossible to subsist any longer in his camp; that the Germans having, by their delays, rendered the siege of Saar Louis impossible, and defeated all the projects on the Moselle, it was to no purpose to continue any longer in these parts, when their forces might be better employed in the Netherlands, for stopping the progress of their enemies. The duke was as sensible of that melancholy truth as the deputies of the states were; but being willing to tarry to the last extremity, he did not decamp till he saw all his hopes vanished away. He left Elfe, his head quarters, the 17th, to return towards Triers; which he did without being disturbed by the French, who saw the confederate army retire with the same tranquillity they had expressed when it advanced that way.

The duke of Marlborough, being arrived at Triers, held a great council of war, wherein it was resolved, that the forces under his command should march back to the Maese, except 7000 Palatines in the pay of England and Holland, who were left for the security of Triers, and other posts on that side, under the command of lieutenant-general Aubach. They were to be joined by part of the troops of Westphalia; and the 12,000 Prussians and 4000 Wirtembergers were ordered to Lauterberg, to reinforce prince Lewis of Baden. According to this resolution, his grace marched for the Netherlands by the shortest way, and the Germans for the Upper Rhine.

Marshal Villars, hearing what was done, made a detachment to reinforce the elector of Bavaria, and another for the army of marshal Marsin in Alsatia, and advanced with the rest of his grand army towards the Saar. On the first notice of it, the brave Palatine general sent orders to the governor of Saarbruck, to quit that castle, and blow up the fortifications, as soon as the enemy should appear; which was exactly performed. This was but the preliminary of another exploit projected by M. d'Aubach; for as soon as this was done, and before any enemy appeared in sight, he destroyed all the magazines the allies had made in Triers, blew up the fortifications, burnt the boats designed to make bridges, and quitted that important post, which had cost so much money to Eugland and Holland.

The French, seeing the allies had abandoned Triers, which they did not hope so easily to regain, took possession of it in this dismantled con-

dition, and marshal Villars marched to join M. de Marsin; in conjunction with whom he beat the imperialists from the lines of Croon-Weissenburg. General Thungen, at the same time, had much to do to maintain himself in the lines of Lauterberg. The same fatal influence, which disappointed the designs of the allies on the Saar, still kept the German troops dispersed, as if on purpose to give an opportunity to the French to beat general Thungen over the Rhine, and retake Landau. This mismanagement of affairs on that side occasioned a representation from the duke of Marlborough to the new emperor, which he sent by colonel Durel, to give him a true account of the posture of things, in order to prevent the like misfortunes for the future.

The duke, as he marched from Triers, was informed by an express from M. d'Auverquerque, that the French had not yet begun the siege of the citadel of Liege. His grace thereupon detached all the grenadiers of the army, and 100 men out of each battalion, under the command of the earl of Orkney, with orders to march with all possible speed to Duren, where he would join them with the cavalry, in order to advance and relieve that citadel, or fight the enemy. This expedition had a very good effect: for the French, being informed of it, sent back their artillery to Namur, and on the 27th of June, in the morning, their troops quitted the city of Liege, of which they had taken possession some days before. Their army marched to Tongeren, and from thence into their lines, upon the approach of the duke of Marlborough, and M. d'Auverquerque, who advanced to attack them the 2d of July.

The generals then thought fit to retake Huy, which was besieged the 9th; and the same day Fort Picard and the Red Fort were taken by storm: whereupon the garrison of the old castle, consisting of 600 men, commanded by brigadier de St. Pierre, surrendered prisoners of war, and had the same usage allowed them which the French granted just a month before to M. Cronstroom, the Dutch governor. That officer had defended the place with a great deal of bravery for 11 days, and the French would have perhaps done the like, if the breaches had been sufficiently repaired.

The duke of Marlborough, after having retaken Huy, continued for some days at his camp about Hannuye, and sent general Hompesch to make certain proposals to the states, in relation to the attack of the French lines, which were drawn so as to cover the whole Spanish Netherlands. Their high mightinesses, having an entire confidence in the conduct of his grace, left it wholly to him, to do whatever he should think fit for the good of the common cause. General Hompesch being thereupon returned, the duke held a council of war, wherein the general officers of his army, and those of that commanded by M. d'Auverqueque, (which was this year encamped separately, to prevent any disputes between officers of the same degree), were present. The forcing of the lines was the subject-matter of debate; but nothing being resolved upon the first time, a second council was called. Some generals in the service of the states opposed the proposal, and gave several strong argu-

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ments against it; but M. d'Auverquerque, the prince of Hesse-Cassel, count Noyelles, and other chief commanders, declared it as their opinion, that the attacking of the said lines was neither dangerous, nor the success of it improbable, if the judicious measures proposed by the duke of Marlborough were put in execution; and a resolution was taken accordingly.

The enemy being posted along their lines with 100 battalions, and 146 squadrons, which made the two armies pretty equal, (the allies being 95 battalions, and 159 squadrons) it was resolved to make a feint to divide their forces. Accordingly, M. d'Auverquerque decamped from Vignamont the 17th of July, at three o'clock in the morning, and marched towards Burdine on the other side of the Mehaigne; and the duke of Marlborough made a motion at the same time, as if he intended to support M. d'Auverquerque in the attack of the lines about Meffelen. where they were not so strong as in other parts. This feint succeeded beyond expectation; for the French marched that way: but the same night, after the signal was given to the soldiers to repair to their tents? the army under his grace was ordered to march; as did also that under M. d'Auverquerque, which repassed the Mehaigne. They both adwanced, with all possible expedition, to support the detachment which was ordered for the attack about Hillesheim. The design was so secret. and so sudden in the execution, that the enemy knew nothing of it; and this being the strongest part of their lines, was less suspected than any other.

As the enemy had drawn off most of their troops, to reinforce the posts on the other side the Mehaigue, the confederate army passed without any opposition: but soon after 24 squadrons of Bavarian horse, and 20 battalions, advanced to repulse the foremost troops. This occasioned a sharp dispute; in which the horse and dragoons of the right wing defeated the enemy, who fled with great precipitation, leaving their standards, colours, and cannon behind them. All the troops behaved themselves to admiration; and, amongst the horse, the regiment of brigadier Cadogan distinguished themselves, having had the honour to charge first. They defeated four squadrons of Bavarian guards, drove them through two battalious of their own foot, and took four standards. They lost lieutenant Austin, and several men and horses. The allies took the marquis d'Allegre and the count de Horn, lieutenant-generals, three Bavarian colonels, and 74 other officers, with 18 pieces of cannon.

The army marched the same day, before noon, to Tirlemont, the French decamping in their sight, and passing the Geete, breaking down their bridges with so much precipitation, that they left behind them 14 or 1500 men, who were taken prisoners; as was also the battalion of Monluc in Tirlemont. The allies could not follow the flying enemy so as to fall upon them, by reason of a defile. On the 19th his grace came to Ulierbeck, and the French seemed resolved to defend Louvain. The regiments of La Marc and Alsace were almost all cut to pieces near Hillesheim, where the attack was begun by count de Noyelles. The

foot under him were commanded by lieutenant-generals Ingoldsby and Scholten, and the horse by the lieutenant-generals Lumley and Hompesch.

commanded the detachment of 38 squadrons and 20 battalions, which I caused to advance to surprise the posts of Neerhespen and Hillesheim, succeeded perfectly well, and distinguished himself extremely; as did also the prince of Hesse, and all the other generals that were in the action; and the troops acquitted themselves with a bravery surpassing all that could be hoped."

This action occasioned a great division among the generals of the enemy: for the Bavarians were accused by the French of having misbehaved themselves; and the elector, on the other hand, complained loudly of the French. That prince expressed himself thus to the baron of Malknecht, his favourite, in a letter from Park near Louvain:— Dear baron,—God forgive those who suffered themselves to be surprised. The whole army is here, and the evil is not so great as to be past remedy. The country of Brabant may be saved, as well as Antwerp, if it please God. I am well, but exceedingly fatigued."—A quite contrary behaviour appeared among the generals of the allies, as may be seen in M. d'Auverquerque's letter to their high mightinesses, in the postscript of which he says, "I must do this justice to the duke of Marlborough, to give him all the honour of this enterprise, which he hath carried on, and supported with a great deal of conduct and valour."

The states general, having received the several accounts of this action from the duke, general Auverquerque, and their own deputies, returned a letter of thanks to his grace; which shewed their grateful sense of his great services. They call his passing the lines a happy success, for which they had made many vows! "Our generals (say they) allow that this victory, under God, is entirely due to your excellency's care, prudence, and valour; having surmounted and conquered those difficulties, and obstacles, which, for above two years, have appeared insurmountable and invincible. This gives new lustre to your laurels, at the same time that it adds to their number."

The duke was in great danger of his life, having very much exposed himself in the action. As he was leading on several squadrons, a French or Bavarian officer quitted his post, and advanced, sword in hand, to strike at his grace; but, as he was raising himself in his stirrup to reach him, he flung himself off his horse, and was killed.

Colonel Richards, who had the direction of making the bridges, and behaved himself exceedingly well, was sent by the duke to give the emperor an account of this glorious advantage, and arrived at Vienna with that welcome news the 26th of July, just when they were celebrating at court the anniversary of the birth-day of his imperial majesty, who then entered the 28th year of his age. The monarch took that opportunity to declare publicly his great esteem for his grace, and said, "That his services to the common cause in general, and in particular to his family,

were such, that they should never be forgotten by him, nor his posterity."

The French army retired behind the Dyle, in an advantageous post. having that river in front, and the city of Louvain, where they lodged several battalions; and it being thought not advisable to venture to pass that river in their sight, it was agreed to attempt it another way. Accordingly the duke being informed, that several posts on the Dyle, between Louvain and the village of Neder-Ische, were slenderly guarded. his grace resolved, with the advice of the generals, to endeavour to force them, in order to the passing of that river. In pursuance of this resolution, a detachment of 18 battalions commanded by count Oxenstiern, and 20 squadrons under the duke of Wirtemberg, were ordered to advance, the 29th of July, about five in the afternoon, with some artillery and the pontoons. At 11 at night, the army decamped from the left, and followed this detachment, which arrived at the posts designed about three the next morning; and the workmen immediately made bridges at Neder-Ische on the left, and near Corbeck on the right. Two Dutch battalions, with 500 grenadiers, and as many fusilcers, passed over at the former place, with general Hukehim at their head, and 500 grenadiers at the latter, who obliged the guards that attempted to oppose them to retire. His grace and M. d'Auverquerque, with their main armies, advanced to sppport the detachments: but that on the right met with great difficulties, having a very large body of foot to attack. It appeared that the enemy, having got notice of the confederates' motion, began to march likewise at midnight; and their van appeared at the same time that the duke's army came to the river, having all the advantage of the ground, and batteries planted just against the bridges. Hereupon his grace signified to M. d'Auverquerque, that, in his opinion, the enterprise ought not to be pushed on; and the Dutch general being of the same sentiment, it was thought fit to order their men to retire; which they did in very good order, bringing away their bridges, and having had only two or three officers wounded, and about fifty private men killed and wounded. The cannon of the allies, which fired in the mean time from two batteries without intermission, did great execution among the enemy's troops. The army afterwards marched, and encamped with the right at Meldert, and the left at Borsu.

While this was doing in Brabant, General Spaar, who commanded the Dutch forces in Flanders, having been reinforced by several battalions, attacked the lines of the enemy on that side, passed the canal between Ghent and Bruges, took four small forts on the canal, and drove the enemy before him to Moerbrugge, where they made a stand with four battalions, and seemed resolved to defend that post. They quitted it, however, upon general Spaar's approach, who made daily some further motions towards Bruges, that he might not be intercepted by a body of troops which Messieurs de la Motte, Vibraye, and Gasse, had assembled in the country of Waes, in the neighbourhood of Ghent, consisting of

21 battalions, two regiments of horse, and one of dragoons. But being informed, by a letter from Mr. Secretary Slingeland, that a treaty for the general contributions of Flanders was concluded, he did not think fit to venture any further into the enemy's country, and retired from Bernen to Meldegern. Here he continued for some time, to refresh the troops under his command, who were very much fatigued, having marched for several days and nights together. He took care, in this excursion, to raise contributions, and secure hostages, wherever he passed. He also sent several parties towards Rosselaer and Menin, who did all the mischief they could, and brought away several hostages. chief design of this general was to give a diversion to the enemy, that might prove advantageous to the grand army in Brabant. This diversion was indeed very considerable, but there was reason to wish it had been better improved. The confederate army being made up of several nations, it was not surprising that jealousy should produce some ill effects: and we shall see more of that nature in what follows.

It proving impossible to attack the French as the duke of Marlborough had projected, his grace sent lieutenant-general Hompesch to propose a new design to the states-general; which being approved, the army was provided with bread for several days. For the success of that march, as it was a very delicate affair, we refer the reader to the letters of his grace, M. de Auverquerque, the deputies of the states, and lieutenant-general Salish.

The duke informs them, that the army marched the preceding Saturday; encamped that day at Corbais and St. Martin, and the next day at Genap :- "Monday (says he), we came to Fichermont, and yesterday, before break of day, we were in motion, and, after having passed several defiles, came into a large plain, finding the enemy encamped, as we expected, between Over-Ishe and Nether-Ishe, with the little rivulet Ishe before them. About noon the army was drawn up in battalia; and having, with M. d'Auverquerque, viewed the four posts I designed to attack, I already flattered myself (considering the goodness and superiority of our troops) to have a sudden opportunity of congratulating your high mightinesses upon a glorious victory; but when there was nothing remaining but to attack, it was not thought fit to do it. I am confident that the deputies of your high mightinesses will acquaint you with the reasons alledged to them on either side, and that they will do that justice to M. d'Auverquerque, to acquaint you, that he was of the same opinion with me, that the opportunity we had was too fair to be let slip: but, however, I have submitted, though with a great deal of regret. I shall speak this day to the deputies and M. d'Auverquerque, that they may give the necessary orders for the attack of Lewe, and to continue the demolishing of the lines." His grace concludes with these remarkable words:- "My heart is so full, that I cannot forbear representing, on this occasion, to your high mightinesses, that I have much less authority here than when I had the honour to command your troops last year in Germany," (To be continued.)

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HISTORY OF THE WAR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

(Translated from the French of General Sarrazin.)
(Continued from page 26.)

ADMIRAL Cotton did not think it proper to grant terms equally favourable to the Russian squadron that was in the Tagus. The convention, which he concluded with Admiral Siniavin on the third of September, stipulated that the nine Russian ships of the line, and the Russian frigate, which were then in the Tagus, should be given up to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton with all their ammunition, and be sent to England, there to be kept as a deposit by His Britanic Majesty, under the promise of being restored six months after the signature of the peace between His Britannic Majesty and His Imperial Majesty of all the By the second article, it was agreed, that Admiral Siniavin, the officers, sailors, and marines should return to Russia. They were five thousand six hundred and eighty-five in number. This arrangement was loyal on the part of the English, and as advantageous to both parties as circumstances would permit. The Russians, it is true, were disarmed without fighting; but of what avail would the most sanguinary battle have been, when they had superior numbers, and English sailors to encounter? The convention of Cintra was highly censured in England, where it was indignantly observed that the French army was merely changing its position. By the fourth article, that army was left in possession of all its artillery, and of the horses, which had been obtained from the Portuguese by French requisitions. The authors of this feeble and dangerous measure endeavoured to justify it, by rating the French forces in Portugal at above twenty-six thousand men; but they neglected to state that the garrisons, the sick, and those employed in administrative offices, ought to be deducted from that number. After the battle of Vimiera, Junot had only twelve thousand fighting men to oppose to about twenty thousand allies. The matter, however, will be seen in a more favourable light, when we consider that the French forces were rendered inactive for several months; -that the allied army became disposable,-that Portugal was evacuated,-and that Lisbon was spared the horrors of a siege.

Thus ended the first campaign of the peninsula, favourably for the Portuguese, and most gloriously for the Spaniards. We may frankly here state, that nothing was wanting on the part of the allies, but a man of consummate experience to organize them, to maintain their enthusiasm, to keep their exertions in a right direction, and, above all, incessantly to repeat—" that they had done nothing as long as there was a single Frenchman in arms upon the Spanish territory." The months of August, September, and October, were lost in unnecessary arrangements. The favourable opportunity to drive the French beyond the Pyrenees was suffered to escape. They ought to have been closely pursued, without leaving them time to recover. It is averred, that Joseph, after his flight from Madrid, could not collect more than forty thousand

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fighting men on the Ebro, whilst, at that time, Castanos, Caro, Palafox, Cuesta, and Blake, had under their orders above one hundred thousand, who, intoxicated with their success, would have completely destroyed or dispersed the wreck of the French army. The very same Frenchmen, who, two months before, had ravaged the finest provinces of Spain, were left undisturbed in their cantonments. Does it not appear as if Madrid became a second Capua to the conquerors of Valentia and Baylen? Under the pretence of clothing the regiments of the army under Castanos, they were quartered in the environs of Aranjuez. Surely a fitter time might have been selected for the operation. It was not in the month of August, and in a warm climate, that the want of clothes could appear a sufficient motive to stop the progress of the army, and prevent its profiting by the stupor, into which the enemy had been thrown by his reverses. Besides, nothing hindered the clothes being made: there was time enough to send them before the winter, wherever the army might be posted after the entire evacuation of Spain. It is to the tardiness with which the military leaders pursued the French, at the period now spoken of, that all the misfortunes which befell the Spaniards in the following campaign must be ascribed.

The English government never neglected to combat the rivals of that nation's commerce, but particularly the French; and this is done always with ardour, often with skill, but seldom with activity. It must also be confessed, that the cabinet of St. James's has very seldom sacrificed the general interest of the nation to the caprice of any favourite. The reverses of England can, therefore, he ascribed to no other cause than the inexperience of the leaders appointed to conduct her expeditions, or the supineness of her allies in seconding their efforts. The march of Sir Arthur Wellesley's army to Santander, for the purpose of acting with Blake and Cuesta, against the right wing of the French, whilst Castanos, Caro, and Palafox, should have attacked them in front and on the left, would have determined Joseph to fly for security under the walls of Bayonne. Buonaparte, who had reasons to fear a rupture with Austria, would not have dared to attempt the passage of the Pyrenees by main force, as long as he was not secure on the side of Germany. Junot's army could not escape; and every thing induces the belief, that, on being informed of the retreat of the French from Spain, this general would have been very glad to have accepted from Sir Charles Cotton the conditions of Ciutra, in order to withdraw his army from the fury of the Portuguese. If it be said that Junot would not have surrendered to the Portuguese, but would have maintained himself in their kingdom, it may be observed, that Dupont, a far more able officer than Junot, could not keep footing in Andalusia, though he had the hope of being assisted from Madrid. He had only Spaniards to encounter, and he had not to provision, or to occupy and retain, without provisions, a city like Lisbon, of nearly three hundred thousand inhabitants. Lord Castlereagh, whom good fortune had attended in the expeditions he had sent against the Cape of Good Hope, Copenhagen, Martinique, and Portugal, would

1815.] have been still more lucky in the north of the peninsula, had General Moore been entrusted with the chief command of the allied armies. On the twenty-fifth of September, 1809, his lordship issued orders for sending, to that part of Spain, an army of forty thousand men, including five thousand horse. The Spanish corps of the Marquis de la Romana, which consisted of ten thousand men, had succeeded in escaping from the French army in Denmark; and it was determined that it should be landed at Santander, for the purpose of acting in concert with the English troops. Notwithstanding the check experienced at Medina del Rio Secco, Blake had still about thirty thousand men. The armies of Estremadura, Castile, Andalusia, Valentia, and Arragon could not be rated at less than one hundred thousand. Allowing twenty thousand to cover Madrid, and to scour the different roads leading to the capital, there still remained two large armies, each of eighty thousand men, which,

all the efforts of the French. Buonaparte was acquainted with these details: he fully knew the means of resistance possessed by the Spaniards when assisted by the English; and he made his dispositions to render them useless. Alarmed at the hostile attitude which Austria was assuming, he resolved to draw closer his ties of friendship with the Emperor of Russia, in order to intimidate the Emperor Francis II. Towards the end of September, 1808, he had an interview with Alexander at Erfurt. There he obtained that sovereign's consent to place his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain; as well as the assurance of his co-operation against Austria, should the latter power declare war against France. The march of the columns, destined against Spain, had been suspended for some days; but as soon as Buonaparte was assured of Alexander's sentiments, sixty thousand veteran troops began their route through Bayonne, for the purpose of reinforcing Joseph's army; and ten thousand marched into Catalonia, under General Gouvion Saint-Cyr, who assumed the command in chief of that province. Marshals Soult, Ney, Bessières, Moncey, Lefèvre, Mortier. and Victor were placed at the head of the different corps: Buonaparte assumed the command in chief. On the thirty-first of October, Lefèvre attacked Blake, who had been joined by the troops under the Marquis de la Romana; and success varied from one side to the other, until the tenth of November; when Lefèvre, having received numerous reinforcements, under the orders of Victor, obtained a decided superiority. The Spaniards fought with the most uncommon intrepidity; but they were vanquished by numbers, discipline, and ability. Had they been under the command of a prudent leader, who would have withdrawn from position to position, avoiding a general engagement, until the arrival of the English expedition, this campaign would certainly have been rendered worthy of the first. The mountains of Asturia afforded many positions so much the more favourable, from rendering the French artillery and cavalry useless; whilst the vicinity of the sea facilitated the arrival of provisions and succours of all kind for the allies.

when well manœuvred, were more than sufficient successfully to repel

Buonaparte's campaigns in Italy, in Germany, and in Prussia, ought to have convinced his enemies, that it was his main principle of warfare to attack before his adversary had time to concentrate his troops. Blake attacked and defeated Lefebre, Duke of Dantzig, on the thirty-first of October, in the environs of Guenez, near Bilboa. The Spanish general knew not how to profit by this advantage; and Lefebre, having been reinforced, was not long before he beat Blake in his turn. Lefevre's success at Espinosa was entirely owing to Blake's presumption, and to his inexperience of war. The same causes produced the same results with regard to the other Spanish divisions. On the tenth of November, Soult attacked the army of Estremadura, which, after a slight resistance, took to flight in the greatest confusion. The French possessed themselves of Burgos, where they found considerable magazines, which would have been much better placed at Astorga and at Saragossa. On the sixteenth Soult's vanguard took possession of Santauder, which contained stores of arms and ammunition that should have been left in places more secure against the invasion of the enemy. On the twenty-third Marshal Lanues attacked Castanos in his position at Tudela. The army of Andalusia, which formed the left wing of the line of battle, opposed a long resistance, and fell back only when, its right being left uncovered by the flight of the army of Castilla, apprehensions were felt of being surrounded by the numerous French cavalry. Buonaparte, at that time, had but eighty thousand fighting men. He had not yet been joined by the corps of Mortier and Junot; nevertheless, he determined to march to Madrid, and avail himself of the advantages which he had just gained. He sent Marshal Moncey against Saragossa, directing Soult to oppose Blake and La Romana. On the thirtieth Victor's corps attacked the position of the Sommo-Sierra, which was defended by ten thousand Spaniards. Had their trenches been constructed with intelligence, they would have been impregnable, from the advantages of the ground; but of these the engineers had not known how to avail themselves. Buonaparte's report evidently confirms the assertion here made; for it says, that a charge by General Montbrun, at the head of the Polish lancers, decided the affair. This is certainly the first time that a mountain, or natural defence in itself, was, when further fortified, thus carried by a charge of cavalry. It is more probable that Victor's infantry climbed the mountain, and turned the trenches constructed by the Spaniards, who then took to flight; and that the cavalry fell sword in hand upon some stragglers. Buonaparte seized this opportunity of making a flourish, praising the valour of these new regiments of his guard; and informing the Parisians that the brave men, who carried, at full gallop, one of the steepest mountains of Castile, would know how to defend the Thuilleries and St. Cloud against all their levies in masse.

The rout of the corps, which defended the Sommo Sicoray, disconcerted the inhabitants of Madrid. They wished to defend themselves, and they might have done so; but there was no one to point out the means. The junta had thought it prudent not to wait the last moment, before they placed themselves in safety. The people, indignant at so

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much apathy in their chiefs, armed themselves with whatever weapon appeared most proper for defence. The streets were barricaded, and the houses fortified. On the first of December Bessieres arrived on the heights, in the vicinity of Madrid, at the head of the cavalry. He summoned the governor to surrender. General Morla shewed as much pusillanimity on this occasion as he had displayed firmness six months before at Cadiz. Instead of encouraging his compatriots to defend themselves, he exerted all his influence for the purpose of inducing them to lay down their arms. Madrid might have resisted a fortnight. and in that case, Buonaparte would have found himself in an embarrassing situation. Sir John Moore, who had left Lisbon on the twentyseventh of October, had reached Salamanca on the thirteenth of November with his vanguard. Sir David Baird was to be at Astorga on the nineteenth. In spite of the reverses experienced by the Spaniards, they might still have collected twenty thousand men under the command of La Romana. Sir John would have employed them in making false attacks, whilst, with his army of thirty thousand, he would have attacked Soult in the early part of December. A number of contradictory reports, which, to judge by their source, appeared equally authentic, kept him in suspense, and caused some delay in his movements.

Madrid surrendered on the 4th of December, almost without any Buonaparte had but forty thousand men against sixty thousand, who, being posted behind walls, were as intrepid as old troops. He took good care not to invest the place completely, for fear of provoking a people jeolous to preserve their laws and their religion. The night previous to the capitulation, all those, who did not wish to stay with the French, were allowed to leave the city. Buonaparte overwhelmed Morla with bitter reproaches for the part he had taken in the capitulation of Baylen: but the General appeared unmoved at them, and submitted to his new monarch. The information, which he sent to General Moore for the purpose of inducing him to march in aid of Madrid, created the suspicion that he had acted in concert with Buonaparte. The English general had a fixed plan of operations, and he soon had reason to congratulate himself for having been deaf to the insinuations of bad faith, and to the counsels, not to say the commands, of ignorance. He was willing to fight for the defence of the Spaniards; but he did not wish to place himself in a situation, that would force him into difficulty, and perhaps end in disaster. When he received an accurate account of the position taken by the French, he thought himself sufficiently strong to attack Soult's corps; and marched to the left, for the purpose of approaching nearer to Sir David Beard. On the sixteenth of December he stationed his troops at Toro; Sir David encamped his troops at Benevente: and on the twentieth the joint army was concentrated at Mayorga: Soult had his vanguard at Sahagan, and his main body at Saldagna. Lord Paget was sent to surprise the troops which occupied Sahagan, consisting of six hundred cavalry. But the French were not surprised. They had

already gained time sufficient for flying to arms. They were attacked with impetuosity; and their loss amounted to about two hundred killed or taken. On the twenty-first the English army was concentrated at Sahagan: it consisted of twenty-five thousand five hundred men, including two thousand five hundred cavalry. According to Lord Castle-reagh's plan, there should have been ten thousand more. La Romana was at Leon with twenty thousand men, ten thousand of whom were good troops: the remainder could be employed only as partizans to alarm the French marauders. Buonaparte was still at Madrid.

At length Sir John Moore resolved to attack Soult, whose army of eighteen thousand men occupied Carrion and Saldagna. On the twenty-third Sir John wrote to La Romana, informing him that he was then marching to Carrion, and that on the next day (the twenty-fourth) he should attack the post of Saldagna; further requesting that he might be seconded on the part of the Spanish commander, either by marching directly to Saldagna through Mansilla, or by crossing the river above Saldagna, to outwing Soult's right. But, at the instant when the English army was commencing its movements, General Moore was informed that Soult had been reinforced, and that a great portion of the troops, which had taken Madrid, were hastening by forced marches, for the purpose of turning his right, seizing his line of operations, and cutting off his communication with Corunna. Sir John, who knew Buonaparte's tactics, thought that there was not a moment to be lost, in order to escape the snare, which had been very dexterously laid for him. He countermanded the march to Carrion, and on the 24th commenced his retreat towards Benevente, with the intention of taking a position on the right bank of the river Esla, there to be enabled either to continue his retreat, or to resume the offensive, according to circumstances. It was not long ere Sir John's doubts respecting the movements of the French were dissipated: he learnt from a safe quarter that Buonaparte had left Madrid on the twenty-second, preceded by Ney's corps, and the cavalry under the command of Bessieres. On the twenty-eighth the English quitted Benevente, with the exception of the rear-guard, commanded by Lord Paget. On the same day Buonaparte fixed his head guarters at Valderas, and Soult was at Mansilla. On the twenty-ninth the chasseurs à cheval of the imperial guard crossed the Esla, under the idea that they should encounter only a few out-posts, left for the protection of stragglers. But Lord Paget attacked them with all his cavalry, overthrew them, and forced them to fall back in the greatest confusion. General Lesevre, who commanded the French, was taken prisoner. This event had a singular effect on the whole French army: every regiment, without exception, was delighted to hear that the English had lowered the pride of those chasseurs; for there was not a man who did not fancy himself a hero, after the success which this corps had obtained against the Russian imperial guard at the battle of Austerlitz.

The English army, which till then had observed the strictest discipline, committed some excesses against the inhabitants, whose apathy 1815.1

towards their allies was well calculated to occasion a degree of discontent. Sir John, who had never yet commanded an army so considerable, especially on a retreat, paid too much attention to abuses that are almost unavoidable, and the repression of which ought to be left to subaltern officers, or to the colonels of regiments. His orders for restoring discipline constituted the eulogium of his heart, rather than of his experience. His ill-timed severity had no other effect than to disgust several officers, who, while they were proclaimed to be the authors of the evil, endeavoured to diminish it as far as their power extended. It is painful to acknowledge, but it is incontestibly true, that there are critical moments in war, when the commanders must wink at some improprieties, in order to avoid greater ones. Is there not, indeed, a great degree of inconsistency in punishing marauders, when no provisions are distributed to the soldier? Can it be hoped that troops will sustain the attack of a well-fed enemy, when they have had no food for four-andtwenty hours? Such was the situation of the English on their retreat to Corunna; and in spite of the privations which they suffered, they let no opportunity escape of supporting their reputation for subordination, and valour, whenever they could stop the progress of the French army.

Sir John left Astorga on the thirty-first, and Buonaparte had his head-quarters there on the 1st of January, 1809. He reviewed his army, which was composed of the corps of Soult, Ney, Junot, and Marshal Bessieres's cavalry. Being convinced that he could not surround the English, he sent Marshal Soult to pursue them, for the purpose of forcing them to re-embark. Marshal Ney was ordered to advance as far as Lugo, to reinforce Soult in case of need. On the fifth, at the moment when Sir John was leaving Villa-Franca, his rear-guard was attacked near Cacabelos, by Soult's vanguard. The French, who had ventured upon rather unfavourable ground, were obliged to fall back, after a brisk fire of musquetry. General Colbert, having advanced at the head of the sharp-shooters, was mortally wounded. When Buonaparte reviewed the cavalry which this general commanded, two days before, he said to him in a friendly tone, "You have shown in Italy and Germany, that you are one of my bravest officers: in a short time you shall receive the reward due to your services."-" You have no time to lose, Sire," replied Colbert with vivacity; "for although I am but thirty years of age, I feel that I am very old." His presentiments were realized, to the great regret of Buonaparte, by whom this officer's talents were highly valued. Colbert had the command of Soult's light cavalry.

On the fifth of January, Sir John arrived at Lugo. He examined the ground about the place: it appeared favourable for giving battle. On the sixth, Soult's vanguard came up with the English, but made no attack. On the seventh, the French, surprised that the English had not continued their retreat, advanced their artillery, and commenced a brisk fire, which was duly returned by their enemy. Soult likewise or-



dered some columns of infantry to advance, which were received by a very brisk fire, and obliged to return to their former position. General Francesch was then commanded to march to the left of the allies, with his light cavalry. This manœuvre was slowly executed, and at too great a distance from the English. Sir John Moore considered Soult's movements as a strong indication of his purpose; and being persuaded that he should be more seriously attacked the next day, he made his dispositions to ensure victory. On the eighth, the English army was arranged in battle array at the dawn of day. The general rode through the ranks, and expressed his high satisfaction at the good appearance of the troops, who ardently wished to prove in battle, that the irregularities of a few individuals had not altered their character for bravery and discipline. Sir John must then have felt some regret at having generalised his reproofs against officers, who, from the very beginning of the war, had always shown themselves full of honour, and zealously attached to good order. Soult likewise placed himself in battle array; but he manifested no inclination to begin the attack. If, instead of dispersing in the mountains, La Romana's army had continued to manœuvre on the left of the English, there is no doubt but Sir John Moore would have acted on the offensive that day, for the purpose of overawing Soult, and preventing any impediment to the embarkation of the troops, which was to take place at Corunna.

In the night, from the eighth to the ninth, the English quitted the position of Lugo. On the tenth they halted at Betanzos, and on the eleventh they took a position on the heights before Corunna. There were a few unimportant engagements with the rear-guard. The want of transports caused some baggage to be lost, and some field-pieces were left behind for the same reason. On the 12th, Soult arrived, with the greatest part of his troops, on the heights opposite to those occupied by the English. The destruction of the bridge at Burgo delayed the arrival of his artillery, which joined him only on the fourteenth. He employed the fifteenth in making his dispositions; and on the sixteenth, at three o'clock in the afternoon, he began the attack. The transports had arrived from Vigo to Corunna, on the fourteenth. Sir John had given the necessary orders for the army to be embarked in the night from the sixteenth to the seventeenth. He was on his way to inspect the troops, when the firing of the advanced posts, and a report from General Hope, informed him that he was attacked. Soult advanced his columns of infantry, under the cover of several heavy guns, the fire of which was favoured by the rising of the ground. His efforts were directed against the right wing of the English, whose position was very faulty. Sir John went thither in person; he directed the movements of the 4th, 42nd, and 52nd regiments, which covered themselves with glory by their coolness and intrepidity.

1815.1

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR,

From the year 1792 to 1814; in which the Military Transactions of each Campaign are related separately and in detail.

CAMPAIGN OF 1793.

BOOK II. CHAP I.

Coalition against France—Chauvelin and Talleyrand sent over to negociate—Disputes relative to the Opening of the Scheldt, and the new System of Fraternisation—Mission of Maret—Proceedings of the English Cabinet on receiving Intelligence of the Murder of Louis XVI.—Declaration of War.

Though the event of the campaign of 1792 was generally favourable to the French, their affairs, at the end of that year, began to assume a contrary appearance, and the anarchy of the government was spreading into the armies. Their armies were thus compelled to fall back before the year had well closed. The difficulties of the government were shortly increased by a coalition of all the powers of Europe, and the most atrocious murder, with which the year 1793 was opened, at once provoked and compelled this confederacy into action. It is no part of our purpose to relate the political transactions of this unhappy period, except so far as they are connected with our military history; but it is necessary for the general order of our narrative, to explain briefly how the powers of Europe, and England at their head, were compelled into a general confederate war.

As long as Louis the XVIth possessed, even ostensibly, the powers of government, the two ministers, accredited by him to England, M. Chauvelin and M. Talleyrand, were treated by our cabinet with the respect which belonged to their official characters. But no sooner was our government informed of the assault of the Thuilleries, and the imprisonment of the King, than Earl Gower was immediately recalled from Paris. The Executive Council now delegated new powers, in their own name, to M. Chauvelin; but as the acknowledgement of these powers would have been an effectual recognition of the anarchical government of France, the English secretary of state declined all further intercourse with him, and informed him that he could no longer regard him as the French ambassador.

In the mean time, the ruling party in France continued their aggressions equally against the public law of Europe, and all the acknowledged principles of social order. By two decrees, the one of Nov. 16th, 1792, and the other the 19th of the same month and year, they proclaimed, contrary to the faith of treaties, the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt, and that "the National Convention, in the name of the French nation, proclaimed fraternity and liberty to all the world, and that they would grant assistance to all people who wished to recover their liberty. M. Maret, now Duke of Bassano, procured a meeting

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with Mr. Pitt to disavow the application of this principle to the English people or government; but as his disavowal was merely individual and oral, and as the decrees were suffered to remain, the explanation was necessarily unsatisfactory.

Lord Grenville, at the earnest solicitation of M. Chauvelin, was at length induced to admit him to an audience, in the course of which he communicated a paper from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the name of the Executive Council. This paper began with the assurance that the French nation had a sincere desire of peace. That the decree of the 19th of November was not intended to countenance the "seditious of all nations," but that it applied merely "to the single case, in which the general will of a people, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call in the French nation to its assistance and fraternity; but mere sedition could never be construed into the general will. The Dutch assuredly were not seditious, when they formed the generous resolution of shaking off the yoke of Spain; and when the general will of that nation called for the assistance of France, it was not a reputed crime in Henry IV. or in Elizabeth of England, to have listened to them .- With respect to the free navigation of the Scheldt, this question, it was urged, was absolutely indifferent to England; that it was of little consequence to Holland; but that it was extremely important to the Belgians." The emperor, to secure the possession of the Low-countries, sacrificed without scruple the most inviolable of rights. He governed them, as Europe has seen, with the rod of absolute despotism; respected only such of their privileges as it was his interest to preserve, and either destroyed or perpetually struggled to destroy the rest. France enters into a war with the house of Austria, expels it from the Low-countries, and restores them to their freedom; their chains were broken; and they re-entered into all the rights which Austria had taken away from them. How can those which they possessed with respect to the Scheldt be excepted, particularly when that right is only of importance to those who are deprived of it?

After an ineffectual negociation, spun out to an unusual length, the English cabinet, through the medium of the secretary of state for foreign affairs, at length notified as the price of peace, that France "should renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement; should relinquish all her conquests, and confine herself within her own territory."

Such was the state of affairs between the nations, when the murder of Louis XVI. which had been for some time expected, rendered all reconciliation impossible. On receiving intelligence of this event, Lord Grenville immediately notified to the French ambassador, that his public functions, which were before suspended, being now entirely terminated, his majesty had thought fit to command that he should retire from the kingdom within the space of eight days. The order of council for that purpose was soon-after communicated to both houses of parliament; and it was expressly and most properly stated, that this ex-

THE COUNTY BURNEY WAS TO A STREET

1815.

ertion of the royal perogative had been recurred to "in consequence of the late atrocious act perpetrated at Paris."

In the mean time the national convention and executive council were justly alarmed at the hostile disposition manifested by the English cabi-A naval war was greatly to be dreaded, more especially at a period when the nobles, who seem to have been exclusively consecrated to the sea-service, had emigrated in immense numbers from their native coun-The forlorn state of the colonies was a continual subject of grief, as the possessions of the republic on the continent of Asia were exposed to an easy conquest by land, while the sugar islands, in case of a war. must inevitably fall a prey to superior fleets. Nor was it forgotten, that the immense wealth of that nation would enable her to continue the contest with many obvious advantages, both in the East and West Iudies; while her subsidies might unite the discordant interests of rival powers, and enable the armies of the European sovereigns to persevere also in the conflict. It was necessary, however, to prepare for a warnow inevitable. Accordingly, Brissot, in the name of committees, presented a report to the national convention, in which he called upon the country to repel what he termed the aggression of the British ministry. 46 Let every citizen be ready to march like a Roman soldier, not only with his arms, but his provisions for a given time: thus you will frustrate the calculations of your enemies, respecting the deficiency of your magazines. Let Frenchmen compose but one great army; let all France become one camp! Let us prepare for ruins and misfortunes, and accustom ourselves to live without those comforts which we might have once deemed necessary. The moment is approaching, when it will be a crime for a citizen to possess two coats, while one single brother remains unclothed."

Brissot at the same time procured a decree, in which were detailed the motives for the commencement of hostilities against England and Holland. These consisted of the withdrawing of the English ambassador from Paris; the discontinuance of all official correspondence with the French minister at London; the refusal to acknowledge the provisional executive council instituted by the legislative assembly; the embargo laid on corn intended to be exported to France; the prohibition of assignats; the alien bill; the protection and pecuniary succours afforded to the emigrants; and, lastly, the order for the ambassador of France to quit the dominions of Great Britain within the space of eight days.

Exactly ten days after this (Feb. 11th, 1793) a manifesto against France was drawn up on the part of Great Britain, and signed at the Queen's house, reciting, that "divers injurious proceedings had lately taken place there, in derogation of his majesty's crown, and the just rights of his people," and that "several unjust seizures had been made of the ships and goods of his majesty's subjects, followed afterwards by an open declaration of war against his majesty and his ally, the republic of the United Provinces." The king of Great Britain, therefore, being

determined to adopt such measures as are necessary for "vindicating the honour of his crown, and procuring reparation and satisfaction to his injured subjects," was pleased to order that "general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of France."

CHAP. II.

Invasion of Holland by Dumouriez—Capture of Breda, Klundert, Gertruydenberg—Gallant Defence of Williamstadt—Arrival of a Body of Guards under the Duke of York—Progres of the Austrians—The French raise the Siege of Maestrich, and retreat on all Sides.

THE Declaration of War against England and Holland, was followed by the immediate invasion of the latter. The French general, Dumouriez, upon entering the country, preceded his march as usual by a Declaration to the inhabitants, in which he endeavoured to separate the interests of the republic from those of the stadtholder: "I enter your country surrounded by the generous martyrs of the revolution of 1787; their perseverance and their sacrifices merit both your confidence and union. I enter your country at the head of sixty thousand free and victorious Frenchmen; sixty thousand more are prepared to defend Belgium; and they also will be ready to follow me should I meet with any resistance. We are not the aggressors; for a long time past the Orange faction hath waged a perfidious and underhand war against us. It is in the Hague that those conspiracies in opposition to your liberties originated; and at the Hague will we look for the authors of your evils. People of Batavia! Give your confidence to a man whose name is not unknown to you; who never failed to perform that which he promised, and who leads to combat those very freemen before whom the Prussians, the satellites of your tyrant, have once before fled, and will again fly. The Belgians already consider us as their deliverers, and I hope you will soon call us yours also."

On the 17th of Feb. the troops, to the amount of about 25,000, took the field. General Berneron was ordered to advance with the van-guard, and dispatch lieutenant-colonel Daendels, a Dutch patriot in the service of France, to Mordyck, on purpose to detain all the boats in that neighbourhood, as well as to throw a bridge over the Merk, with a view to keep up the communication. But as these instructions were not executed in time, the Dutch embraced this opportunity of carrying all the small vessels to the other side, under the protection of three armed shallops stationed near Dort. On receiving this intelligence, Berneron and Daendels were immediately enjoined to advance, while general D'Arçon with the right wing formed the blockade of Breda, and colonel Le Clerc with the left invested Bergen-op-zoom and Steenberg. On this the governours of the two last places immediately abandoned all their out-posts; and the fort of Blaw-Sluys, near Steenberg, being taken, the garrison of the latter was summoned; while that of Bergen-op-zoom hazarded a

few sallies, which were only productive of deserters, who immediately entered into the battalions formed by their countrymen.

In conformity to his original plan, the commander in chief now moved forward between the two wings with the rear division of the army, to Sevenbergen, and gave orders to besiege Klundert and Williamstadt immediately; while Daendels, by advancing to Nordschantz, was to cut off all intercourse between them.

During the period that a flotilla was preparing under his directions to carry his troops across the Mordyck, he ordered general D'Arçon to attack Breda. This place, which had always been considered as strong, besides being provided with two hundred pieces of cannon, possessed an excellent palisade, and was protected by means of an inundation. The garrison consisted of two thousand two hundred infantry, and a regiment of dragoons; but the count de Ryland, the governor, was totally ignorant of military affairs, while the inhabitants were strongly attached to the Revolutionary party.

As Dumouriez had determined not to attempt a regular siege, D'Arcon, without opening trenches as usual, after erecting two batteries of four mortars and four howitzers, immediately summoned the town. After the bombardment had continued three days, during which period the fire of the enemy was kept up with great briskness, it was found that sixty bombs only remained, and that the siege must inevitably be raised as soon as these were expended. In this dilemma colonel Philip Devaux, one of the aides-de-camp, entered the place with a flag of truce, and announced that general Dumouriez was expected to arrive immediately with the whole of his army, after which the garrison must not hope for quarter. The governor was so terrified with this threat, that scarcely taking time to consult his officers, he instantly (March 2.) capitulated, and was allowed all the honours of war. Thus, with a detachment of only three thousand eight hundred men, one of the strongest towns in Holland was taken in the course of a few days: two hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, three hundred thousand weight of gunpowder, five thousand musquets, and five vessels, fell to the lot of the victors.

Nor did the success of the French arms stop here, for Klundert surrendered two days afterwards. This little fortress is built after a regular plan, and surrounded with inundations. Berneron erected a battery of four cannon and several small mortars behind the dike of the canal, within one hundred and fifty fathoms of the walls; in consequence of which the roofs of all the houses were destroyed. The commandant, who was a German lieutenant-colonel, defended the place with great bravery, notwithstanding the garrison did not exceed one hundred and fifty soldiers; but after keeping up a smart fire during several days, on perceiving that he could no longer shelter his men, he determined to nail up his cannon, and retire, with such of the troops as remained alive, to Williamstadt. While attempting to execute this enterprise, he was intercepted by a detachment of Batavians, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Hartmann, whom he killed with his own hand; but he himself

soon after experienced a similar fate *. Ffty-three pieces of cannon, a few morters, a large quantity of bombs, bullets, and powder, were found in the place; and while the French became animated by such easy conquests, consternation and dismay spread throughout Holland.

Berneron now received orders to lay siege to Williamstadt, while D'Arcon advanced against Gertruydenberg. The latter was immediately attacked by means of a few cannon and some mortars, brought from Breda, after a few shot had been fired, colonel de Vaux entered with a flag of truce, and prevailed on the governor to capitulate and accept the honours of war in return for the surrender of the place. By this new acquisition the French acquired one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, two hundred thousand pounds of gunpowder, two thousand five hundred new musquets, and, what was still more essential, they at the same time obtained a good harbour, and more than thirty vessels of different sizes for the transport of their troops.

The siege of Williamstadt, however, was not so prosperous as had been expected. This place, rendered strong both by nature and art, could only be attacked in one part, which exhibits but a small front to the assailant, while supplies of both men and provisions might be thrown in at any time. In addition to these advantages, the garrison was encouraged by the presence of its gallant governor; the assistance of some British gun-boats, and the landing of a body of guards under the command of the Duke of York. Dumouriez, who imagined that the works had been erected at too great a distance, sent thither Duhois de Crancé and Marescot, who traced out a battery within two hundred yards of the walls; but the Dutch made a successful sally, and these two engineers were both killed on the spot.

Notwithstanding the courage displayed by the besieged, and the ar-

rival of this assistance from an ally, the French were still able to attempt a passage from Mordyck, where Dumouriez had prepared a flotilla, and contend for the possession of Holland. They already occupied the fortresses of Breda, Klundert, and Gertruydenberg, in which strong garrisons might be placed for the purpose of securing their rear, while a body of troops under general de Flers could continue the blockade of Steenberg and Bergen-op-zoom at pleasure. The commander in chief accordingly proposed to embark his vanguard at Roowaert, and send his right division from Gertruydenberg, where he had found a great number of vessels admirably adapted for his purpose; and as the distance to Dort was not great, he hoped to effect it by fortifying an intermediate isle with cannon of large dimensions, on purpose to keep off the armed vessels belonging to the enemy.

On searching the corpse, the keys of Klundert were found in the pocket of the brave governor; and the body was afterwards conveyed thither, to be interred with military honours, it is common selections by the continuous and continue of

⁺ The haron de Boetzelaer, who was made a lieutenant-general during the siege, and afterwards received a present of a valuable sword for himself, and a portion for each of his daughters, from the states of Holland. [To be continued.]

1315.]

OFFICIAL NARRATIVES

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS OF BUONAPARTE,

SINCE THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

BEING A COMPLETE COLLECTION OF THE WHOLE OF THE BULLETINS PUBLISHED BY BUONAPARTE TO HIS ABDICATION.

IT is the well known opinion of some of our ablest Generals, that the French Bulletins of Buonaparte contain the most complete practical lessons of modern warfare, and with a due allowance for some exaggeration, include the fullest narrative of the most memorable campaigns on record. A wish, therefore, has often been expressed that they were all published in one form, so as to form a portable manual as well for future reference as for present study. It is our present purpose to effect this. In this, and in the following numbers of the Chronicle, we shall accordingly give a complete collection of the whole of the Bulletins published by Buonaparte. This began only in the first Campaign after he was Emperor. The form of a Bulletin being considered in foreign Cabinets as belonging only to Severeigns.

CAMPAIGN IN PRUSSIA OF 1806-1807.

EIGHTIETH BULLETIN.

DURING the time that the French arms signalize themselves on the field of battle at Friedland, the Grand Duke of Berg arrives before Konigsberg, and takes in flank the corps of the army commanded by General Lestocq. On the 13th, Marshal Soult found at Creutzberg the Prussian rear-guard. The division of Milhaud's dragoons makes a fine charge, defeats the Prussian cavalry, and takes several pieces of cannon. On the 14th, the enemy was compelled to shut himself up in Konigsberg. About noon, two of the enemy's columns, which had been cut off before that place, attempted the bold effort of forcing their way, with a view of entering it. Six pieces of cannon, and from three to four thousand men, who composed this troop, were taken. All the suburbs of Konigsberg were rased, and a considerable number of prisoners were made. The result of all these affairs is between four and five thousand prisoners, and fifteen pieces of cannon. On the 15th and 16th Marshal Soult's corps was occupied before the entrenchments of Konigsberg, but the advance of the main body towards Wehlau obliged the enemy to evacuate Konigsberg, and this place fell into our hands. The stores found at Konigsberg are immense: two hundred large vessels from Russia are still all loaded in the port. There was much more wine and brandy than we had any reason to expect. A brigade of the division of St. Hilaire advanced before Pillau, to form the siege of that place; and General Rapp has sent off to Dantzie for a column, ordered to go by the Nehrung, to raise before Pillau a battery which may shut the Haff. Vessels manned by marines of the guard render us masters of this small On the 17th, the Emperor transferred his head quarters to the farm of Drucken, near Klein Schirau. On the 18th he advanced them to Sgaisgirren; and on the 19th, at two in the afternoon, he entered Tilsitz. The Grand Duke of Berg, at the head of the greater part of the light cavalry, some divisions of dragoons and cuirassiers, has followed the enemy in his retreat these last days, and did him much injury. The 5th regiment of hussars distinguished

The Cossacks were repeatedly routed, and suffered considerably in itself. these different charges. We had a few killed and wounded: among the latter is the Chef d'Escadre Picton, aide-de-camp to the Grand Duke of Berg. After the passage of the Pregel, opposite to Wehlau, a drummer was charged by a Cossack at full gallop; he takes his lance to pierce the drummer; but the latter preserved his presence of mind, takes his lance from him, disarms the Cossack. and pursues him. A singular circumstance, which excited the laughter of the soldiers, occurred for the first time near Tilsitz, where a cloud of Cossacks were seen fighting with arrows. We were sorry for those who gave the preference to the ancient arms, over those of the modern; but nothing is more laughable than the effect of those arms against our muskets. Marshal Davoust. at the head of the third corps, defiled by Labian, fell upon the enemy's rearguard, and made 2500 prisoners. Marshal Nev arrived on the 17th at Insterbourgh, and there took 1000 wounded, and the enemy's magazines, which were considerable. The woods, the villages, are full of straggling Russians, sick or wounded. The loss of the Russian army is enormous. It has not with it more than 60 pieces of cannon. The rapidity of our marches prevents us from being able as yet to ascertain how many pieces we have taken; but it is supposed that the number exceeds 120. Near Tilsitz, a communication was transmitted to the Grand Duke of Berg; and afterwards the Russian Prince, Lieut.-General Labanoff, passed the Neimen, and had a conference for an hour with the Prince of Neufchatel. The enemy burned in great hast the bridge of Tilsitz over the Niemen, and appeared to be continuing his retreat into Russia, We are on the confines of that empire. The Niemen, opposite Tilsitz, is somewhat broader than the Seine. From the left bank we see a cloud of Cossacks, who form the rear-guard of the enemy on the right bank. Hostilities have already ceased. What remained to the King of Prussia is conquered. That unfortunate prince has only in his power the country situate between the Niemen and Memel. The greater part of his army, or rather of the division of his troops, is deserting, being unwilling to go into Russia. The Emperor of Russia remained three weeks at Tilsitz with the King of Prussia. On receiving advice of the battle of Friedland, they both left the place with the utmost haste.

EIGHTY-FIRST BULLETIN.

TILSITZ, June 21.—AT the affair at Heilsberg, the Grand Duke of Berg passed along the line of the 3d division of cuirassiers, at the moment when the 6th regiment had just made a charge. Colonel d'Avary, commander of the regiment, his sabre dyed in blood, said, "Prince, review my regiment, and you will find that there is not a soldier whose sword is not like mine." Colonel Borde Soult was wounded; Guihenene, aide-de-camp to Marshal Lasnes, was wounded, &c. &c. &c. The sons of the senators Perignon, Clement de Ris, and Grattan Coulon, died with honour on the field of battle. Marshel Ney proceeded to Gumbinnin, secured some of the enemy's parks of artillery, many wounded Russians, and took a great number of prisoners.

EIGHTY-SECOND BULLETIN.

TILSITZ, June 22.—AN armistice has been concluded upon the proposition of the Russian General. The French army occupies all the Thalweg of the Niemen, so that there only remains to the King of Prussia the town and territories of Memel.

Proclamation of the Emperor and King to the Army.

Soldiers!—On the 5th of June we were attacked in our cantonments by the Russian army. The enemy mistook the causes of our inactivity. He found too late that our repose was that of the lion-he regrets having disturbed it. In the affairs of Güttstadt, Heilsberg, and the ever memorable one of Friedland, in a ten days campaign, in short, we took 120 pieces of cannon, seven standards; killed, or took 60,000 Russians, carried off all the enemy's magazines and hospitals; and remain masters of Kænigsberg, the 300 vessels that were there, laden with all sorts of ammunition, and 160,000 fusils sent by England to arm our enemies. From the banks of the Vistula we have reached the borders of the Niemen with the rapidity of the eagle. You celebrated at Austerlitz the anniversary of the coronation; you celebrated this year, in an appropriate manner, the battle of Marengo, which put a period to the second coalition. Frenchmen, you have been worthy of yourselves and of me. You will return to France covered with laurels, after having obtained a glorious peace, which carries with it the guarantee of its duration. It is time that our country should live at rest, secure from the malignant influence of England. My benefits shall prove to you my gratitude, and the full extent of the love I bear you.-At the Imperial Camp at Tilsitz, June 22.

EIGHTY-THIRD BULLETIN.

TILSITZ, June 23.—ANNEXED is the capitulation of Neisse.—The garrison, 6000 strong in infantry and 300 in cavalry, defiled on the 16th before Prince Jerome. We found in the place 300,000 pounds of powder, and 300 pieces of cannon.

EIGHTY-FOURTH BULLETIN.

TILSITZ, June 24.-THE Marshal of the Palace, Duroc, went on the 24th to the head-quarters of the Russian army, on the other side of the Niemen, to exchange the ratifications of the armistice, which had been ratified by the Emperor Alexander. On the 24th, Prince Labanoff having demanded an audience of the Emperor was admitted on the same day at two in the afternoon; he remained a long time in the cabinet with his Majesty. General Kalkreth is expected at the head-quarters to sign the armistice with the King of Prussia. On the 11th of June, at four o'clock in the morning, the Russians attacked Druezewo in great force; General Claparede sustained the enemy's fire; Marshal Massena rushed along the line, repulsed the enemy, and disconcerted their projects; the 17th regiment of light infantry maintained its regulation; General Montbrun distingushed himself; a detachment of the 28th light infantry, and a piquet of the 25th dragoons, put the Cossaques to flight. All the enterprizes of the enemy against our posts, on the 11th and 12th instant, turned to their own confusion. It is already seen by the armistice, that the left wing of the French army supports itself on the Curisch Haff, at the mouth of the Niemen, whence our line extends itself towards Grodno; the right, commanded by Marshal Massena, reaches to the confines of Russia, between the sources of the Narew and the Bug. The head-quarters are about to be removed to Kœnigsberg, where every day new discoveries are made of provisions, ammunition, and other effects, belonging to the enemy. A position so formidable is the result of successes the most brilliant; and whilst the enemy's army flies routed and destroyed, more than half the French army has not fired a musquet.

Vol. III. No. 14. N. S.

VIENNA, June 17.—The Governor General Gouvion has published the following particulars of the affairs of the 11th and 12th, on the right bank of the Omelew:

"On the 11th, the Russians made some movements as if they intended to cross the Narew near Rozan; at the same time they attacked the camp of Boski, with a column of 6000 men, 2000 cavalry, and some pulks of Cossacks. The enemy's superior numbers, and the numerous batteries which he opened on the other side of the river, obliged General Claparede, after an obstinate resistance, to evacuate the camp, and retire with his twelve companies of the 17th regiment of infantry, in good order, to Norzewo.

"On the 12th, all the Russian troops were again in motion. General Gazan was attacked upon his whole line, but in vain. By the various motions of the enemy, the Marshal was convinced that it was necessary to turn his principle attention to Dronzewo and Boski. His Excellency, therefore, gave orders to march against the Russians, and, notwithstanding the intrenchments which they had hastily thrown up, the camp of Boski was carried by the bayonets of the 17th regiment, while the enemy was driven on the other side of the Omelew, where he was only enabled to form again under his numerous batteries."

EIGHTY-FIFTH BULLETIN.

Tilsitz, June 24.—TO-MORROW the two Emperors of France and Russia are to have an interview. For this purpose a pavilion has been erected in the middle of the Niemen, of which the two monarchs will repair from each of its banks. Few sights will be more interesting. The two sides of the river will be lined by the two armies, while their chiefs confer on the means of re-establishing order, and giving repose to the existing generation. The Grand Marshal of the Palace, Duroc, went yesterday, at three in the afternoon, to compliment the Emperor Alexander. Marshal Count Kalkreuth was presented this day to the Emperor: he remained an hour in his Majesty's cabinet. The corps of Marshal Lannes was reviewed this morning by the Emperor. He made several promotions, gave rewards to those who distinguished themselves by their bravery, and expressed his satisfaction to the Saxon cuirassiers

EIGHTY-SIXTH BULLETIN.

TILSITZ, June 25 .- THIS day, at one, the Emperor, accompanied by the Duke of Berg, Prince Neufchatel, Marshal Bessiers, the Marshal of the Palace. Duroc, and the Grand Equerry, Caulaincourt, embarked on the banks of the Niemen, in a boat prepared for the purpose. They proceeded to the middle of the river, where General Lariboissiere, commanding the artillery of the guard, had caused a raft to be placed, and a pavilion erected upon it. Close by it was another raft and pavilion for their Majasties' suite. At the same moment the Emperor Alexander set out from the right bank, accompanied by the Grand Duke Constantine, General Bennigsen, General Ouwaroff, Prince Labanoff, and his principle Aide-de-Camp Count Lieven. The two boats arrived at the same instant, and the two Emperors embraced each other as soon as they set foot on the raft. They entered together the saloon which was prepared for them, and remained there two hours. The conference having been concluded, the persons composing the suite of the two Emperors were introduced. The Emperor Alexander paid e handsomest compliments to the officers who accompained the Emperor, who, on his part hada long conversation with the Grand Duke Constantine and General Bennigsen. The conference having terminated, the two Emperors embarked each in his boat. It is supposed that the conference has had the happiest result. Shortly after, Prince Labanoff went to the French head-quarters. An agreement has taken place that one half of the town of Tilsitz is to be rendered neutral. The apartments appointed therefor the residence of the Emperor of Russia and his court have been fixed upon. The inperial Russian guard will pass the river, and be quartered in that part of the city destined to that purpose. The vast number of persons belonging to each army, who flocked to both banks of the river to view this scene, rendered it the more interesting; as the spectators were brave men, who came from the extremities of the world.



THE LONDON GAZETTES.

Published by Authority.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-street, Sept. 27 .- (Continued from our last.)

In support of the light brigade, I ordered up a brigade under the command of Col. Brook, who with the 44th regiment, attacked the Enemy's left, the 4th regiment pressing his right with such effect as to cause him to abandon his guns. His first line giving way, was driven on the second, which, vielding to the irresistible attack of the bayonet, and the well-directed discharge of rockets. got into confusion and fled, leaving the British masters of the field. The rapid flight of the Enemy, and his knowledge of the country, precluded the possibility of many prisoners being taken, more particularly as the troops had, during the day, undergone considerable fatigue.—The Enemy's army, amounting to eight or nine thousand men, with three or four hundred cavalry, was under the command of Gen. Winder, being formed of troops drawn from Baltimore and Pennsylvania. His artillery, 10 pieces of which fell into our hands, was commanded by Commodore Barney, who was wounded and taken prisoner. The artillery I directed to be destroyed.—Having halted the army for a short time, I determined to march upon Washington, and reached that city at eight o'clock that night. Judging it of consequence to complete the destruction of the public buildings with the least possible delay, so that the army might retire without loss of time, the following buildings were set fire to and consumed—the Capitol, including the Senate-house and House of Representation, the Arsenal, the Dock-yard, Treasury, War-office, President's Palace, Ropewalk, and the great Bridge across the Potowmack: in the dock-yard a frigate nearly ready to be launched, and a sloop of war, were consumed. The two bridges leading to Washington over the Eastern branch had been destroyed. by the Enemy, who apprehended an attack from that quarter. The object of the expedition being accomplished, I determined, before any greater force



of the Enemy could be assembled, to withdraw the troops, and accordingly commenced retiring on the night of the 25th. On the evening of the 29th we reached Benedict, and re-embarked the following day. In the performance of the operation I have detailed, it is with the utmost satisfaction I observe to your Lordship, that cheerfulness in undergoing fatigue, and anxiety for the accomplishment of the object, were conspicuous in all ranks.—To Sir A. Cochrane my thanks are due, for his ready compliance with every wish connected with the welfare of the troops and the success of the expedition.-To Rear-admiral Cockburn, who suggested the attack upon Washington, and who accompanied the army, I confess the greatest obligation for his cordial co-operation and advice.-Col. Thornton, who led the attack, is entitled to every praise for the noble example he set, which was so well followed by Lieut.-col. Wood and the 85th light infantry, and by Major Jones, of the 4th foot, with the light companies attached to the light brigade. I have to express my approbation of the spirited conduct of Col. Brooke, and of his brigade: the 44th regiment, which he led, distinguished itself under the command of Lieut.-col. Mullens; the gallantry of the 4th foot, under the command of Major Faunce, being equally conspicuous.—The exertions of Capt. Mitchell, of the royal artillery, in bringing the guns into action, were unremitting; to him, and to the detachment under his command, including Capt. Deacon's rocket brigade, and the marine rocket corps, I feel every obligation. Capt. Lempriere, of the royal artillery, mounted a small detachment of the artillery drivers, which proved of great utility. The assistance afforded by Capt. Blanchard, of the royal engineers, in the duties of his department, was of great advantage. To the zealous exertions of Captains Wainwright, Palmer, and Money, of the royal navy, and to those of the officers and seamen who landed with them, the service is highly indebted: the latter, Capt. Money, had charge of the seamen attached to the marine artillery. To Capt. M'Dougall, of the 85th foot, who acted as my aide-de-camp. in consequence of the indisposition of my aide-de-camp Capt. Falls, and to the officers of my staff, I feel much indebted.—I must beg leave to call your lordship's attention to the zeal and indefatigable exertions of Lieut. Evans, actingdeputy-quarter-master-gen. The intelligence displayed by that officer, in circumstances of considerable difficulty, induces me to hope he will meet with some distinguished mark of approbation. I have reason to be satisfied with the arrangements of Assistant-Commissary-General Lawrence.—An attack upon an enemy so strongly posted, could not be effected without loss. I have to lament that the wounds received by Col. Thornton, and the other officers and soldiers left at Bladensburg, were such as prevented their removal. As many of the wounded as could be brought off were removed, the others being left with medical care and attendants. The arrangements made by Staff Surgeon Baxter for their accommodation have been as satisfactory as circumstances would admit of. The agent for British prisoners of war very fortunately residing at Bladensburg, I have recommended the wounded officers and men to his particular attention, and trust to his being able to effect their exchange when sufficiently recovered. - Capt. Smith, assistant-adjutant-general to the troops, who will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship's protection, as an officer of much merit and great promise, and capable of affording any further information that may be requisite.—Sanguine in hoping for the approbation of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and of his Majesty's government, as to the conduct of the troops under my command, I have, &c.

Ros. Ross, Major-gen.

I beg leave to inclose herewith a return of the killed, wounded, and missing in the action of the 24th inst. together with a statement of the ordnance, ammunition, and ordnance stores taken from the enemy between the 19th and 25th of August, and likewise sketches of the scene of action and of the line of march.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, on the 24th August.

1 capt. 2 lieuts. 5 serjts. 56 rank and file, 10 horses, killed; 2 lieut.-cols. 1 major, 1 capt. 14 lieuts. 2 ensigns, 10 serjts. 155 rank and file, 8 horses, wounded.

Names of Officers killed and wounded.

Killed.—85th light infantry, Capt. D. S. Hamilton, Lieut. Codd.—4th, or King's Own, Lieut. Woodward.

Wounded.—85th light infantry, Col. Thornton, Lieut.-col.Wood, and Major Brown, sev. (all left at Bladensburg).—21st, Capt Rennie, sev. (not dang.)—4th, Lieut. Hopkins, sev.; Lieut. Mackenzie, sl.; Lieut. Stavely, sev. (left at Bladensburg); Lieuts. Boulby and Field, sl.—21st, Lieut. Grace, sl.—85th, Lieuts. Williams and Burrel, sev.: F. Maunsell, sl.; O'Conner and Gascoyne, sev.; Hickson and Gleig, sl.; Crouchley, sev.—4th, Ens. Buchannan, sev. (left at Bladensburg); Ensign Reddock, severely.

Return of Ordnance and Stores taken, between the 19th and 25th of Aug. 1814.

Total amount of cannon taken, 206; 500 barrels of powder; 100,000 rounds of musket-ball cartridges; 40 barrels of fine-grained powder; a large quantity of ammunition of different natures made up.

The navy-yard and arsenal having been set on fire by the enemy before they retired, an immense quantity of stores of every description was destroyed, of which no account could be taken; seven or eight very heavy explosions during the night denoted that there had been large magazines of powder.

N.B. The remains of near 20,000 stand of arms were discovered, which had been destroyed by the enemy.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 27.—Captain Wainwright, of the Tonnant, arrived this morning with dispatches from Vice-ad. the Hon. Sir A. Cockrane, of which the following are copies:

Tonnant, in the Patuxent, Sept. 2.—Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, of the proceedings of his Majesty's Combined Sea and Land Forces since my arrival with the fleet within the Capes of Virginia; and I beg leave to offer my congratulations to their Lordships upon the successful termination of an expedition, in which the whole of the enemy's flotilla, under Commodore Barney, has been captured or destroyed; his army, though greatly superior in number, and strongly posted, with cannon, defeated at Bladensburg—the city of Washington taken, the capitol, with all the public buildings, military arsenals, dock-yard, and the rest of their naval establishments, together with a vast quantity of naval and military stores, a frigate of the largest class ready to launch, and a sloop of war afloat, either blown up or reduced to ashes.—Such a series of successes in the centre of an enemy's country, surrounded by a numerous population, colud not be acquired without loss; and we have to lament

the fall of some valuable officers and men; but, considering the difficulties the forces had to contend with, the extreme heat of the climate, and their coming into action at the end of a long march, our casualties are astonishingly few.-My letter of the 11th of August, will have acquainted their Lordships of my waiting in the Chesapeake for the arrival of Rear-adm. Malcolm, with the expedition from Bermuda.—The Rear-Admiral joined me on the 17th, and as I had gained information from Rear-adm. Cockburn, whom I found in the Potowmack, that Commodore Barney, with the Baltimore flotilla, had taken shelter at the head of the Patuxent, this afforded a pretext for ascending that river to attack him near its source, above Pig Point, while the ultimate destination of the combined force was Washington, should it be found that the attempt might be made with any prospect of success. To give their Lordships a more correct idea of the place of attack, I send a sketch of the country upon which the movements of the army and navy are pourtrayed; by it their Lordships will observe, that the best approach to Washington is by Port Tobacco upon the Potowmac, and Benedict upon the Patuxent, from both of which are direct and good roads to that city, and their distances nearly alike; the roads from Benedict divide about five miles inland; the one by Piscataway and Bladensburg, the other following the course of the river, although at some distance from it, owing to the creeks that run up the country; this last passes through the towns of Nottingham and Marlborough to Bladensburg, at which town the river called the Eastern Branch, that bounds Washington to the eastward, is fordable, and the distance is about five miles. There are two bridges over this river at the city; but it was not to be expected that the enemy would leave them accessible to an invading army. Previously to my entering the Patuxent, I detached Capt. Gordon, of his Majesty's ship Sea-Horse, with that ship, and the ships and bombs named in the margin*, up the Potowmack, to bombard Fort Washington (which is situated on the left bank of that river, above ten or twelve miles below the city), with a view of destroying that fort, and opening a free communication above, as well as to cover the retreat of the army, should its return by the Bladensburg road be found too hazardous, from the accession of strength the enemy might obtain from Baltimore; it was also reasonable to expect, that the militia from the country to the Northward and Westward would flock in, so soon as it should be known that their capital was threatened.—Capt. Sir Peter Parker, in the Menelaus, with some small vessels, was sent up the Chesapeake, above Baltimore, to divert the attention of the enemy in that quarter; and I proceeded with the remainder of the naval force and the troops up this river, and landed the army upon the 19th and 20th at Benedict .- So soon as the necessary provisions and stores could be assembled and arranged, Major-gen. Ross, with his army, moved towards Nottingham, while our flotilla, consisting of the armed launches, pinnaces, barges, and other boats of the fleet, under the command of Rear-admiral Cockburn, passed up the river, being instructed to keep upon the right flank of the army, for the double purpose of supplying it with provisions, and, if necessary, to pass it over to the left bank of the river, into Calver County, which secured a safe retreat to the ships, should it be judged necessary.

^{*} Euryalus, Devastation, Etna, Meteor, Manly, Erebus.

1815.]

The army reached Nottingham upon the 21st, and on the following day arrived at Marlborough: the flotilla continued advancing towards the station of Commodore Barney, about three miles above Pig Point, who, although much superior in force to that sent against him, did not wait an attack, but, at the appearance of our boats, set fire to his flotilla, and the whole of his vessels, excepting one, were blown up .- For the particulars of this wellexecuted service, I must refer their Lordships to Rear-adm. Cockburn's report, No. 1, who, on the same evening, conveyed to me an account of his success, and intimation from Major-gen. Ross, of his intention to proceed to the city of Washington, considering, from the information he had received, that it might be assailed, if done with alacrity; and in consequence had determined to march that evening upon Bladensburg. The remaining boats of the fleet were immediately employed in conveying up the river supplies of provisions for the forces upon their return to Nottingham, agreeable to an arrangement made by the Rear-admiral, who proceeded on in company with the army.-The report No. 2, of Rear-Admiral Cockburn's, will inform their Lordships of the brilliant successes of the forces after their departure from Marlborough, where they returned upon the 20th, and having reached Benedict upon the 29th, the expedition was embarked in good order.—On combined services. such as we have been engaged in, it gives me the greatest pleasure to find myselfunited with so able and experienced an officer as Major-gen. Ross, in whom are blended those qualities so essential to promote success, where cooperation between the two services becomes necessary; and I have much satisfaction in noticing the unanimity that prevailed between the army and navy; as I have also in stating to their Lordships that Major-gen. Ross has expressed his full approbation of the conduct of the officers, seamen, and marines acting with the army. - I have before had occasion to speak of the unremitting zeal and exertion of Rear-adm. Cockburn, during the time he commanded in the Chesapeake under my orders: the interest and ability which he has manifested throughout this late arduous service justly entitle him to my best thanks. and to the acknowledgments of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. Rear-admiral Malcolm, upon every occasion, and particularly in his arrangement for the speedy re-embarkation of the troops, rendered me essential assistance; and to him, as well as to Rear-adm. Codrington, captain of the fleet, I am indebted for the alacrity and order with which the laborious duties, in the conveying of supplies to the army were conducted. - For the conduct of the captains and officers of the squadron employed with the flotilla and with the army, I must beg leave to refer their Lordships to the reports of Rear-adm. Cockburn, and to call their favourable consideration to those whom the Rear-Admiral has had occasion particularly to notice. While employed immediately under my eye, I had every reason to be perfectly satisfied with their zealous emulation, as well as that of every seaman and marine, to promote the service in which they were engaged. Captain Wainwright, of his Majesty's ship Tonnant, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch to you, and as he was actually employed both with the flotilla and with the army, in the whole of their proceedings, I beg leave to refer their Lordships to him for any further particulars.—I have not yet received any return from the ships employed in the Potowmack, the winds having been unfavourable to their coming down; but by the information I gain from the country people, they have completely

succeeded in the capture and destruction of Fort Washington, which has been blown up. I have the honour to be, &c.

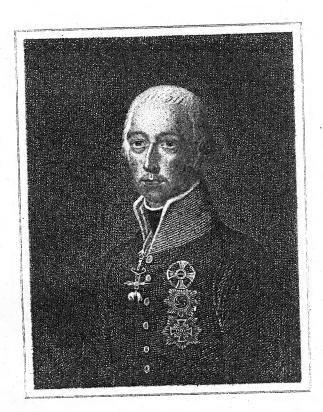
ALEX. COCHRANE,

Vice-Admiral and Commander in Chief.

Resolution Tender, off Mount Calvert, 22d Aug.-Sir,-I have the honour to inform you, that after parting from you at Benedict on the evening of the 20th inst. I proceeded up the Patuxent with the boats and tenders, the marines of the ships being embarked in them, under the command of Capt. Robyns (the senior officer of that corps in the fleet), and the marine artillery under Capt. Harrison, in their two tenders; the Severus and Hebrus frigates. and the Manly sloop, being directed to follow us up the river, as far as might prove practicable.—The boats and tenders I placed in three divisions: the first under the immediate command of Capts. Sullivan (the senior commander employed on the occasion) and Badcock; the second, under Capts. Money and Somerville; the third, under Capt. Ramsay; the whole under the superintendance and immediate management of Capt. Wainwright, of the Tonnant, Lieut. James Scott (1st of the Albion) attending as my aide-de-camp.-I endeavoured to keep with the boats and tenders as nearly as possible abreast of the army under Major-gen. Ross, that I might communicate with him as occasion offered, according to the plan previously arranged: and about mid-day vesterday I accordingly anchored at the ferry-house opposite Lower Marlborough, where I met the general, and where the army halted for some hours. after which he marched to Nottingham, and I proceeded on for the same place with the boats. On our approaching that town a few shots were exchanged between the leading boats and some of the enemy's cavalry; but the appearance of our army advancing caused them to retire with precipitation. Capts. Nourse and Palmer, of the Severn and Hebrus, joined me this day with their boats, having found it impracticable to get their ships higher than Benedict. The Major-General remained with the army at Nottingham, and the boats and tenders continued anchored off it during the night; and soon after daylight this morning, the whole moved again forward; but the wind blowing during the morning down the river, and the channel being excessively narrow. and the advance of our tenders consequently slow, I judged it adviseable to push on with the boats only, leaving the tenders to follow as they could.-On approaching Pig Point (where the enemy's flotilla was said to be), I landed the marines under Capt. Robyns, on the left bank of the river, and directed him to march round and attack, on the land side, the town situated on the point, to draw from us the attention of such troops as might be there for its defence, and the defence of the flotilla: I then proceeded on with the boats, and as we opened the reach above Pig Point, I plainly discovered Commodore Barney's broad pendant in the headmost vessel, a large sloop, and the remainder of the flotilla extending in a long line astern of her. Our boats now advanced towards them as rapidly as possible; but, on nearing them, we observed the sloop bearing the broad pendant to be on fire, and she very soon afterwards blew up. I now saw clearly that they were all abandoned, and on fire, with trains to their magazines; and out of the 17 vessels which composed this formidable and so much vaunted flotilla, 16 were in quick succession blown to atoms, and the 17th (in which the fire had not taken) we captured.

(To be continued.)





FRANCIS II.
Emperer of Austria?

THE ROYAL

MILITARY CHRONICLE;

OR,

BRITISH OFFICER'S

MONTHLY REGISTER, CHRONICLE, AND MILITARY MENTOR.

FOR JULY, 1815.

EMBELLISHMENT.

Portrait of Francis II. Emperor of Austria.

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SEVEN ORIGINAL JOURNALS OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

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ROYAL MILITARY CHRONICLE.

No. 15.]

NEW SERIES, JULY, 1815.

[Vol. III.

A JOURNAL OF THE THREE LAST MONTHS OF LOUIS XVI.

THE Editor of the Military Chronicle is most particularly requested to insert this Journal (and the whole of it in one number) in his next number. It is intended as an appeal to the high honour and to the generous feelings of the Officers and Gentlemen of England. They will here learn, and always have before their eyes, what a king was murdered; and what must in consequence be the nature of those murderers who now possess in great part the legislature in France. The insertion is desired in the Military Chronicle chiefly for two reasons; the first, because a periodical work, dedicated particularly to a profession, is necessarily permanent, and always in the hands of successive officers; and secondly, because the Military Chronicle, upon all occasions, has proved itself the steady and warm friend of those ancient principles of Religion, Morality, and Gentlemanly Honour, which are the only sure holds of European Society, and the example and maintenance of which, alike in adversity as in prosperity, are the high characteristies of the people and government of England. It is the best consolution of his Most Christian Majesty Louis the XVIIIIth that he possesses the esteem and good affections of a people who know what a king should be.

I WAS in the service of the King of France and of his August Family five months, and had thus an opportunity of giving the following narration of what I saw and heard. It is not however my purpose to become the historian of the most disgraceful and afflicting revolution in modern annals. I shall relate only what I saw and heard. I shall therefore begin this Journal at the 10th of August, 1792,—that dreadful day, on which a small number of men overturned a Throne that had been established fourteen centuries, threw their King into fetters, and precipitated France into an abyss of calamity.

On the 10th of August I was in waiting on the Dauphin. From the morning of the 9th the agitation of the public mind was extreme: crowds assembled every where throughout Paris, and the plan of the conspirators was known beyond a doubt at the Thuilleries. The alarm-bell was to be rung at midnight in every part of the town, and the Marseillois, on being joined by the inhabitants of the fauxbourg St. Antoine, were to march immediately and besiege the Palace. In the evening of the 9th, at half past eight o'clock, after having attended the Dauphin to his bed, I went from the Thuilleries with the view of learning the sentiments of the public. The courts of the Palace were filled with about eight thousand National Guards, who were disposed to defend the King. I made my way to the Palais-Royal, where I found almost all the avenues closed: some of the National Guards were there under arms, ready to march to the Thuilleries in order to support the battalions that had gone before them; but a mob, set in motion by the leaders of sedition, filled the adjacent streets, and rent the air on all sides with their clamours.

I returned about eleven o'clock to the Palace by the King's apartments. The attendants of the Court were collecting together, and under great anxiety. I passed on to the Dauphin's room, which I had scarcely entered, when I heard the alarm bell ringing and the drums beating to arms in every quarter of the town. I remained in the great hall till five in the morning, in company with Madame de St. Brice, bed-chamber woman to the young Prince. At six the King came down into the courts of the Palace, and reviewed the National Guards and the Swiss, who swore to defend him. The Queen and her children followed the King; and although some seditious voices were heard among the ranks, they were soon drowned in the repeated cries of Vive le Roi! Vive la Nation! The Thuilleries not appearing to be in immediate danger of attack, I again went out, and walked along the quays as far as the Pont-Neuf, every where meeting bands of armed men, whose evil intentions were very evident; some had pikes, others had pitch-forks, hatchets, or iron bars. The battalion of the Marsellois were marching in the greatest order with their cannon and lighted matches, inviting the people to follow them, and "assist," as they said, "in dislodging the tyrant." I was but too well convinced of what was approaching; I hastened therefore before this battalion, and made immediately for the Thuilleries, where I saw a large body of National Guards, pouring out in disorder through the garden gate opposite to the Pont-Royal. Sorrow was visible on the countenances of most of them; and several were heard to say:---We swore this morning to defend the King, and in the moment of his greatest danger we are deserting him." Others, in the interest of the conspirators, were abusing and threatening their fellow-soldiers, whom they forced away. Thus did the well disposed suffer themselves to be overawed by the seditious, and that culpable weakness, which had all along been productive of the evils of the Revolution, gave birth to the calamities of this day. After many attempts to gain admission into the Palace, a porter at one of the gates knew me and suffered me to pass. I ran immediately to the King's apartments, and begged one of his attendants to inform His Majesty of all I had seen and heard.

At seven o'clock the distress was increased by the cowardice of several battalions that successively deserted the Thuilleries. About four or five hundred of the National Guards remained at their post, and displayed equal fidelity and courage: they were placed indiscriminately with the Swiss Guards within the Palace, at the different staircases, and at all the entrances. These troops having spent the night without taking any refreshment, I eagerly engaged with others of the King's servants in providing them with bread and wine, and encouraging them not to desert the Royal Family. It was at this time that the King gave the command, within the Palace, to the Marshal de Mailly, the Duke du Chatelet, the Count de Puysegur, the Baron de Viomenil, the Count of Hervilly, the Marquis du Pujet, and other faithful officers. The attendants of the Court and the servants were distributed in the different halls, having first sworn to defend the King to the last drop of their blood. We were about three or four hundred strong, but our only arms were swords or pistols.

At eight o'clock the danger became more imminent. The Legislative Assembly was convened at the Riding-House, facing the garden of the Thuilleries; and the King had sent several messages to them communicating the situation in which he then was. But the Assembly, though the Palace was threatened with an attack before their eyes, returned no answer Some few minutes after, the Department of Paris, and several Municipal Officers made

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their appearance, with Ræderer, then Procurator-General Syndic, at their head. Ræderer, doubtless in concert with the conspirators, strongly persuaded the King to go with his Family to the Assembly, asserting that he could no longer depend upon the National Guard, and declaring that if he remained in the Palace, neither the Department nor the Municipality of Paris would any longer answer for his safety. The King heard him without emotion, and then retired to his chamber with the Queen, the Ministers, and a few attendants; whence he soon returned to go with his Family to the Assembly. He was attended by a detachment of Swiss and National Guards. None of the attendants, except the Princess de Lamballe and the Marchioness de Tourzel, who was governess of the children of France, were permitted to follow the Royal Family. The Marchioness de Tourzel, that she might not be separated from the young Prince, was obliged to leave her daughter, then seventeen years of age, at the Thuilleries, in the midst of the soldiers. It was now near nine o'clock.

Compelled to remain in the apartments, I awaited with terror the consequences of the step the King had taken, and went to a window that looked upon the garden. In about half an hour after the Royal Family had gone to the Assembly, I saw four heads carried on pikes along the terrace of the Feuillans, towards the building were the Legislative Body was sitting. This was, I believe, the signal for attacking the Palace: for at the same instant there began a dreadful firing of cannon and musketry. The Palace was every where pierced with balls and bullets; and as the King was gone, each endeavoured to take care of himself, but every passage was blocked up, and certain death seemed to await us all. I ran from place to place, and, finding the apartments and staircases already strewed with dead bodies, took the resolution of leaping from one of the windows in the Queen's room down upon the terrace, whence I made across the parterre with the utmost speed to reach the Pont-Tournant: but a body of Swiss, who had gone before me, were rallying under the trees. Finding myself between two fires, I ran back in order to gain the new flight of steps leading up to the terrace on the water-side, intending to throw myself over the wall upon the quay, but was prevented by the constant fire that was kept up on the Pont-Royal. I continued my way on the same side till I came to the Dauphin's garden gate, where some Marseillois, who had just butchered several of the Swiss, were stripping them. One of them came up to me with a bloody sword in his hand, saying:- "How, citizen! without arms? take this sword, and help us to kill," However, another Marseillois seized it. I was, as he observed, without arms, and fortunately in a plain frock; for if any thing had betrayed my situation in the Palace, I should not have escaped. Some of the Swiss, who were pursued, took refuge in an adjoining stable; I concealed myself in the same place. They were soon cut to pieces close to me. On hearing the cries of these wretched victims, M. le Dreux, the master of the house, ran up, and I seized that opportunity of going in, where without knowing me, M. le Dreux and his wife invited me to stay till the danger was over. In my pocket were letters and newspapers directed to the Prince Royal, and a card of admission to the Thuilleries, on which my name and nature of my employment were written; papers that could not have failed to betray me, and which I had just time to throw away before a body of armed men came into the house, to see if any of the Swiss were concealed in it. I pretended, by the advice of M. le Dreux, to be working at some drawings that were lying on a large table. After a fruitless search, these fellows, their hands tinged with

blood, stopt and coolly related the murders of which they had been guilty. I remained at this asylum from ten o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, having before my eyes a view of the horrors that were committed at the Place de Louis Quinze. Of the men, some were continuing the slaughter, and others cutting off the heads of those who were already slain; while the women, lost to all sense of shame, were committing the most indecent mutilations on the dead bodies, from which they tore pieces of flesh, and carried them in triumph.

In the course of the day, Madame de Rumbaut, one of the bed-chamber women to the Dauphin, having escaped with great difficulty from the massacre at the Thuilleries, came for refuge to the house where I was. We made signs to each other not to speak. The sons of our hosts, who soon after came in from the National Assembly, informed us that the authority of the King had been suspended, and that he was kept in sight, with the Royal Family, in the short-

hand writer's box, so that it was impossible to approach his person.

On hearing this I would fain have gone home to my wife and children at a country house about five leagues from Paris, where we had lived above two years; but the barriers were shut, and I also thought myself bound not to desert Madame de Rambaut. We agreed therefore to take the road to Versailles, where she resided, and the sons of our host accompanied us. We crossed the Pont Louis Seize, which was covered with the naked carcases of men already in a state of putrefaction from the great heat of the weather, and after many risques, escaped from Paris through an unguarded breach in the walls. In the plain of Grenelle we were met by peasants on horseback, who called to us to stop or that we should have our brains blown out. One of them, taking me for one of the King's Guards, levelled his piece at me, and was going to fire, when another proposed to take us to the Municipality of Vaugirard, saying: - "There's a score of them already, the harvest will be the greater." At the Municipality our hosts were known, but the Mayor, addressing himself to me, asked why I was not at my post when the country was in danger? "Why," said he," do you quit Paris? It has the appearance of bad designs." "To prison," cried the mob, "away to prison with the Aristocrats." I replied that it was for the very purpose of going to my post that I was on the road to Versailles, where I resided, and where my post was, as theirs was at Vaugirard. -Madame de Rambaut was also interrogated, and our hosts having declared that we spoke the truth, we were furnished with passports. I have reason to bless God that I was not taken to their prison, for they had just before sent thither two and twenty of the Kings's Guards, who were afterwards removed to the Abbaye, where they all were massacred on the second of September following.

From Vaugirard to Versailles we were continually stopt by patroles, to have our passports examined. Having conducted Madame de Rambaut to her relations, I delayed not a moment to repair to my own family; but the fall I had received in leaping from the window at the Thuilleries, the fatigue of walking thirty miles, and the deplorable events that had just taken place, were too much for me to bear, and threw me into a very high fever. For three days I kept my bed, but my impatience to know the fate of the King surmounted my disorder, and I returned to Paris. On my arrival in the evening of the thirteeuth, I learnt that the Royal Family were just sent to the Temple, after having been detained at the Femillans since the tenth; that the King had chosen M. de Chamilly, his first valet de chambre, to wait upon him; and that M. Hue, usher

of the King's chamber, and for whom the place of the Dauphin's first valet de chambre had been intended, was to wait upon the young Prince. The Princess de Lamballe, the Marchioness de Tourzel, and Mademoiselle Pauline de Tourzel had accompanied the Queen; and Madame Thibaut, Madame Bazire, Madame Navarre, and Madame St. Brice, four of the bedchamber-women, attended Her Majesty, the Prince, and Princesses.

I now lost all hope of continuing with the Dauphin, and was going to return into the country, when, on the sixteenth day of the King's confinement, I was informed that every person who was in the Tower with the Royal Family had been taken up in the night; that after being examined before the Council of the Commune of Paris, they had been all sent to the prison de la Force, except M. Hue, who was carrried back to the Temple to attend upon the King; and that Petion, then Mayor, was commissioned to point out two persons more. Upon this intelligence I determined to try every means to recover my place about the Prince, and went to Petion. He consented to my request, and two days afterwards wrote to His Majesty in the following terms: "Sire, An officer of the houshold, who has attended the Prince Royal from his infancy, wishes to be continued in his service, and as I thinkit will be agreeable to you, I have granted his request," &c .- His Majesty wrote in answer, that he accepted my service for his son, and I was accordingly conducted to the Temple. I was searched; informed of the manner in which it was expected that I should behave; and the same day, the 26th of August, at eight o'clock in the evening, entered the Tower.

It would be difficult for me to describe the impression made upon me by the sight of this august and unfortunate family. The Queen first spoke to me, and after some expressions full of goodness, she added, "You will attend my son, and concert with Mr. Hue as to us." At supper, the Queen and the Princesses, who for eight days had been deprived of their female attendants, asked me if I could comb their air; and when I replied that I would do any thing they desired, a Municipal Officer came up to me, and told me, loud enough to be heard by all, to be more circumspect in my replies; an opening that alarmed me.

For the first eight days of my being at the Temple, I had no communication out of doors, M. Hue being the only person commissioned to ask for and receive whatever was necessary for the Royal Family, on whom we attended jointly and without distinction. With respect to the King himself, I had only to dress him in the morning and roll his hair at night. Perceiving that I was incessantly watched by the Municipal Officers, who took umbrage at the slightest trifle, I very cautiously avoided any indiscretion, which would infallibly have been my ruin.

On the second of September there were great tumults about the Temple. The King and the Family having come down as usual to walk in the garden, a Municipal Officer that followed the King said to one of his associates, "We were wrong in allowing them to walk this afternoon." I had taken notice in the morning that the Commissioners of the Municipality were uneasy. They made the Royal Family return in a violent hurry, but they were scarcely assembled in the Queen's chamber, when two of the Officers, who were not on duty at the Tower, came in, one of whom, whose name was Mathieu, formerly a Capuchin, thus addressed the King:—"You are unacquainted, Sir, with what is passing. The country is in the greatest danger, the enemy have entered Champagne, and the King of Prussia is marching to Chalons. You

will have to answer for all the misery that may follow. We know that we, our wives and children must perish, but the people shall be avenged. You shall be the first to die; however there is yet time, and you may"——Here the King replied, that he had done every thing for the people, and had nothing to repreach himself with.—On which the same fellow turning to M. Hue, said, "the Council of the Commune have charged me to take you into custody."—"Whom?" cried the King.—"Your Chamberlain" was the reply. The King desired to know of what crime he was accused, but not being able to obtain information, became the more uneasy for his fate, and recommended him with great concern to the two officers. Seals were put, in the presence of M. Hue, on the small room occupied by him, and he was taken away at six in the evening, after having been twenty days in the Temple. Mathieu, as he was going out, told me to take care how I conducted myself, "For," said he, "it may be your turn next."

The King then called me to him, and gave me some papers, which he had received from M. Hue, containing accounts of expences. The disturbed looks of the Municipal Officers, and the clamours of the populace in the neighbourhood of the Tower, affected him exceedingly. After the King went to bed, he desired me to sleep near him, and I placed my bed by his Majesty's.

On the 3d of September, His Majesty, when I was dressing him, asked me if I had heard any news of M. Hue, and if I knew any thing of the commotions in Paris. I told him that in the course of the night I had heard an officer say, the people were going to the prisons: but I would try if I could learn any thing more. "Take care," said his Majesty, "not to expose yourself, for we should then be left alone; and, indeed, I fear it is their intention to put strangers about us." At eleven in the forenoon, the King having joined his family in the Queen's chamber, a Municipal officer desired me to go to the King's, where I found Manuel and some members of the Commune. Manuel asked me what the King had said of M. Hue's being taken away. I auswered, that it had made His Majesty very uneasy. "He will come to no harm," said he; "but I am commanded to inform the King that he is not to return, but that the Council will put a person in his place. You may go and break this to him." I begged to be excused, adding, that the King desired to see him respecting several things of which the Royal Family stood in great need. Manuel could scarcely prevail upon himself to go down to the chamber where His Majesty was. He communicated the order of the Council of the Commune, concerning M. Hue, and informed him that another person was to be sent. "By no means," replied the King, "I will make use of my son's valet de chambre, and if the Council object to that, I will wait upon myself, I am resolved." His Majesty then mentioned that the family were in want of linen, and other cloathing. Manuel said he would go and make it known to the Council, and retired. Iasked him, as I conducted him out, if the tumults continued, and his answers excited my apprehensions that the populace might visit the Temple. "You have undertaken a perilous service," added he, "and I advise you to prepare all your courage."

At one o'clock, the King and the Family expressed a desire to walk, but were refused. When they were dining, drums were heard, and soon after the cries of the populace. The Royal Family rose from table with great uneasiness, and assembled in the Queen's chamber. I went down to dine with Tison and his wife, who were employed for the service of the Tower. We were scarcely seated, when a head on the point of a pike was held to the window.

Tison's wife gave a violent scream, which the murderers supposed to have proceeded from the Queen, and we heard the savages laughing immoderately. Imagining that Her Majesty was still at dinner, they placed their victim in such a manner that it could not escape her sight. The head was the Princess de Lamballe's, which, though bleeding, was not disfigured, and her fine light hair, still curling, waved round the pike. I ran instantly to the King. My countenance was so altered by terror, that it was perceived by the Queen, from whom it was necessary to hide the cause. I wished to make it known to the King only, or to Madame Elizabeth, but the two Commissioners of the Municipality were present. "Why don't you go and dine?" said the Queen. I replied that I was not well; and at that moment another Municipal Officer entering the Tower, came and spoke to his associates with an air of mystery. On the King's asking if his Family were in safety, they answered-" It has been reported that you and your Family are gone from the Tower, and the people are calling for you to appear at the window, but we shall not suffer it, for they ought to show more confidence in their magistrates."

In the mean time the clamour without increased, and insults addressed to the Queen were distinctly heard; when another Municipal Officer came in, followed by four men, deputed by the populace to ascertain whether the Royal Family was or was not in the Tower. One of them, accounted in the uniform of the National Guards, with two epaulettes, and a huge sabre in his hand, insisted that the prisoners should show themselves at the windows, buf the Municipal Officers would not allow it: upon which the fellow said to the Queen, in the most indecent manner:- "They want to keep you from seeing de Lamballe's head, which has been brought you, that you may know how the people avenge themselves upon their tyrants: I advise you to show yourself, if you would not have them come up here." At this threat the Queen fainted away; I flew to support her, and Madame Elizabeth assisted me in placing her upon a chair, while her children, melting into tears, endeavoured by their caresses to bring her to herself. The wretch kept looking on, and the King, with a firm voice, said to him,- "We are prepared for every thing, Sir, but you might have dispensed with relating this horrible disaster to the Queen." Their purpose being accomplished, he went away with his companions.

The Queen coming to herself, mingled her tears with those of her children, and all the Family removed to Madame Elizabeth's chamber, where the noises of the mob were less heard. I remained a short time in the Queen's, and looking out at the window, through the blinds, I again saw the Princess de Lamballe's head. The person that carried it was mounted upon the rubbish of some houses that were ordered to be pulled down for the purpose of insulating the Tower: another stood behind him, holding the heart of that unfortunate Princess, covered with blood, on the point of a sabre. The crowd being inclined to force the gate of the Tower, was harangued by a Municipal Officer, named Daujon, and I very distinctly heard him say,—"The head of Antoinette does not belong to you; the Departments have their respective rights to it; France has confided these great culprits to the care of the city of Paris; and it is your part to assist in securing them, until the national justice takes vengeance for the people." He was more than an hour debating with them before he could get them away.

On the evening of the same day, one of the Commissioners told me that the mob had attempted to rush in with their four deputies, and to carry into the Tower the body of the Princess de Lamballe, naked and bloody as it had been dragged from the prison de la Force to the Temple: that some Municipal Officers, after struggling with them, had hung a tri-coloured ribbon across the principal gate as a bar against them; that the Commune of Paris, General Santerre, and the National Assembly, had been all called upon in vain for assistance to put a stop to designs which no pains were taken to conceal; and that for six hours it was very doubtful whether the Royal Family would be massacred or not. In truth, the Faction was not yet sufficiently powerful; the chiefs, although they were unanimous as to the regicide, were not so as to the means of perpetrating it, and the Assembly were perhaps willing that any other hands but theirs should be the instruments of the conspirators. It struck me as a remarkable circumstance, that the Municipal Officer, after the narrative he gave me, made me pay him five and forty sous, which the tri-coloured ribbon had cost. At eight in the evening all was calm in the neighbourhood of the Tower, but the same tranquility was far from reigning throughout Paris, where the massacres were continued for four or five days. I had an opportunity when the King was going to bed, to tell him of the commotions I had seen, and the particulars I had heard. He asked me which of the Municipal Officers had shown most firmness in defending the lives of his Family; I mentioned Daujon as having stopped the impetuosity of the people, though nothing was farther from his heart than good will to his Majesty. He did not come to the Tower again for four Months, and then the King, recollecting his conduct, thanked him.

The day following was still very melancholy from the recollections of the preceding one, but the scenes of horror I have been relating, having been followed with some degree of tranquillity, the Royal Family resumed the uniform mode of life which they had adopted on their arrival at the Temple. That the particulars may be the more easily understood, I shall here give a description of the small Tower, in which the King was then confined.

It stood with its back against the great Tower, without any interior communication, and formed a long square, flanked by two turrets. In one of these turrets there was a narrow staircase that led from the first floor to a gallery on the platform: in the other were small rooms answering to each story of the Tower. The body of the building was four stories high. The first consisted of an antichamber, a dining-room, and a small room in the turret, where there was a library, containing from twelve to fifteen hundred volumes. The second story was divided nearly in the same manner. The largest room was the Queen's bedchamber, in which the Dauphin also slept; the second, which was separated from the Queen's by a small antichamber almost without light, was occupied by Madame Royale and Madame Elizaboth. This chamber was the only way to the turret-room on this story, and that turret-room was the only place of office for this whole range of building, being in common for the Royal Family, the Municipal Officers, and the soldiers. The King's apartments were on the third story. He slept in the great room, and made a study of the turret-closet. There was a kitchen separated from the King's chamber by a small dark room, which had been successively occupied by M. de Chamilly and M. Hue, and on which the seals were now fixed. The fourth story was shut up; and on the ground floor there were kitchens, of which no use was made.

The King usually rose at six in the morning: he shaved himself, and I dressed his hair; he then went to his reading-room, which being very small, the Municipal Officer on duty remained in the bedchamber with the door open, that he might always keep the King in sight. His Majesty continued praying on his knees for five or six minutes, and then read till nine o'clock. In that interval, after putting his chamber to rights, and preparing the breakfast. I went down to the Queen, who never opened the door till I arrived, in order to prevent the Municipal Officer from going into her apartment. I dressed the Prince, and combed the Queen's hair, then went and did the same for Madame Royale and Madame Elizabeth. This service afforded one of the opportunities I had of communicating to the Queen and Princesses whatever I learnt; for when they found by a sign that I had something to say, one of them kept the Municipal Officer in talk, to divert his attention. At nine o'clock the Queen, the Children, and Madame Elizabeth went up to the King's chamber to breakfast, which having prepared for them, I put the Queen and the Princesses' chambers to rights, with the assistance of Tison and his wife, the only kind of work in which they gave me any help. It was not for this service only that these people were placed in the Tower: a more important part was assigned them; they were to observe whatever escaped the vigilance of the Commissioners of the Municipality, and even to inform against those Officers themselves. The woman has since betrayed herself in an infamous accusation of the Queen, at the conclusion of which she was seized with fits of madness. Tison, who had formerly been a custom-house officer of the lowest rank, was an old fellow of a ferocious temper, a stranger to every sentiment of humanity. The conspirators seemed determined to place the most vicious and degraded of mankind near the most virtuous and unhappy.

At ten o'clock, the King and the Family went down to the Queen's chamber, and there passed the day. He employed himself in educating his Son, made him recite passages from Corneille and Racine, gave him lessons in geography, and exercised him in colouring the maps. The Prince's early quickness of apprehension fully repaid the fond cares of the King. He had so happy a memory, that on a map covered over with a blank sheet of paper, he could point out the departments, districts, towns, and courses of the rivers. It was the new geography of France, which the King taught him. The Queen, on her part, was employed in the education of her daughter; and these different lessons lasted till eleven o'clock. The remaining hour till noon was passed in needle-work, knitting, or making tapestry. At noon, the Queen and Princesses retired to Madame Elizabeth's chamber, to change their dress: no Municipal Officer went in with them.

At one o'clock, when the weather was fine, the Royal Family were conducted to the garden by four Municipal Officers and the Commander of a legion of the National Guards. A great number of workmen being employed in the Temple, pulling down houses and raising new walls, the only walk altowed was a part of that under the great chesnut-trees. Being permitted to attend on these occasions, I engaged the young Prince to play, sometimes at foot-ball, sometimes at coits, at racing, and other active sports.

At two, we returned to the Tower, where I served the dinner: at which time Santerre the brewer, who was Commander in Chief of the National Guards of Paris, regularly came every day to the Temple, attended by two aide-de-camps. He minutely examined the different rooms; the King some-

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times spoke to him, but the Queen never. After dinner the Royal Family withdrew to the Queen's chamber, where their Majestics usually played a party of piquet or trictrae; at which time I went to dinner.

At four o'clock, the King lay down for a few minutes, the Family, with books in their hands, sitting round him, and keeping profound silence while he slept. What a sight!—a Monarch persecuted by hatred and calumny, fallen from his Throne into a prison, yet supported by the purity of his mind, and enjoying the peaceful slumbers of the good—His consort, his children and his sister, with reverance contemplating his majestic countenance, whose patient serenity seemed to have increased with misfortune, and on which one might read by anticipation the bliss he now enjoys—A sight that will never be effaced from my memory. Blessed be God who gave such patience in relief of such miscry.

On the King's waking, the conversation was resumed; and he would make me sit by him, while I taught his son to write. The copies I set were chosen by himself from the works of Montesquieu, and other celebrated authors. When this lesson was over, I attended the young Prince to Madame Elizabeth's chamber, where he played at ball or shuttlecock.

In the evening, the family sat round a table, while the Queen read to them from books of history, or other works, proper to instruct and amuse her children, in which she often, unexpectedly, met with situations correspondent to her own, that gave birth to very afflicting reflections. Madame Elizabeth took the book in her turn, and in this manner they read till eight o'clock. I then gave the Prince his supper in Madame Elizabeth's chamber, 'during which the Family looked on, and the King took pleasure in diverting the children, by making them guess riddles in a collection of the Mercures de France, which he had found in the library.

After the Dauphin had supped, I undressed him, and the Queen heard him say his prayers; he said one in particular for the Princess de Lamballe, and in another he begged of God to protect the life of the Marchioness de Tourzel, his governess. When the Municipal Officers were too near, the Prince, of his own accord, had the precaution to say these two prayers in a low voice. We were out of their sight only two or three minutes, just before I put him into bed, and if I had any thing to communicate to the Queen, I took that opportunity. I acquainted her with the contents of the journals, for though none of them were permitted in the Tower, a newsman, sent on purpose, used to come every evening at seven o'clock, and standing near the wall by the side of the round Tower in the Temple enclosure, cried, several times over, an account of all that had been passing at the National Assembly, at the Commune, and in the armies. Placing myself in the King's reading-room, I listened, and with the advantage of perfect silence, remembered all I heard.

At nine, the King went to supper; while the Queen and Madame Elizabeth took it in turns to stay with the Dauphin; and as I carried them whatever they wished from the table, it afforded me another opportunity of speaking to them without witnesses.

After supper, the King went for a moment to the Queen's chamber, shook hands with her and her sister for the night, and kissed his children; then going to his own apartment he retired to the turret-room, where he sat reading till midnight. The Queen and the Princesses locked themselves in: and one of the Municipal Officers remained in the little room which parted their chambers, where he passed the night; the other followed his Majesty. I then made

up my bed near the King's; but His Majesty, before he went to rest, waited to know who was the new Municipal Officer on duty, and if he had never seen him, commanded me to enquire his name. The Municipal Officers were relieved at eleven o'clock in the morning, five in the afternoon, and at midnight. In this manner was the time passed as long as the King remained in the small Tower, which was till the 50th of September.

I shall now resume the order of occurrences. On the 4th of September, Petion's secretary came to the Tower, to bring the King a sum of two thousand Evres in assignats, for which he obliged him to give a receipt. His Majesty requested him to pay M. Hue 526 livres, which he had advanced for his service, and he promised to do it. This sum of two thousand livres was the only payment made, notwithstanding the Legislative Assembly had voted 500,000 livres for His Majesty's expenses at the Tower of the Temple, though doubtless before they had suspected, or before they had dared to engage in the real designs of their leaders. Two days after, Madame Elizabeth desired me to collect some trifling things belonging to the Princess de Lamballe, which she had left at the Tower when she was carried off. I made them up into a parcel, which I directed with a letter to her chief waiting-woman: and I have since learnt that neither the parcel nor the letter were ever delivered.

At this period, the characters of the greater part of the Municipal Officers picked out for the Temple, showed what sort of men had been employed for the Revolution of the 10th of August, and for the massacres of the second of September. One of them named James, a teacher of the English language. took it into his head one day to follow the King into his closet, and to sit down by him. His Majesty mildly told him that there his colleagues had always left him by himself, that as the door stood open, he could never be out of his sight, but that the room was two small for two. James persisted in a harsh and brutal manner; the King was forced to submit, and giving up his course of reading for that day, returned to his chamber, where the Municipal Officer continued to beset him with the most tyrannical superintendance. morning when the King rose, he thought the Commissioner on duty was the same who had been upon guard the evening before, and expressed some concern that he had not been relieved; but this mark of goodness was only answered with insults, "I come here," said the man, "to watch your conduct, and not for you to busy yourself with mine,"—Then going up close to His Majesty, with his hat on his head, he continued,—" Nobody has a right to meddle with it, and you less than any one else." He was insolent the whole day. I have since learnt that his name was Mennier. Another Commissioner, whose name was Le Clerc, a physician, being in the Queen's chamber when I was teaching the Prince to write, interrupted him to pronounce a discourse on the republican education which it was necessary to give the Dauphin, and he wanted to change the books he was studying for works of the most revolutionary nature. A fourth was present when the Queen was reading to her children from a volume of the History of France, at the period when the Constable de Bourbon took up arms against France. He pretended that the Queen meant by this to instil into the mind of her son ideas of vengeance against his country, and laid a formal information against it before the Council: which I made known to her Majesty, who afterwards selected subjects that could not be taken hold of to calumniate her intentions. A man named Simon, shoemaker and Municipal Officer, was one of the six Commissioners appointed to inspect the works and expences at the Temple. He was the only one, who, under pretence of attending rigidly to his duty, never quitted the Tower. This man, whenever he appeared in the presence of the Royal Family, always treated them with the vilest insolence; and would frequently say to me so near the King as to be heard by him,—"Clery, ask Capet if he wants any thing, that I may not have the trouble of coming up twice." I was obliged to answer that he wanted nothing. This is the same Simon to whose care the young Louis was afterwards consigned, who made him work as a shoemaker, and who by a most malignant barbarity prolonged the torments of that amiable and unfortunate child. There is also great reason to believe that he was the instrument made use of to shorten his days.

In teaching the young Prince to cipher I had made a multiplication table, according to directions given by the Queen, which a Municipal Officer pretended was a means she took to teach her son how to correspond by secret signs, and he was obliged to give up the study of arithmetic. The same thing had happened with respect to the tapestry which the Queen and Madame Elizabeth had worked on their being first confined. Having finished some chair backs, the Queen ordered me to send them to the Duchess de Serent. But the Municipal Officers chose to think that the figures were cyphers, and obtained an order by which it was forbidden to suffer the works of the Queen and Princesses to be sent out of the Tower.

Some of the Municipal officers never spoke of the Royal Family without the most insulting epithets. One of them named Turlot one day said in my hearing:—"If no executioner could be fould to guillotine this d——d Family, I would guillotine them myself."

When the King and Family went to walk they had to pass by a number of sentries. The soldiers on duty presented their arms to the Municipal Officers and Commanders of the Legions, but when the King approached them, they grounded their firelocks, or clubbed them in derison. One of the soldiers wrote one day on the King's chamber door, and that too on the inside:—The guillotine is permanent, and ready for the tyrant Louis XVI. The King read the words, which I made an attempt to rub out, but His Majesty prevented me.

One of the door-keepers of the Tower, whose name was Rocher, a man of a horrid figure, accoutred as a pioneer, with long whiskers, a black hairy cap, a huge sabre, and a belt, to which hung a bunch of great keys, came up to the door when the King wanted to go out, but did not open it till His Majesty was quite close, when, pretending to search for the key among the many he had, which he rattled in a terrible manner, he designedly kept the Royal Family waiting, and then drew the bolts with a great clatter. After doing this, he ran down before them, and fixing himself on one side of the last door, with a long pipe in his mouth, puffed the fumes of his tobacco at each of the Royal Family as they went out, and most at the Queen and Princesses. Some National Guards, who were amused with these indignities, came about him, burst into fits of laughter at every puff of smoke, and used the grossest language; some of them went so far as to bring chairs from the guard-room to sit and enjoy the sight, obstructing the passage, of itself sufficiently narrow.

While the Family were walking, the engineers assembled to dance and sing: their songs were always revolutionary, sometimes also shamefully obscene.

The same indignities were repeated on their return. The walls were frequently covered with the most indecent scrawls, in large letters, that they might not escape notice. Among others were—Madame Veto shall swing.——

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We shall find a way of bringing down the great hog's fat.—Down with the red ribbon.—The little wolves must be strangled.—Under a gallows, with a figure hanging were these words:—Louis taking an air bath.—And under a gaillotine:—Louis spiting in the bag,* or other similar ribaldry. Thus was the short airing allowed to the Family turned into torture. This the King and Queen might have avoided, by remaining within; but the air was necessary for their children, whom they most tenderly loved, and for their sakes it was, that their Majesties daily endured, without complaining, these endless affronts.

A few instances, however, of fidelity or feeling occurred at times to soften the horror of these persecutions, and were the more striking from being uncommon. As I was sitting alone reading in the antichamber next the Queen's room, the sentinel on guard at her door, an inhabitant of the suburbs, dressed neatly, but in plain country cloaths, eyed me with much attention and appeared greatly moved. I got up to pass by him, on which he presented his arms, and, with a trembling voice said :- "You must not go out." -- "Why not?"---" I am ordered to keep you in sight."---" You are mistaken," said 1.— "What! Sir, are you not the King?"—"Don't you know him then?" -- "I never saw him in my life, Sir; and wish, with all my heart, I could see him any where rather than here."- "Speak low: I am going into that room, and will leave the door a jar, that you may see the King: he is sitting near the window, with a book in his hand." I made the sentinel's wish known to the Queen; and the King, on her informing him of it, had the goodness to walk from one room to the other that he might have a view of him. When I went back-" Ah! Sir," said he, "how good is the King! how fond of his . children!" He had seen him through the door caressing them, and was so affected as to be hardly able to speak. "No," continued he, striking his breast, "I can never believe he has done us so much harm." I here left him, fearing that his extreme agitation would betray him.

Another sentinel at the end of the walk, who was very young, and of an interesting figure, showed by his looks a desire to give the Royal Family some intelligence. Madame Elizabeth, in taking the second turn, went up to him, that he might have an opportunity of speaking; but whether through fear or respect, he did not attempt it: his eyes, however, were full of tears, and he made a sign that he had lodged a paper in the rubbish, near the place where he was standing. I went and looked for it, pretending to pick out stones for the Prince to play with at coits, but the Municipal Officers coming up made me retire, and forbade me ever again going so near the sentinels. I never knew what were the intentions of this young man.

During the hour allowed for walking, another kind of sight was presented to the Family, that often awakened their sensibility. Many of their faithful subjects, placing themselves at the windows of the houses round the garden of the Temple, took the opportunity of this short interval to see their King and Queen, and it was impossible to be deceived in their sentiments and their wishes. I once thought I could distinguish the Marchioness de Tourzel, and I was the more convinced of it from the extreme attention with which the person followed the Dauphin with her eyes, when he ran to any distance from their Majesties. I made the observation to Madame Elizabeth, who could not re-

^{*} Crachant dans le sac—literally, spitting in the sack: this is a vulgar phrase alluding to the position of a person in the guillotine looking upon a little bag placed at the end to receive the head.

frain from tears at the name of Madame de Tourzel, believing her to be one of the victims of the second of September.—" What!" said she, "can she be still alive?" The next day, however, I found means to get information that the Marchioness de Tourzel was at one of her estates in the country.

I found also that the Princess de Tarente and the Marchioness de la Roche-Aimont, who were at the Palace of the Thuilleries when it was attacked on the 10th Aug., had escaped the assassins. The safety of these ladies, who on so many occasions had manifested their attachment, afforded the Royal Family some moments of consolation; but they very soon after heard the horrid news of the prisoners from the High Court of Orleans having been massacred on the 9th of September at Versailles. The King was overwhelmed with sorrow at the unfortunate fate of the Duke de Brissac, who had never forsaken him a single day from the beginning of the Revolution. His Majesty also grieved exceedingly for M. de Lessart, and the other interesting victims of their attachment to his person and their country.

On the 21st of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, one Lubin, a Municipal Officer, attended by horsemen and a great mob, came before the Tower to make a proclamation. Trumpets were sounded, and a dead silence ensued. Lubin's voice was of the Stentorian kind. The Royal Family could distinctly hear the proclamation of the abolition of Royalty, and of the establishment of a Republic. Hébert, so well knowd by the name of Pére du Chesne, and Destournelles, since made Minister of the Public Contributions, were then on guard over the Family: they were sitting at the time near the door, and stared the King in the face with a malicious grin. The Monarch perceived it, but having a book in his hand, continued to read, without suffering the smallest alteration to appear upon his countenance. The Queen displayed equal resolution: not a word, not a gesture, escaped either of them to increase the malignant enjoyment of those men. At the end of the proclamation the trumpets sounded again, and I went to one of the windows: the eyes of the populace were immediately turned upon me; I was taken for my Royal Master, and overwhelmed with abuse. The horsemen made menacing signs with their sabres, and I was obliged to withdraw to put an end to the

The same evening I informed the King, that curtains and more cloaths were wanting for the Dauphin's bed, as the weather began to be cold. He desired me to write the demand for them, which he signed. I used the same expressions I had hitherto done—The King requires for his son, and so forth. "It is a great piece of assurance in you,,' said Destournelles, "thus to use a title, abolished by the will of the people, as you have just heard." I observed to him that I had heard a proclamation, but was unacquainted with the object of it. "It is," replied he, "the abolition of Royalty; and you may tell the gentleman," pointing to the King, " to give over taking a title, no longer acknowledged by the people." I told him I could not alter this note, which was already signed, as the King would ask me the reason, and it was not my part to tell it him. "You will do as you like," continued he, "but I shall not certify the demand." The next day, Madame Elizabeth gave me orders to write in future, for things of this kind, in the following style:-Such articles are wanted for the use of Louis XVI. . . . of Marie Antoinette. . . . of Louis Charles. . . . of Marie Therese. . . . of Marie Elizabeth.

I had before been often under the necessity of repeating these demands, The small quantity of linen, brought to the Tower by the King and Queen,

had been lent to them by some persons of the Court, while they were at the Feuillans. Not any had been saved from the Thuilleries, where on the fatal 10th of August all had been given up to pillage. Indeed, the Family was so much in want of cloaths in general, that the Princesses were employed in mending them every day, and Madame Elizabeth was often obliged to wait till the King was gone to bed, in order to have his to repair. At last, after many applications, I obtained the grant of a little new linen, but the sempstresses having marked it with crowns above the letters, the Municipal Officers insisted upon the Princesses picking out the crowns: and they were forced to obey.

On the 26th of September, I learnt, through a Member of the Municipality, that it was intended to separate the King from his Family, and that the apartment preparing for him in the great Tower would soon be ready. I broke this new tyranny to the King in the most wary manner possible, and expressed how much I had felt at being forced to afflict him. "You cannot," said His Majesty, " give me a greater proof of your attachment; I require it of your affection, that you should hide nothing from me; I expect all that can hapnen: endeavour to gain intelligence of the day when this painful separation is to take place, and let me know it." On the 29th of September, at ten o'clock in the morning, five or six Municipal Officers walked into the Queen's chamber, where the Royal Family were assembled. One of them, whose name was Charbonnier, read to the King a decree of the Council, ordering thatpaper, pens, ink, pencils, knives, and even papers written upon, whether found on the persons of the prisoners, or in their rooms, or on the valet de chambre, or others serving in the Tower, should be taken away."---" And whenever," added he from himself, "you may want any thing, Clery may go down and write what you require in a register that will be kept in the Council Chamber." The King and the whole Family gave up their papers, pencils, and the contents of their pockets, without making a reply. Commissioners then searched the rooms and closets, and took away the things pointed out by the decree. I now learnt from a Member of this deputation, that on that very night the King was to be removed to the great Tower; and I found means of informing His Majesty of it by Madame Elizabeth.

In fact, after supper, as the King was leaving the Queen's chamber to go up to his own, a Municipal Officer bade him stop, the Council having something to communicate to him. A quarter of an hour afterwards the six Officers, who in the morning had taken away the papers, came in and read a second decree of the Commune to the King, ordering his removal to the great Tower. Although prepared for this event, he was again affected in the most lively manner: his disconsolate Family endeavoured to read in the looks of the Commissioners how far their designs were intended to be carried. The King left them in the most cruel state of alarm at bidding him adieu; and this separation which portended so many other calamities, was the most cruel suffering their Majesties had hitherto experienced in the Temple. I attended the King to his new prison.

The King's apartment in the great Tower was not finished. A solitary bed was its only furniture. The painters and paper-hangers were still at work in it, which left an insufferable smell, and I feared it would have incommoded His Majesty. The room intended for me was at a very great distance from the King's. I begged most earnestly to be placed near him, and passed the first night in a chair by his bed side. The next day the King prevailed, though

with much difficulty, to get me a chamber contiguous to his own. After His Majesty had risen, I wanted to go to the small Tower to dress the Prince, but the Municipal Officers objected. One of them whose name was Veron, said to me:—"You are to have no more communication with the prisoners, nor is your master either; he is not even to see his children again." At nine o'clock, the King desired to be shown to his Family. "We have no such orders," said the Commissoners. His Majesty said something to which they gave no answer.

I was then in a corner of a chamber, overwhelmed with grief, and absorbed in the most heart-rending reflections on the lot of this august Family. On one hand, I saw before me the pangs of my Royal Master; and on the other, I represented to myself the young Prince delivered over, perhaps, to strange hands; for it had already been said that he was to be taken from their Majesties: and what fresh tortures would not such a separation occasion to the Queen? I was engrossed with these painful ideas, when the King came up to me, with the roll, that had been brought him, in his hand: he presented half of it to me, saying:—"It seems they have forgotten your breakfast; take this: the remainder is enough for me." I excused myself, but he insisted upon it. It was impossible for me to restrain my tears, the King perceived it, and gave way to his own. This excellent man, who was never moved by his own sufferings, alway wept at those of his friends.

At ten o'clock, some other Members of the Municipality brought the workmen to continue their employment in the room. One of these Officers told the King that he had just been present while the Family were at breakfast, and that they were very well. "I thank you," replied the King, "pray remember me to them, and say, that I too am well. May I not," added he, "have some books which I left in the Queen's chamber? I would thank you for them, as I have nothing to read." His Majesty described the books he wanted, and the Officer complied with his request, but not being able to read, he desired I would go with him. I congratulated myself on this man's ignorance, and blessed Providence for this consolatory moment. The King gave me some orders, and his looks spoke the rest.

I found the Queen in her chamber, with her children and Madame Elizabeth about her. They were all weeping, and their grief increased on seeing me. They immediately asked me a thousand questions about the King, which I was forced to answer with reserve. The Queen, addressing the Officers who had accompanied me, again urged her request of being permitted to see the King, if it were but for a few moments in the day, and at their meals. It was no longer weeping and sighing; it was the loud cry of sorrow. "Well then, they shall dine together to-day," said one of the Officers, "but as we must be ruled by the decrees of the Commune, we will act to-morrow according as they shall prescribe."—To this his associates consented.

At the very idea of being again with the King, a sensation, almost amounting to joy, seemed to re-animate this unfortunate Family. The Queen, fold-

ing her children in her arms, and Madame Elizabeth, raising her hands to Heaven, thanked God for the unlooked for happiness. It was a most affecting sight, and even some of the Municipal Officers could not refrain from tears: they were the only tears I ever saw shed by any of them in this horrid abode. One of them, it was Simon the shoemaker, said, loud enough to be heard,—"I believe these b——s of women would make me cry." Then, turning to the Queen, he added,—"When you were assassinating the people on the 10th of August, you did not cry at all."——The people," replied the Queen," are grossly deceived as to our feelings."

I then took the books which the King had desired to have, and carried them to him; the Municipal Officers accompanying me, to let his Majesty know that he should be allowed to see his Family. I then asked them if I might go and wait upon the Queen, the Dauphin and Princesses, to which they consented: and I thus had an opportunity of informing Her Majesty of what had passed, and all that the King had suffered since he left her.

The dinner was served up in the King's room, whither the Family repaired and it was easy to judge of the fears that had agitated their minds, by the emotions that burst forth on this meeting. Nothing more was heard of the decree of the Commune, and His Majesty continued not only to meet his Family at meals, but to join them in their walks.

After dinner, the Queen was shown the apartment preparing for her above the King's: she intreated the workmen to finish it quickly, but they were three weeks longer at work upon it.

In that interval, I continued my attendance on their Majesties, and also on the Dauphin and the Princesses: they spent their time much in the same way as before. The King's attention to the education of his son met with no interruption; but the Royal Family's residing thus in two separate Towers, by rendering the superintendance of the Municipal Officers more difficult, rendered them also more vigilant. The number of Municipal Officers was augmented; and their jealousy left me very few means of getting intelligence of what was passing abroad: the following were the methods I took for that purpose.

Under pretence of having linen and other necessary articles brought me, I obtained permission that my wife should come to the Temple once a week: she was always accompanied by one of her friends, a lady who passed for her relation. Nobody could evince greater attachment for the Royal Family than did this lady, by her actions, and by the risks she ran on several occasions. On their arrival, I was called down to the Council Chamber, where, however, I could speak to them only in the presence of the Municipal Officers: we were closely watched, and at several of the first visits I could not find an opportunity to my purpose. I then gave them to understand that they should come at one o'clock: that was the hour of walking, during which the greater part of the Municipal Officers were following the Royal Family: there used then to be but one of them remaining in the Council Chamber, and when this happened to be a civil man, he left us a little more at liberty, still, however, without losing sight of us.

Having thus an opportunity of speaking without being overheard, I made enquiries respecting those for whom the Royal Family interested themselves, and gained information of what was passing at the Convention. The circumstance of the newsman, whom I have mentioned, proved to be a project of

my wife's, who had employed him to come every day under the walls of the Temple, and cry repeatedly the contents of the Journals.

In addition to my intelligence thus obtained, I contrived to procure a little more from some of the Officers themselves, and I was particularly assisted by a person of great fidelity, whose name was Turgi, a groom of the King's kitchen, who, from attachment to His Majesty, had found means of getting himself employed at the Temple, with two of his comrades, Marchand and Cretien These brought the dishes for the table of the Royal Family, dressed in a kitchen at a considerable distance; and were also employed in marketing; so that Turgi, who shared that office with them, going out of the Temple in his turn, twice or thrice a week, had it in his power to gain information of what was passing. The difficulty was how I should be made acquainted with it; for he was forbidden to speak to me except upon his business, and that always in presence of the Municipal Officers. When he had any thing to say, he made me a sign agreed upon, and I then strove to detain him under various pretences. Sometimes I begged him to dress my hair, during which Madame Elizabeth, who knew of my understanding with Turgi, kept the Municipal Officers talking, so that I had time enough for our conversations: sometimes I contrived an opportunity of his going to my chamber, of which he availed himself to put the Journals, Memorials, and other publications he had for me, under my bed.

When the King or Queen wished for intelligence, if the day of my wife's coming happened to be distant, I gave the commission to Turgi. If it was not his turn to go out, I pretended to want something for the use of the Royal Family: on which he would reply—" Another day will do."——" Very well," I used to answer, with an air of indifference, "the King will wait."—My object was to induce the Municipal Officers to order him out, which frequently happened, and then the same evening or next morning, he gave me the particulars I wanted. We had agreed upon this mode of understanding one another, but took care not to repeat the same methods before the same Commissioners.

Still fresh obstacles were to be surmounted before I could impart the intelligence to the King. The only time I had to speak to him was when they were relieving the Municipal Officers, and as he went to bed. Sometimes, I caught a moment in the morning, before the Commissioners were ready to make their appearance. I showed no inclination to go in till they did, only so as to let them know that His Majesty was waiting for me. If they allowed me to go in, I immediately drew his curtains, and while I put on his stockings and shoes, spoke without being seen or heard: but I was more frequently disappointed in my hope, for the Municipal Officers generally compelled me to stay till they were dressed, that they might go with me into His Majesty's room. Several of them treated me with harshness: some ordered me in the morning to remove their beds, and forced me at night to bring them back; others were incessantly taunting me; but this conduct afforded me fresh means of being useful to their Majesties: by returning only mildness and civility I gained upon them in spite of their natures, and infusing a confidence into their minds, unperceived by themselves, I often managed to collect even from them the information I wanted.

Such was the plan I had been pursuing with the greatest caution from my arrival at the Temple, when an event as extraordinary as unexpected made me fear that I should be for ever separated from the Royal Family.

One evening, about six o'clock, it was the 5th of October, after having seen the Queen to her apartment, I was returning to the King's with two Municipal Officers, when the sentinel at the great guard-house door, taking me by the arm, and calling me by name, asked me how I did, and said with an air of mystery, that he wished very much to speak to me. "Sir," cried I, "speak out; I am not allowed to whisper with any body."—"I was assured," replied the sentinel, "that the King had lately been thrown into a dungeon, and you with him."—"You see it is not so," said I, and left him. There was one Officer walking before and another behind me: the former stopped and heard us.

Next morning, two Commissioners waited for me at the door of the Queen's apartment: they conducted me to the Council Chamber, where I was examined by the Municipal Officers there assembled. I reported the conversation exactly as it passed, which was confirmed by the officer who had heard it: the other alledged that the sentinel had given me a paper, that he had heard the rumpling of it, and that it was a letter for the King. I denied the fact; desiring they would search me, and take all means of satisfying themselves. A minute of the sittings of the Council was drawn up, I was confronted with the sentinel, who was sentenced to be confined for four and twenty hours.

I supposed this affair at an end, when, on the 26th of October, while the Royal Family were at dinner, a Municipal Officer walked in, followed by six soldiers with drawn sabres, together with a clerk of the rolls, and a tipstaff, both in their official dress. I was terrified least they should be come for the King. The Royal Family all rose, and the King asked what they wanted with him, but the Officer, without replying, called the into another room; the soldiers followed us, and the clerk having read a warrant to arrest me, I was seized in order to be taken before the tribunal. I begged permission to inform the King of it, and was answered that I was no longer at liberty to speak to him-" But you may take a shirt," added the Officer, "it won't be a long business." I thought I understood him, and took only my hat. I passed by the King and the Royal Family, who were standing, and in consternation at the manner in which I was taken away. The populace assembled in the Temple Court, heaped abuse upon me, calling out for my head. They were told by one of the National Guards that it was necessary to save my life, in order to discover secrets which I alone knew. The same vociferations, however, continued all the way.

The moment we arrived at the Palais de Justice, I was confined alone; there I remained six hours, endeavouring in vain to find out what could be the motives for my being arrested. All I could bring to my mind was, that on the morning of the 10th of August, during the attack on the Thuilleries, some persons, who were there and wished to make their way out, begged me to hide several valuable articles and papers that might have betrayed them, in a chest of drawers that belonged to me: I suspected that these papers had been seized, and would now, perhaps, cost me my life.

At eight o'clock, I appeared before the Judges, who were unknown to me. This was a revolutionary tribunal, erected on the 17th of August, in order to select, among those who had escaped the fury of the populace, such as were doomed to die. How was I amazed when I saw among the prisoners to be tried, the very young man who was suspected of having given me a letter three weeks before, and when I found my accuser to be the Municipal Officer

who had already impeached me before a Council at the Temple! I was examined, witnesses were produced, and the Municipal Officer repeated his accusation. I told him he was unworthy of being a Magistrate of the People; that as he had heard the rumpling of the paper, and thought I had received a letter, he should immediately have had me searched, instead of staying eighteen hours before he lodged any information whatever. The arguments being concluded, the Jury consulted together, and on their verdict we were acquitted. The President charged four Municipal Officers, who were present at my acquittal, to conduct me back to the Temple. It was twelve o'clock at night, and we arrived just as the King was gone to bed, to whom I was permitted to make my return known. The Royal Family had been very much concerned at my fate, not doubting but that I had already been condemned.

It was at this juncture that the Queen took possession of the apartment that was prepared for her in the great Tower: but even this longed for day, that seemed to promise their Msjesties some comfort, was distinguished, on the part of the Municipal Officers by a fresh mark of their animosity against the Queen. From the hour of her being brought to the Temple they saw her devoting her life to the care of her son, and in his gratitude and caresses finding some alleviation to her wretchedness: they took him from her, and that, without any previous notice. Her affliction was extreme. The young Prince, however, was placed with the King, and the care of him given to the. How pathetically did the Queen charge me to be watchful over his life!

As the events which I shall have to speak of in future, occurred in a place situated differently from that which I have before described, I think it will be proper here to give also a description of their Majesties' new habitation.

The great Tower is about a hundred and fifty feet high, and consists of four stories arched, and supported in the middle by a great pillar form the bottom to the top. The area within the walls was about thirty feet square.

The second and third stories allotted to the Royal Family, being, as were all the other stories, single rooms, they were now each divided into four chambers by partitions of board. The ground floor was for the use of the Municipal Officers; the first story was kept as a guard-room; and the King was lodged in the second.

The first room of his apartments was an antichamber from which three doors led to three separate tooms. Opposite the entrance was the King's chamber in which a bed was placed for the Dauphin: mine was on the left so was the dining-room which was divided from the antichamber by a glazed partition. There was a chimney in the King's chamber: the other rooms were warmed by a great stove in the antichamber. The light was admitted into each of these rooms by windows, but these were blocked up with great iron bars, and slanting screens on the outside, which prevented a free circulation of the air: the embrasures of the windows were nine feet thick.

Every story of the great Tower communicated with four turrets, built at the angles.

In one of these turrets was a staircase that went up as far the battlements, and on which wickets were placed at certain distances to the number of seven. This staircase opened on every floor through two gates: the first of oak, very thick and studded with nails, the second of iron.

Another of the turrets formed a closet to the King's chamber; the third served for a water-closet; and in the fourth was kept the fire-wood, where

also the temporary beds, on which the Municipal Officers slept near the King, were deposited in the day time.

The four rooms, of which the King's apartments consisted, had a false ceiling of cloth, and the partitions were hung with a coloured paper. The antichamber had the appearance of the interior of a jail, and on one of the pannels was hung the Declaration of the Rights of Man, in very large characters with a tricoloured frame. A chest of drawers, a small bureau, four chairs with cushions, an armed chair, a few rush-bottomed chairs, a table, a glass over the chimney, and a green damask bed, were all the furniture of the King's chamber: these articles as well as what was in the other rooms, were taken from the Temple Palace. The King's bed was that in which the Count d'Artois, Captain of the Gnards used to sleep.

The Queen occupied the third story, which was distributed in much the same manner as the King's. The bedchamber for the Queen and Madame Royale was above His Majesty's, in the turret was their closet. Madame Elizabeth's room was over mine. The entrance served for an antichamber, where the Municipal Officers watched by day and slept at night. Tison and his wife were lodged over the Kings's dining-room.

The fourth story was not occupied. A gallery ran all along within the battlements which sometimes served as a walk. The embrasures were stopt up with blinds, to prevent the Family from seeing or being seen.

Few changes were made, since their Majesties being together in the great Tower, as to the hours of their meals, their reading, their walks, or as to the time they had hitherto dedicated to the education of their children. Soon after the King was up, he read the form of prayer of the Knights of the Holy Ghost, and as Mass had not been permitted at the Temple, even on holidays, he commanded me to purchase a breviary, such as was used in the Diocese of Paris. This Monarch was of a religious turn; but his religion, pure and enlightened, never encroached upon his other duties. Books of travels; Montesquieu's works; those of Buffon; de Pluche's Spectacle de la Nature; Hume's History of England, in English; on the Imitation of Christ, in Latin; Tasso, in Italian; and French Plays, were what he usually read from his first being sent into confinement. He devoted four hours a day to Latin authors.

The Queen and Madame Elizabeth having desired books of devotion similar to those of the King, His Majesty commanded me to purchase them. Often have I seen Madame Elizabeth on her knees by her bed-side praying with fervency.

At nine o'clock, the King and his son were summoned to breakfast: I attended them. I afterwards dressed the hair of the Queen and Princesses, and, by the Queen's orders, taught Madame Royale to dress hair. While I was doing this the King played at drafts or chess, sometimes with the Queen, sometimes with Madame Elizabeth.

After dinner, the Dauphin and his sister went into the antichamber to play at battledore and shuttlecock, at Siam, or some other game. Madame Elizabeth was always with them, and generally sat at a table with a book in her hand. I staid with them too, and sometimes read, at which time I sat down in obedience to her orders. This dispersion of the Royal Family often perplexed the two Municipal Officers on guard, who, anxious not to leave the King and Queen alone, were still more so not to leave one another, so great was their mutual distrust. This was the time Madame Elizabeth took to ask me questions or give me orders. I both listened to her and answered, without taking

my eyes from the book in my hand, that I might not be surprized by the Municipal Officers. The Dauphin and Madame Royale, instructed by their annt, facilitated these conversations, by being noisy in their play and often made signs to her that the Officers were coming. I found it necessary to be particularly cautious of Tisen, dreaded as he was, even by the Commissioners, whom he had several times impeached: the King and Queen too treated him with kindness in vain; nothing could subdue his innate malignity.

At night, after bed time, the Municipal Officers ranged their beds in the antichamber in such a manner as to block up His Majesty's door. They also locked one of the doors in my room, by which I could have gone into the King's, and took away the key, so that if His Majesty happened to call me in the night, I was forced to pass through the antichamber, bear their ill humour, and wait till they chose to get up.

On the 7th of October, at six o'clock at night, I was summoned to the Council Chamber, where I found a score of Municipal Officers, with Manuel as President, who, from being Solicitor to the Commune, was become a Member of the National Convention: the sight of him surprized and alarmed mc. I was directed to remove, that very night, the Orders still worn by the King, such as those of St. Louis and the Golden Fleece: His Majesty no longer wore that of the Holy Ghost, which had been suppressed by the first Assembly.

I represented that I could not do it, and that it was not my part to make the decrees of the Council known to the King. I hoped by this to gain time to break it to his Majesty, and I perceived besides, by their embarrassment, that they were then acting without the authority of any decree either of the Convention or the Commune. The Commissioners were unwilling to go up to the King, till Manuel determined them by offering to go with them. The King was sitting, and engaged in reading. Manuel spoke first, and the conversation which followed was as remarkable for the indecent familiarity of the Deputy, as for the temper and serenity of the Monarch.

"How do you find yourself?" said Manuel; "have you every thing you want?" __ "I content myself with what I have," replied his Majesty. __ "No doubt you have heard of the victories gained by our armies, of the taking of Spires, of Nice, and of the conquest of Savoy?"---"I heard it mentioned some days ago, by one of those gentlemen, who was reading the Evening Journal." -- "What! do you not get the Journals, that are become so interesting?"---"I never receive any of them." .--- "Oh! Sirs," said Manuel, turning to the Municipal Officers, and pointing to the King, you must let the gentleman have the Journals; it is right he should be informed of our successes."-Then, again addressing His Majesty—" Democratic principles are spreading: you know that the people have abolished Royalty, and adopted the Republican form of government." I have heard it, and I pray to God that the French people may be as happy as I have always wished to make them."--- You know too that the National Assembly has suppressed all Orders of Chivalry; you ought to have been told to leave off the ornaments of them: returned to the class of other citizens, you must expect to be treated like others; with this exception, ask for whatever you want, it shall be immediately procured for you."-- "I thank you," said the King, "I want nothing."-His Majesty here returned to his book; and Manuel, who had been endeavouring to discover vexation, or provoke impatience in him, had the mortification of finding only a noble resignation, and an unalterable composure.

The deputation now withdrew, and one of the Officers desired me to follow him to the Council Chamber, where I was again ordered to take the ornaments from the King's person. Manuel added, "You will do well to send the crosses and ribbons to the Convention. I must also inform you," continued he, "that Louis's confinement may last a long while, and that if it be not your intention to remain here, you had better take this opportunity of declaring it. It is also in contemplation, in order to render the superintendence more easy, to decrease the number of people employed in the Tower; if you stay with the late King, you will be left entirely by yourself, and you must expect hard work: wood and water will be brought you once a week, but it will be your business to clean the rooms, and do the rest of the work. I replied, that being determined never to forsake my Master, I would submit to every thing. I was conducted back to His Majesty's chamber, who said to me, "You heard what passed with those gentlemen; I would have you tonight take off the orders from my coats."

The next morning, when I was dressing the King, I told him that I had locked up the crosses and ribbons, although Manuel had given me to understand that it would be proper to send them to the Convention. "You have

done right," replied his Majesty.

It has been reported that Manuel came to the Temple, in the month of September, to prevail upon his Majesty to write to the King of Prussia, at the time he marched his army into Champagne. I can testify that Manuel came but twice to the Temple while I was there, first, on the third of September, then on the seventh of October; that each time he was accompanied by a great number of Municipal Officers, and that he never had any private conversation with the King.

On the 9th of October, a Journal of the debates of the Convention was brought to the King, but some days after a Municipal Officer, whose name was Michel, a perfumer, obtained a decree again prohibiting the admission of the public papers into the Tower. He sent for me to the Council Chamber, and asked me by what authority I had ordered the Journals to be addressed to me. In reality, without my knowing any thing of it, four Journals had every day been brought, with this direction printed: To the valet de chambre of Louis XVI. at the Tower of the Temple. I could not find out, and am still ignorant, who paid the subscription for them. Michel, however, wanted to force me to tell who they were, and made me write to the editors of the Journals for information, but their answers, if they sent any, were never communicated to me.

This prohibition, however, of the Journals being admitted in the Tower, had its exceptions when those prints furnished opportunities of new insults. If they contained abusive expressions against the King or Queen, atrocious threats or infamous calumnics, some Municipal Officer or other was sure, with studied malice, to place them on the chimney-piece, or on the chest of drawers in His Majesty's chamber, that they might fall into his hands.

He once read in one of those papers the petition of an engineer for the head of the tyrant Louis XVI. that he might load his piece with it, and shoot it at the enemy. Another Journal, speaking of Madame Elizabeth, and endea-youring to destroy the admiration she had excited in the public, by the noble manner in which she had devoted herself to the King and Queen, asserted that virtuous Princess to have had a child by a bishop, adding, that this young

wolfe ought to be smothered, with the two others in the Tower, meaning the Dauphin and Madame Royale.

These articles affected the King only for the sake of the people. "How very unfortunate are the French," said he, "to suffer themselves to be imposed upon in this manner." If I saw these Journals first, I took care to remove them out of His Majesty's way; but they were frequently carried when I was employed elsewhere, so that very few of the articles written for the purpose of abusing the Royal Family, whether to excite the populace to regicicide, or to prepare the minds of the people to suffer its being perpetrated, but what were read by the King. They only who remember the insolent writings that were published at that time can have an idea of this kind of unprecedented torture.

The influence of these sanguinary writings was also observable in the conduct of such of the Municipal officers as had not before shown themselves so hard-hearted or distrustful as others.

One day after dinner, having just written an account of the expences in the Council Chamber, and locked it up in a desk of which they had given me the key; my back was scarcely turned, when Marinot, a Municipal Officer, said to his colleagues, though he was not on duty, that they ought to open the desk, and examine its contents, to ascertain whether or not I had a correspondence with the enemies of the people. "I know him well," added he, "and am sure he receives letters from the King." Then accusing his colleagues of remissness, abused them violently, threatened to impeach them all before the Council of the Commune as accomplices, and went out to put his threat into execution. A minute was immediately drawn up of all the papers in the desk, and sent to the Commune, where Marinot had already laid his information.

Another day, on seeing a draft-board (damier), which, with the permission of his colleagues, I had sent to be mended, brought back, he pretended it might contain a correspondence, had it entirely taken to pieces, and, when he found nothing, made the workmen paste it together again before him.

Once my wife and her friend coming to the Tower as usual on the Thursday, I was speaking with them in the Council Chamber, when the Queen and Madame Elizabeth, who were walking, saw us, and nodded to us. This notice of mere affability was observed by Marinot, and it was ground enough for him to have my wife and her friend arrested as they were going out of the Council Chamber. They were examined separately: my wife being asked who the lady was that accompanied her, declared she was her sister; while to the same question the other had replied that they were cousins. This contradiction furnished subject for a long written statement, and the most serious suspicions; Marinot pretending that this lady was one of the Queen's Pages in disguise. However, after a most painful and insulting examination, that lasted three hours, they were set at liberty.

They were still permitted to come to the Tower; but we redoubled our caution. I had often in those short intervals managed to slip into their hands notes written with a pencil, which had escaped the searches of the Municipal Officers, and which I concealed with great care. These notes related to some information their Majesties wished to have: luckily on that day they had not received any; if one had been found upon them, we should all three have been in the greatest danger.

There were others of the Municipal Officers who had the most extravagant whims. One ordered some macaroons to be broken to see if there were no

letter concealed in them. Another, on the same pretence, had some peaches cut before him, and their stones cracked. A third, one day, compelled me to drink the essence of soap prepared for shaving the King, affecting to apprehend it was poison. After dinner and supper, Madame Elizabeth used to give me a gold-bladed knife to clean, which the Municipal Officer would often snatch out of my hand, to examine if I had not slipped some paper into the sheath.

Madame Elizabeth having commanded me to send a book of devotion to the Duchess de Serent, the Municipal Officers cut off the margins, for fear any thing should have been written upon them with a secret ink.

One of them one day forbade my going up to the Queen to dress her hair: Her Majesty was to come down to the King's apartments, and to bring her powder and combs herself.

Another would follow her into Madame Elizabeth's chamber to see her change her cloaths, which she usually did at noon: I represented to him the indecency of such behaviour, but he persisted, and Her Majesty was obliged to give up dressing, and leave the room.

When the linen was brought from the wash, the Officers made me unfold article by article, and examined it always by day-light. The washerwoman's book, and every paper used for packing, were held to the fire, to ascertain whether there were not any secret writing upon them. The linen, after having been worn by the King, Queen, Prince, and Princesses, was in like manner examined before it was given out.

There were, however, some of the Municipal Officers who were not so hardened as their colleagues: but most of these becoming suspected by the Committee of Public Safety have fallen victims to their humanity, and those who are still alive have been long groaning in confinement.

A young man called Toulan, whom by his manner of speaking I thought to be one of the greatest enemies of the Royal Family, came up to me one day, and pressing my hand, said with an air of mystery:—"I can't speak to the Queen to-day, on account of my comrades; let her know that I have executed her commission, that in a few days I shall be on duty, and that I will then bring her an answer."—Amazed on hearing him speak thus, and fearing that he was laying a snare for me, I answered, that he was mistaken in addressing himself to me on such errands. "No, I am not mistaken," replied he, pressing my hand with still more warmth, and retiring. On my informing the Queen of this conversation, she told me I might trust Toulan. This young man was afterwards involved on Her Majesty's trial, with nine other Municipal Officers, accused of having agreed to favour her escape at the time she was at the Temple. Toulan was put to death.

Their Majesties, for three months that they had now been shut up in the Tower, had been accustomed to the sight only of Municipal Officers, when, on the 1st of November, a deputation from the National Convention was announced to them. This deputation consisted of Drouet, the Post-Master at Varennes, Chabot, formerly a Capuchin, Dubois-Crance, Duprat and two others whose names I do not recollect. The Royal Family, and particularly the Queen, shuddered with horror at the sight of Drouet, who insolently seated himself by her: Chabot, following his example, also took a chair. They asked the King how he was treated, and if he was supplied with necessaries. "I complain of nothing," replied His Majesty, "and only request that the Committee will supply my valet de chambre with 2000 livres, or leave it with the Council, to defray the small current expences, and that we may have some

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linen and other cloaths, of which we are in the greatest need." The Deputies promised it should be attended to, but nothing was sent.

Some days after, the King caught a great cold in his head, on which I requested that M. Dubois, His Majesty's Dentist, might be sent for. It was debated for three days, and at last refused. A fever coming on, His Majesty was permitted to consult M. le Monnier, his chief Physician. It would be difficult to paint the grief of this venerable old man when he saw his Master.

The Queen and her children never left the King during the day, waited upon him with me, and often assisted me to make his bed. At night, I sat up alone with his Majesty. M. le Monnier came twice a day, accompanied by a great number of Municipal Officers: he was searched, and not permitted to speak but in a loud voice. Once when the King had taken medicine, M. le Monnier begged to stay some hours with him: as he continued standing, while the Municipal Officers were sitting with their hats on. His Majesty asked him to take a chair, which he refused through respect, at which the Commissioners loudly murmured. The King continued ill ten days.

Soon after, the young Prince, who slept in His Majesty's chamber, and whom the Officers would not consent to have removed to the Queen's, caught a cold which was attended with a fever. The Queen was the more anxious about it, as she could not obtain permission, although she used the most fervent entreaties to be all night with her son. During the time she was allowed to be with him she attended him with the most affectionate care. The Queen afterwards caught the same disorder, and so did Madame Royale and Madame Elizabeth. M. le Monnier was suffered to continue his visits.

I fell ill in my turn. My room was damp, and without a fire-place, and the little air I breathed in it was confined by the slanting skreen at the window. I was attacked with a rheumatic fever and great pain in the side that forced me to keep my bed. I got up up the first morning to wait upon the King, but His Majesty, seeing the state I was in, would not suffer it, but ordered me to go to bed, and dressed the Dauphin himself.

During the first day the Dauphin scarcely ever left me; he brought me all that I drank. At night, the King took an opportunity, when he was least observed, to come into my room: he made me take a glass of cooling liquor, and said to me, with a kindness that brought tears into my eyes, "I wish I could attend you myself, but you know how we are watched: keep up your spirits; to-morrow you will see my physician," At supper time, the Royal Family came into my room, and Madame Elizabeth, unperceived by the Municipal Officers, gave me a small bottle of linctus. Though she had a violent cold, she deprived herself of the medicine to give it to me: I wished to have declined it, but she insisted upon my taking it. After supper, the Queen undressed the Prince and put him to bed, and Madame Elizabeth rolled the King's hair.

The next morning, M. le Monnier ordered me to be blooded, but the consent of the Commune was necessary for the admission of a Surgeon. They talked of removing me to the Palace in the Temple: but fearing I should never be permitted to return to the Tower, if once I went out of it, I excused myself from bleeding, and even pretended to be better. At night we had new Municipal Officers, and nothing more was said about removing me.

Turgi asked if he might sit up with me at night, which he and his two comrades were allowed to do, and they took it in turn. I was six days confined to my bed, and the Royal Family came to see me every day. Madame Elizabeth often brought me medicines which she ordered as for herself. So

many kind attentions greatly recruited my strength; and instead of feeling pain I had very soon only to feel gratitude and admiration. Who but would have been affected at seeing this august Family in a manner suspending the remembrance of their own protracted miseries, to attend the sick-bed of one of their servants!

Here I must not forget to relate an action of the Dauphin's, which proves how great was the goodness of his heart, and how he profited by the example of virtue which he had continually before his eyes.

One evening after putting him to bed, I withdrew to give place for the Queen and Princesses, who went to kiss him, and wish him good night in his bed. Madame Elizabeth, who had been prevented from speaking to me by the watchfulness of the Municipal Officers, took that time to put into his hand a little box of ipecacuana lozenges, desiring him to give it to me when I came back. The Queen and Princesses went up to their apartments, the King retired to his closet, and I took my supper. It was eleven o'clock before I went back to the King's chamber to turn down His Majesty's bed: I was alone, and the Prince called me in a low voice: I was much surprized to find him awake, and fearing he was ill, asked what was the matter. "Nothing," said he, "only my aunt left me a little box for you, and I would not go to sleep before I gave it you; I am glad you are come, for my eyes have been already shut several times." The tears came into mine, he perceived it, and kissed me, and in two minutes was fast asleep.

To this sensibility the Prince added a great many attractions, and all the amiable qualities of his age. He would often by his arch simplicity, the live-liness of his disposition, and his little frolics, make his august parents forget their mournful situation; yet he felt it himself: he knew, young as he was, that he was in a prison, and that he was watched by enemies. His words and actions had assumed that circumspection which instinct prompts perhaps at every age under circumstances of danger. I never heard him speak either of the Thuilleries, or of Versailles, or of any object that could recall to the King or Queen a painful recollection. If he saw a Municipal Officer more civil than his colleagues coming, away he ran to the Queen in haste to tell her of it, saying, with his countenance full of satisfaction,—"Mamma, it is Mr. Sucha-one to-day."

One day, he kept his eyes fixed upon a Municipal Officer, whom he said he recollected: the man asked him where he had seen him, but the Prince refused to answer; then leaning over to the Queen, "It was," said he to her in a low voice, "in our journey to Varennes."

The following anecdote affords another proof of his sensibility.—There was a stone-cutter employed in making holes at the antichamber door to admit enormous bolts: the Prince, while the man was eating his breakfast, played with his tools; the King took the mallet and chissel out of his son's hands, and showed him how to handle them. He used them for some minutes. The workman, moved at seeing the King so employed, said to his Majesty,—"When you go out of this Tower you will be able to say that you had worked yourself at your own prison."—"Ah!" replied the King, "when and how shall I go out?"—The Dauphin burst into tears, and the King, letting fall the mallet and chisel, returned to his room, where he walked about hastily in great agitation.

On the second of December, the Municipality of the 10th of August was superseded by another, with the title of Provisionary Municipality. Many of

the former Municipal Officers were re-elected. I at first supposed that this new body might be of a better composition than the former, and I hoped some favourable changes in the regulation of the prison; but I was disappointed. Several of the new Officers gave me reason to regret their predecessors: they were still coarser in their manners, but I found it easy, from their way of talking, to make myself acquainted with whatever they knew. I had to study the Members of this new Municipality in order to judge of their conduct and disposition: the former ones were more insolent; the malice of the latter was more systematic and refined.

Till this period, the King had been attended only by one Municipal Officer, and the Queen by another. The new Municipality ordered that there should be two to each, and thenceforward I found it more difficult to speak with the King and the Royal Family. On the other hand, the Council which had hitherto been held in one of the halls in the Palace of the Temple, was removed to a chamber on the ground floor of the Tower. The new Municipal Officers were desirous of surpassing the former in zeal, and this zeal was an emulation of tyranny.

On the 7th of December, an Officer at the head of a deputation of the Commune came to the King, and read a decree, ordering that the persons in confinement should be deprived of "knives, razors, scissars, and all other sharp instruments, which are usually taken from criminals, and that the strictest search should be made for the same, as well on their persons as in their apartments." In reading this his voice faultered: it was easy to perceive the violence he did to his feelings, and he has since shown by his conduct, that he had consented to come to the Temple, only in the hope of being useful to the Royal Family.

The King took out of his pockets a knife and a small Morocco pocket-book, from which he gave the pen-knife and scissars. The Officers searched every corner of the apartment, and carried off the razors, the curling-irons, the powder-scraper, instruments for the teeth, and other articles of gold and silver. The same search was made in my room, and I was ordered to empty my pockets.

They then went up to the Queen, read the decree over again to her and the Princesses, and deprived them even of the little articles they used in working.

In an hour afterwards, I was summoned to the Council Chamber, where I was asked if I did not know what were the articles that remained in the pocket-book, which the King had returned into his pocket. "I order you," said a Municipal Officer named Sermaize, "to take the pocket-book away this night." I replied, that it was not my business to put the decrees of the Commune into execution, nor to search the King's pockets. "Clery is in the right," said another Municipal Officer, addressing himself to Sermaize, "it was your business to have made the search."

A minute was made of all the articles taken from the Royal Family; which were put up in separate packets and sealed. I was then commanded to sign my name to an order, by which I was enjoined to give notice to the Council if I found any sharp instruments in possession of the King or Royal Family, or in any of their apartments. These different articles were all sent to the Commune.

By examining the registers of the Council of the Temple, it may be seen that I had often been compelled to sign decrees and demands of which I was very far from approving either the form or substance. I never did sign any thing, say any thing, or do any thing but as specially directed by the King or Queen. A refusal on my part might have separated me from their Majesties, to whom I had devoted my existence; and my signature at the bottom of certain decrees only went to show that they had been read to me.

Sermaize, the same person of whom I have been speaking, went with me to His Majesty's apartment. The King was sitting at the fire, with the tongs in his hand. Sermaize desired by authority of the Council to see what was left in the pocket-book: the King took it out of his pocket and opened it. It contained a turn-screw, a gun-worm and a little gun-steel. Sermaize made him give them up. The King turning on his heel, asked if the tongs he held in his hand were not also a sharp instrument? When the Municipal Officer was gone down I had an opportunity of informing His Majesty of all that had passed at the Council relative to this second search.

At dinner time, a dispute arose among the Commissioners. Some were against the Royal Family's using knives and forks, others were for letting them have the forks, and it was at last decided that no change should be made, but that the knives and forks should be taken away after every meal.

The Queen and the Princesses were the more sensible of the loss of the little articles that had been taken from them, as they were in consequence forced to give up different works, which till then had served to divert their attention during the tedious days of a prison. Once as Madame Elizabeth was mending the King's coat, having no scissars, she bit off the thread with her teeth. "What a reverse!" said the King, looking tenderly on her; "you were in want of nothing at your pretty house of Montreuil." "Ah! brother," replied she, "can I feel a regret of any kind, when I share your misfortunes?"

Meanwhile, every day brought new decrees, every one of which was a fresh tyranny. The rude harshness of the Municipal Officers towards me was more remarkable than ever. The three attendants were again forbidden to speak to me, and every thing seemed to forebode some new minfortune. The Queen and Madame Elizabeth felt the same presentiment, and were continually applying to me for news, which it was not in my power to give. I did not expect to see my wife in less than three days; my impatience was extreme.

At length, on Thursday, my wife came: I was called to the Council Chamber. She affected to speak loud to avoid the suspicions of our new inspectors, and while she was giving me an account of our domestic affairs, her friend, in a lower voice, told me that on the succeeding Tuesday the King was to be carried to the Convention, that he was to be put upon his trial, that he was to be allowed counsel, and that all this was certain.

I was at a loss how to open this horrible news to the King, and wished first to inform the Queen or Madame Elizabeth of it: but I was under the greatest apprehensions: there was no time to be lost, and the King had expressly forbidden me to conceal any thing from him. At night, when I was undressing him, I told him what I had heard, and went so far as to hint that there was an intention of separating him from his Family during the trial, adding that there were but four days more to concert with the Queen some mode of corresponding with her. I also assured him that there was nothing I was not resolved to undertake to assist in it. Here the appearance of the Municipal Officers did not permit me to say more upon the subject, and prevented His Majesty from making any answer.

The next morning, I could not find an opportunity of speaking to the King when he was getting up: he went with the Dauphin to breakfast in the Queen's

apartment, where I attended him. After breakfast he continued some time conversing with the Queen, who, by a look, full of grief, made understand that the intelligence I had given the King was the subject of their conversation. In the course of the day, finding an opportunity of speaking to Madame Elizabeth, I mentioned to her how much pain it had cost me to increase the sufferings of the King, by informing him of the day on which he was to be brought to trial. It was much comfort to me to hear her say, that the King felt that mark of my attachment. "What afflicts him most," added she, "is the dread of being separated from us: endeavour to gain some further intelligence."

At night, the King assured me that he was very glad to have been apprized that he was to appear before the Convention. "Continue," said he, "to endeavour to find out what they are going to do with me, and don't be afraid of giving me pain. I have agreed with my Family not to appear informed of

what is passing, that you may not be suspected."

The nearer the day of the trial approached, the more was I distrusted: the Municipal Officers would not answer any of my questions. I had in vain been forming different pretences to go down to the Council, where I might have collected fresh particulars to communicate to the King, when a commission arrived at the Temple, charged to audit the accounts of the Royal Family. They were under the necessity of having me present to speak to the articles of expences, and I learnt through a Municipal Officer, whose dispositions were friendly, that the decree for separating the King from his Family had been passed only in the Commune, and not yet in the National Assembly. On the same day, Turgi brought me a newspaper containing the decree which ordained that the King should be brought to the bar of the Convention: he also gave me a Memorial, published by M. Necker, on the King's trial. The only means I had of communicating this newspaper and Memorial to the Royal Family was by hiding them under a piece of furniture in the King's watercloset. Having informed the Family of the circumstance, they had it in their power successively to read them. This closet was the only place into which the Municipal Officers did not follow them.

On the eleventh of December 1792, by five o'clock in the morning, the drum was heard beating to arms throughout Paris, and a troop of horse with cannon were marched into the garden of the Temple. This noise would have given a dreadful alarm to the Royal Family, had they not been apprized of the cause: they feigned, however, to be ignorant of it, and asked an explanation of the Commissioners on duty, who refused to make any reply.

At nine o'clock, the King and the Dauphin went up to breakfast with the Queen and Princesses: their Majesties remained together an hour, but always in sight of the Municipal Officers. This constant torment which the Royal Family suffered in not being able to give a loose to any unrestrained expression of their feelings, to any free effusion of their hearts, at a moment when they could not but be agitated with so many fears, was one of the most cruel refinements, and dearest delights of their tyrants. They were at last obliged to part. The King left the Queen, Madame Elizabeth, and his daughter, and what they dared not speak their looks expressed: the Dauphin came down as usual with the King.

The Prince, who often prevailed on His Majesty to play a game of Siam with him, was so pressing that day that the King, in spite of his situation, could not refuse him. The Dauphin lost every game, and twice he could get no farther than sixteen. "Whenever," cried he, in a lattle pet, "I get to the point."

of sixteen, I am sure never to win the game." The King said nothing, but he seemed to feel the coincidence of the words.

As eleven o'clock, when the King was hearing the Dauphin read, two Municipal Officers walked in and told His Majesty they were come to carry the young Louis to his mother. The King desired to know why he was taken away: the commissioners replied, that they were executing the orders of the Council of the Commune. The King tenderly embraced his son, and charged me to conduct him. On my return I assured His Majesty that I had delivered the Prince to the Queen, which appeared to relieve his mind. One of the Municipal Officers came back and informed him that Chambon, Mayor of Paris, was with the Council, and that he was just coming up. "What does he want with me?" said the King. The Officer answered, that he did not know.

His Majesty for some minutes walked about his room in much agitation, then sat down in an armed chair at the head of the bed: the door stood a jar, but the Officer did not like to go in, wishing, as he told me, to avoid questions: but half an hour passing thus in dead silence, he became uneasy at not hearing the King move, and went softly in; he found him leaning with his head upon his hand, apparently in deep thought. The King, on being disturbed, said, raising his voice: "What do you want with me?"——"I was afraid," answered the Officers, "that you were ill."——"I am obliged to you," replied the King, in an accent replete with anguish, "but the manner in which they have taken my son from me cuts me to the heart." The Municipal Officer withdrew without saying a word.

Remaining alone in the chamber with a Municipal Officer, I learnt from him that the King was not to see his Famly again, but that the Mayor had still to consult with some Deputies respecting this separation. I begged to be conducted to the Dauphin, who was with the Queen, and this was granted me. I staid with him till about six in the evening, when the King returned from the Convention. The Municipal Officers informed the Queen of the King's departure but without entering into any particulars. The Family came down as usual to dine in His Majesty's apartment, and then went up again.

After dinner, there was but one Municipal Officer remained with the Queen. He was a young man about four-and-twenty years old, of the Section of the Temple: it was the first time he had ever been upon guard at the Tower; and he appeared less suspicious, and less uncivil than the generality of his colleagues. The Queen entered into conversation with him and asked him questions about

his situation, his family and the like; while Madame Elizabeth took the opportunity of beckoning me to follow her to another room.

Here I informed her that the Commune had decreed to separate the King from his Family, and that I was afraid the separation would take place that very night: for though it was true that nothing respecting it had been done in the Convention, yet the Mayor was charged to make the application, and would no doubt succeed. "The Queen and myself," replied she, "look for the worst, and do not deceive ourselves as to the fate preparing for the King: he will die a sacrifice to the goodness of his heart, and love for his people, for whose happiness he has never ceased to labour since he mounted the Throne. How cruelly is this people deceived! As for him, his Religion, and that perfect reliance he has upon Providence, will support him in this sad moment of adversity. You, Clery," continued this virtuous Princess, with tears in her eyes, "will now be the only person with my brother: redouble, if possible, your attentions to him, and omit no opportunity of giving us intelligence respecting him; but on no account expose yourself, for then we should have nobody on whom we could rely." I repeated to her my assurances of devotion to the King, and we agreed upon means by which we could keep up a correspondence.

Turgi was the only person I could entrust with the secret, and to him I could speak but seldom and cautiously. It was agreed that I should continue to keep the Dauphin's linen and cloaths; that every other day I should send him a change, and take the opportunity to give intelligence of what was passing about the King. This plan suggested to Madame Elizabeth the idea of my receiving one of her handkerchiefs, "which," said she, "you will keep when my brother is well, but if he should be ill, you will send it among my nephew's linen." The manner of folding it was to show the nature of the disorder.

The anguish of the Princess, while speaking of her brother, her indifference as to herself, the value which she was pleased to attach to my poor endeavours in the service of His Majesty, all deeply affected me. "Have you heard any thing respecting the Queen?" said she, with a sort of terror: "Alas! of what can they accuse her?"—"Nay, Madame," I replied, "of what can they accuse the King?"—"Oh! nothing; no, nothing;" she answered, "but, perhaps, they may look upon the King as a victim necessary to their safety; but surely the Queen and her children would be no obstacles to their ambition!"—I took the liberty of observing that, no doubt, the King could only be sentenced to banishment, that I had heard it spoken of, and that as Spain had not declared war, it was likely that he would be sent with his Family into that kingdom. "I have no hope," said she, "that the King will be saved."

I thought it proper to add, that the foreign powers were busy in forming plans to extricate the King from his imprisonment; that Monsieur, and the Count d'Artois, were again assembling all the emigrants, to join the Austrian and Prussian armies; that Spain and England would take steps, and that all Europe was interested to prevent the death of the King, that the Convention would therefore have to reflect seriously before they pronounced upon His Majesty's fate.

This conversation lasted near an hour, when Madame Elizabeth, with whom I had never spoken for so long a time, fearing the arrival of the new Municipal Officers, left me, in order to return to the Queen's chamber. Tison and his wife, who were perpetually watching me, observed that I had been a great while with Madame Elizabeth, and that it was to be feared the Commissioner

had perceived it. I told them that the Princess had been speaking to me about her nephew, who would probably in future remain with his mother.

I returned in a few minutes to Her Majesty's chamber, to whom Madame Elizabeth had been communicating her conversation with me, and the means we had concerted for effecting a correspondence; Her Majesty had the goodness to express her satisfaction.

At six o'clock, the Commissioners took me down to the Council; where they read to me a decree of the Commune, ordering that I should no longer have any communication with the Queen, the Princess, or the young Prince, because I was appointed to wait upon the King alone: It was even decreed at first, with a view of putting the King into some sort of close confinement, that I should not sleep in his apartments, but be lodged in the little Tower, and only conducted to His Majesty when he wanted me.

At half after six o'clock, the King returned: he appeared fatigued, and the first thing he did was to desire to be shown to his Family. This was objected to, under the pretence of having no orders: he insisted that they should at least be informed of his return, which was promised him. The King then ordered me to speak for his supper at half-past eight; he employed the interval of two hours, in reading as usual, but all the while surrounded by four Municipal Officers.

At half-past eight, I informed His Majesty that supper was served. He asked the Commissioners if his Family were not coming down: they made him no answer. "But at least," said the King, "my son is to sleep in my apartment, as his bed and things are here." Still no reply. After supper, the King renewed his instances to see his Family: and was told that he must wait the determination of the Convention. I then delivered up the Dauphin's night things.

When I was undressing the King for bed, he said, that he could never have conceived all the questions they had put to him; and then lay down with great tranquillity. The decree of the Commune, relative to lodging me at a distance, was not put into execution: it would have been too troublesome for the Municipal Officers to have come to me every time the King wanted my attendance.

On the morning of the 12th, the moment the King saw a Municipal Officer, he asked if there had been any determination respecting the request he had made to see his Family; and was again answered that they waited for orders. He then begged that Officer to go and enquire how the Queen, the Princesses, and the Dauphin were, and tell them he was well. The Commissioner returned with an account of their being in good health. The King then gave me orders to send his son's bed up to the Queen's apartments, where the young Prince had slept on one of her mattrasses. I begged His Majesty to wait the determination of the Convention; to which he replied, "I expect no consideration, no justice, but let us wait."

The same day, a deputation from the Convention, composed of four Deputies: Thuriot, Cambacérès, Dubois-Crancé, and Dupont de Bigorre, brought the decree authorizing the King to employ Counsel. He said he chose M. Target, or if he declined it, M. Tronchet, but both of them, if the National Convention would agree to it. The Deputies made the King sign this demand, and countersigned it themselves. His Majesty added, that he should want paper, pen and ink. He gave M. Tronchet's address, at his country house, but said he did not know where M. Target lived.

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On the 18th, in the morning, the same deputation returned to the Temple, and informed the King, that M. Target had declined taking his defence upon him, and that M. Tronchet had been sent for, and was expected in the course of the day. They then read to him several letters which were addressed to the Convention by M. Sourdat, M. Huet, M. Guillaume, and M. de Lamoignon de Malesherbes, who had been formerly first President of the Court of Aids in Paris, and afterwards Minister of the King's Household. M. de Malesterbes' letter was as follows:—

" CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

Paris, December 11th, 1792.

"I am yet uninformed whether the Convention will allow the defence of Louis XVI. to be undertaken by Counsel or not. If it be allowed, and the choice of Counsel be left to him, I request that Louis XVI. may know that, if he thinks proper to choose me for that office, I am ready to undertake it. I do not ask you to make my offer known to the Convention, for I am far from thinking myself of sufficient importance to engage their attention: but I was twice appointed a Member of the Council of him who was my Master, at a time when that office excited a general ambition: I feel it to be my duty to offer myself as his Counsel now that that duty is thought dangerous by many. If I knew any possible mode of making my intention known to him, I should not take the liberty of applying to you. I imagine the place you fill affords you the means, more than any other person, of sending him this information.

" I am, with respect, &c.

(Signed) " L. DE MALESHERBES."

His Majesty said: "I receive with sensibility the offers of the gentlemen who desire to be my Counsel, and I request you to express my acknowledgements to them. I accept that of M. de Malesherbes. If I cannot have M. Tronchet's services, I shall consult M. de Malesherbes on the choice of another."

On the 14th of December, M. Tronchet had a conference with His Majesty, agreeable to the decree. On the same day, M. de Malesherbes was introduced into the Tower: The King ran to meet this venerable man, and pressed him affectionately to his bosom, while the old Statesman melted into tears at the sight of his Master—whether it was that the first happy years of that Master's reign rushed upon his memory, or rather that he saw at that moment only the virtuous man struggling with adversity. As the King had permission to consult with his Counsel in private, I shut his chamber door that he might be able to speak more freely with M. de Malesherbes; for which I was reprimanded by a Municipal Officer, who ordered me to open it, and forbade my shutting it in future: I opened the door, but His Majesty had withdrawn to the turret-closet.

In this first conference, the King and M. de Malesherbes spoke very loud: the Commissioners, who were in the chamber, listened to their conversation, and could hear every thing. When M. de Malesherbes was gone, I informed His Majesty of the prohibition I had received from them, and of the attention with which they had listened to the conference, begging that he would himself shut the door of his chamber when his Counsel were with him; which, in future, he did.

On the 15th, the King received an answer relative to his Family: which was in substance, that the Queen and Madame Elizabeth should have no communication with the King during the trial, but that his children might be with him, if he desired it, on condition that they were not allowed to see their

mother or their aunt, till his examination was concluded. The first moment I could speak to His Majesty in private, I asked for his orders. "You see," said the King, "the cruel dilemma in which they have placed me. I cannot think of having my children with me: as for my daughter she is out of the question, and I know what pain the Queen would suffer in giving up my son: I must make the sacrifice." His Majesty then repeated his orders for the removal of the Prince's bed; which I immediately executed. I kept his linen and cloaths, and sent him a change every other day, as had been agreed upon with Madame Elizabeth.

On the 16th, at four in the afternoon, there came another deputation of four Members of the Convention; Valazé, Cochon, Grandpré, and Duprat, part of the Committee of Twenty-one, appointed to superintend the King's Trial. They were accompanied by a Secretary, a Sergeant, and an officer of the Guard belonging to the Convention: they brought the King a copy of his impeachment, and papers relative to the proceedings against him, the greater part of which were found at the Thuilleries in a secret press in His Majesty's apartments, called by Roland, the iron press.

The reading of these papers to the number of one hundred and seven, lasted from four o'clock till midnight. They were all read and marked by the King, as likewise copies of them, which were left in his hands: the King sat at a large table, with M. Tronchet by his side; the Deputies sat opposite to him. After the reading of each Piece, Valaze asked the King if he had any knowledge of it, and similar questions. His Majesty answered yes or no, without further explanation. A second Deputy gave him the papers and copies to sign, and a third offered to read them over again each time; with which his Majesty always dispensed. It was the business of the fourth to call over the papers by packets and by numbers, and the Secretary entered them on a register one by one as they were handed to the King.

His Majesty interrupted the sitting to ask the Deputies of the Convention if they would not go to supper; to which they consented, and I served a cold fowl and some fruit in the eating-room. M. Tronchet would not take anything, and remained alone with the King in his chamber.

A Municipal Officer, named Merceraut, at that time a stone cutter, and late President of the Commune of Paris, though a chairman at Versailles before the Revolution, happened to be upon guard at the Temple for the first time. He had on his working cloaths, which were in rags, an old worn-out round hat, a leather apron, and his tri-coloured scarf. This fellow had the affectation to stretch himself out by the King in an armed-chair, while His Majesty was sitting on a common chair; and with his hat on his head, thee'd and thou'd every body who addressed any conversation to him: the Members of the Convention were astonished at it, and one of them, during supper, asked me several questions concerning this Merceraut, and the manner in which the Municipality treated the King. To this I was going to answer, when another Commissioner told him to discontinue his questions, that it was forbidden to speak with me, and that in the Council Chamber he should be made acquainted with every particular he could desire. The Deputy, apprehensive of having gone too far, made no reply.

The examination was now resumed. In the number of papers presented to His Majesty, he took notice of the declaration which he had made on his return from Varennes, when Messrs. Tronchet, Barnave and Duport were appointed by the Constituant Assembly to receive it. This Declaration had been

signed by the King, and the Deputies. "You will admit the authenticity of this paper," said the King to M. Tronchet, "your own signature is to it."

Some of the packets contained plans for a Constitution, with marginal notes written in His Majesty's hand; several of which were in ink, and several in pencil. Some registers of the Police were also shown to the King, in which there were informations written and signed by his own servants: His Majesty seemed much affected by this proof of ingratitude. These informers pretended to relate occurrences that passed in the King's or Queen's apartments in the Palace of the Thuilleries, only to give more appearance of probability to their calumnics.

After the Members of the deputation had retired, the King took some refreshment, and went to bed without complaining of the fatigue he had suffered. He only asked me if his Family had been kept waiting for supper: on my replying in the negative—"I should have been afraid," said he, "that the delay would have made them uneasy." He even had the goodness to find fault with me for not supping before him.

Some days after, the four Members of the Committee of Twenty-one came again to the Temple. They read fifty-one new papers to the King, which he signed and marked as he had done the former, making in the whole 158 papers

of which copies were left with him.

From the 14th to the 26th of December, the King regularly saw his Counsel, who came at five in the afternoon and returned at nine. M. de Seze was added to the number. Every morning M. de Malesherbes brought his Majesty the newspapers, and printed opinions of the Deputies respecting his trial. He arranged the business for every evening, and staid an hour or two with His Majesty. The King often had the condescension to give me some of the printed opinions to read, and would afterwards ask me, what I thought of the opinion of such a one. I told His Majesty, I wanted words to express my indignation; "but you, Sire," said I, "I wonder how you can read it at all without horror."——"I see the extent of men's wickedness," replied the King, "and I did not believe there were such in existence." His Majesty never went to bed till he had read these different papers, and then, in order not to involve M. de Malesherbes, he took care to burn them himself, at the stove in his closet.

I had by this time found a favourable opportunity of speaking to Turgi, and of charging him with news of the Kiug to Madame Elizabeth. Turgi apprized menext morning, that, in giving him her napkin after dinner, she had slipt into his hand a little piece of paper, on which she had punctured with a pin her desire that I should beg the King to write her a line with his own hand. This I communicated to His Majesty that same evening. As he had been furnished with paper and ink since the beginning of his trial, he wrote his sister a note, which he gave me unscaled, saying that it contained nothing that could endanger me, and desired me to read it. In this last particular, I besought His Majesty to allow me for the first time to disobey him.

The next day I gave the note to Turgi, who brought an answer in a ball of cotton, which he threw under my bed, as he passed my chamber door. His Majesty saw with great pleasure that this mode of hearing from his family had succeeded; and I observed to him that it was easy to continue the correspondence. On receiving notes from His Majesty, I folded them into as small a size as I could, and wound cotton about them; I then put them into the cup-board where the plates were kept for dinner: Turgi found them

there, and made use of different means to return me the answers. When I gave them to the King, he always said with kindness to me, "Take care; you expose yourself too much."

The wax-tapers which the Commissioners sent me were tied up in packages. When I had collected a sufficient quantity of the packthread, I observed to the King, that it now depended on himself to carry on the correspondence with more dispatch, by conveying some of this packthread to Madame Elizabeth, whose room was over mine, and the window of which was in a direct line above that of a small corridor, to which my chamber opened. The Princess, in the night, could tie her letters to this packthread, and let them down to the window that was under her's. A sort of screen, something resembling a scuttle, at each window, prevented the possibility of her letters falling into the garden; and, by the same means, the Princess might receive answers. A little paper and ink, of which the Queen and Princesses had been deprived, might also be tied to the packthread. "The project is a good one," said His Majesty, "and we will make use of it, if that which we have hitherto employed should become impracticable." It was actually practised in the sequel by the King. He used always to wait till eight o'clock at night for the purpose; I then shut the doors of my chamber and the corridor, and talked with the Commissioners, or engaged them at play, to divert their attention.

It was about this time that Marchand, one of the servants in attendance, who was father of a family, and had just received his wages for two months, amounting to 200 livres, was robbed in the Temple. The loss to him was serious. The King, who had observed his dejection, being informed of the cause, desired me to give him the 200 livres, and to charge him at the same time not to mention it to any body, and particularly not to attempt to thank him; "for," added he, "that would be his destruction." Marchand was sensibly touched by His Majesty's bounty, but still more so by the prohibition to express his gratitude.

Since his separation from the Royal Family, the King had constantly refused to go down to the garden. When it was proposed to him, his reply was, "I cannot think of going out by myself: I only found the walk agreeable by enjoying it with my Family." But, though deprived of the dearest objects of his heart, and certain of the destiny that awaited himself, he suffered not a complaint, nor a murmur, to escape his lips. He had already forgiven his oppressors. Every day, in his reading closet, he acquired new strength to sustain his natural fortitude; and those hours which he passed out of it were spent in the details of a life always uniform, but always adorned with numberless instances of goodness. He condescended to treat me as if I had been more than his servant. He behaved to the Municipal Officers who guarded him as if he had no reason to complain of them, and talked with them as he used formerly to do with any of his subjects, about their occupations, their families, the advantages, and the duties of their respective situations. They were astonished of the justness of his remarks, at the variety of his ideas, and at the method with which they were classed in his memory. His object, in these conversations, was not to divert his mind from the recollection of his sufferings; his sensibility was both active and strong, but his resignation was still superior to his misfortunes.

On the 10th of December, breakfast was brought as usual for the King; it was Wednesday: but not thinking of the Ember weeks, I presented it to him: "This is a fast-day," said he; and I carried the breakfast back to the eating-

The same day, the 19th, at dinner, the King said to me before three or four Municipal Officers, "This day fourteen years you were up earlier than you were this morning."—I immediately understood His Majesty, who added, "My daughter was born on that day." He then exclaimed with emotion, "And am I not to see her on her birth-day!".... Some tears trickled down

his cheeks, and for a moment there was a respectful silence.

The King sent word to Madame Royale, that he wished to know what present she chose he should make her. She desired to have an almanack like the little Court Calendar; which the King ordered me to get, and also the Republican Almanack for him, which had superseded the Royal Almanack. He often looked it over, and marked the names with a pencil.

The King was now soon to make his appearance at the bar of the Convention. He had not been shaved since his razors had been taken away, and his heard had been very troublesome to him. He was obliged to bathe his face in cold water several times every day. He desired me to procure for myself a pair of seissars, or a razor; for he did not chuse to speak about it himself to the Municipal Officers. I took the liberty of suggesting that, if he would appear as he was at the Assembly, the people would at least see with what barbarity the Council General had acted towards him. "It does not become me," said the King, "to take steps to excite commiscration." I applied to the Municipal Officers, and next day the Commune resolved that His Majesty's razors should be returned, but that he was not to have the liberty of using them except in the presence of two of the Officers.

For three days before Christmas, the King was more engaged than usual in writing. At this time a design was formed of detaining him at the Feuillans for a day or two, that they might pass sentence without adjourning. I had even received orders to be ready to attend him, and to collect what he might want; but the design was given up. On Christmas day His Majesty wrote his Will. I read, and copied it, at the time when it was sent to the Council at the Temple; it was entirely written by the King's own hand, with a few erasures. I think it my duty here to set down this monument of his innocence and of his picty, now registered in Heaven.

THE WILL OF LOUIS XVI.

"IN THE NAME of the Holy Trinity, of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; on the 25th day of December, 1792, I, Louis XVI. King of France, having been more than four months immured with my Family in the Tower of the Temple at Paris, by those who were my subjects, and deprived of all communication whatsoever, even with my Family, since the 11th of this month; involved moreover in a trial, the issue of which, from the passions of men, it is impossible to foresee, and for which there is neither pretence nor foundation in any existing law; having God only for the witness of my

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thoughts, and to whom I can address myself, do hereby declare, in His Presence, my last will, and the feelings of my heart.

"I render my soul to God, its Creator, beseeching him to receive it in his mercy, and not to judge it according to its own merits, but according to the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered himself a sacrifice to God his Father, for us men, unworthy of it as we were, and I above all others.

" I die in the union of our Holy Mother, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, which holds its powers by an uninterrupted succession from St. Peter, to whom they were confided by Jesus Christ.

"I firmly believe, and acknowledge all that is contained in the Creed and the Commandments, of God and of the Church, the Sacraments and Mysteries, such as the Catholic Church teaches, and has ever taught them. I have never pretended to render myself a judge in the different modes of explaining the dogmas that divide the Church of Christ; but I have ever conformed, and ever will conform, if God grant me life, to the decisions which the superior Ecclesiastics of the Holy Catholic Church have made, and shall make; according to the discipline of the Church adopted from the time of Jesus Christ.

"I grieve with all my heart for such of our brethren as may be in error: but I presume not to judge them, and do not the less love them all in Christ Jesus, as we are taught to do by Christian charity. I pray God to forgive me all my sins! I have endeavoured scrupulously to discover them, to detest them, and to humble myself in his presence. Not having it in my power to avail myself of the ministry of a Catholic Priest, I pray to God to receive the confession I have made of them to him, and especially my deep repentance for having put my name (though against my will) to instruments that may be sontrary to the discipline and belief of the Catholic Church, to which I have always remained from my heart sincerely attached. I pray God to accept my firm resolution of taking the earliest opportunity, if he grant me life, to avail myself of the ministry of a Catholic Priest, to confess all my sins and receive the Sacrament of Penitence.

" I intreat all whom I have offended through inadvertence (for I do not recollect having ever wilfully given offence to any person), or to whom I may have given any bad example or scandal by my actions, to forgive the evils I may have done them. I intreat all charitable persons to unite their prayers with mine, that I may obtain pardon of God for my sins.

"I forgive with all my heart those who have become my enemies without my having given them any reasons for so doing; and I pray God to forgive them, as well as those who, through a false or misconceived zeal, have done me much evil.

" I recommend to God, my wife and my children, my sister and my aunts, my brothers, and all who are related to me by ties of blood, or in any other manner whatsoever: I pray God more especially to look with mercy upon my wife, my children, and my sister, who have been suffering a long time with me; to support them by his grace, if they lose me, and as long as they remain in this perishable world.

"I recommend my children to my wife: I have never doubted her maternal tenderness. I particularly recommend it to her to make them good Christians, and to give them virtuous minds; to make them look upon the pomps of this world, if they are condemned to experience them, as a dangerous and transitory inheritance, and to turn their thoughts to the only solid and durable glory

of eternity. I intreat my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and to be a mother to them should they have the misfortune to lose their own.

" I intreat my wife to forgive me all the evils she suffers on my account, and whatever vexations I may have caused her in the course of our union; as she may be assured that I harbour nothing against her, should she suppose there

was any thing with which she might reproach herself.

"I recommend most earnestly to my children, after their duty to God, which must always stand first, to continue united together, submissive and obedient to their mother, and grateful for all the cares and pains she takes for them, and in memory of me. I entreat them to look upon their aunt as a second mother.

" I recommend to my son, if he should have the misfortune of becoming King, to reflect, that he ought to devote himself entirely to the happiness of his fellow-citizens; that he ought to forget all hatred and resentment, and particularly in what relates to the misfortunes and vexations I have suffered; that he cannot promote the happiness of a nation but by reigning according to the laws; yet, at the same time, that a King cannot enforce those laws, and do the good which his heart prompts, unless be be possessed of the necessary authority; for that, otherwise, being fettered in his operations, and inspiring no respect, he is more hurtful than useful.

" I recommend to my son to take care of all who are attached to me, as far as circumstances may put it in his power; to recollect that it is a sacred debt which I have contracted with the children or relations of those who have perished for me; and, lastly, of those who are themselves unfortunate ou

my account.

"I know that there are several persons, formerly in my service, who have not conducted themselves towards me as they ought, and even shown ingratitude towards me; but I forgive them (in times of tumult and effervescence we are not always masters of ourselves); and I intreat my son, if he should ever

have an opportunity, that he will think only of their misfortunes.

"I wish I could here express my acknowledgments to those who have evinced a true disinterested attachment for nie: on the one hand, if I have been keenly wounded by the ingratitude and disloyalty of the people who have experienced from me nothing but bounty, either themselves or in the persons of their relations or friends; on the other hand, I have had the consolation of seeing an attachment and concern manifested for me by many on whom I never bestowed a favour: I intreat them to accept my best thanks. In the situation in which things still remain, I should be afraid of endangering them if I were more explicit; but I recommend it particularly to my son to

seek occasions of showing his acknowledgment.

"I think, however, that I should do injustice to the sentiments of the nation, if I hesitated openly to recommend to my son M. de Chamilly and M. Hue, whose sincere attachment to me prompted them to shut themselves up with me in this melancholy habitation, and who looked to become the unhappy victims of that attachment. I also recommend Clery to him, with whose services ever since he has been with me I have had every reason to be entirely satisfied. As it is he who has remained with me to the last, I entreat the Gentlemen of the Commune, to see that my cloaths, books, watch, purse, and the other small articles that were lodged with the Council of the Commune, be delivered to him.

" I also most freely forgive those who were guards over me, for the ill treatment and constraint they thought it their duty to inflict upon me. Somethere were whose souls were tender and compassionate; may their hearts enjoy

that peace which should be the reward of such dispositions.

"I request M. de Malesherbes, M. Tronchet, and M. de Seze, to receive here my best thanks for, and acknowledgments of, the sense I entertain of all the care and trouble they have taken upon themselves for me.

" I conclude by declaring before God, in whose presence I am about to appear, that my conscience does not accuse me with any of the crimes which are imputed to me.

"Written and signed by me, and a duplicate hereof made, at the Tower of the Temple, on the 25th day of December, 1792. (Signed) LOUIS."

1815.]

THE LIFE OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM WINDHAM,

LATE SECRETARY OF WAR, MINISTER OF COLONIES, &c.

(Continued from our last.)

HE returned to town about three weeks after the commencement of the session of 1809. Mr. Wardle had previously preferred his charges in the House of Commons against the Duke of York, as Commander in Chief, and the evidence in support of them had been proceeded upon. This investigation, which occupied much of the time and attention of the House, having at length been brought to a close, Mr. Windham, on the 14th of March, pronounced his judgment on the question, in a speech which certainly deserves the praise of great moderation, as well as of extraordinary acuteness. He lamented that the charges had been brought forward, and strongly reprobated the manner in which they had been attempted to be supported; but though he acquitted the Duke of York of any participation or connivance in the disgraceful transactions which had been laid open, and was therefore ready to negative the address which Mr. Wardle had proposed, yet he thought that the suspicions which were felt, and would continue to be felt, by the country, were such as to render it desirable that His Royal Highness should withdraw from Office. He, therefore, could not concur in an amendment which was moved by Mr. Perceval, but found himself obliged very reluctantly to adopt a middle course, by voting for an address which had been suggested by Mr. Bankes. This speech, as it did not exactly fall in with the opinions of either party, has not hitherto perhaps received all the commendation it deserves. The distinctions laid down in it, on the degree of credibility due to certain descriptions of evidence, will be acknowledged, perhaps, on examination, to be not less profound than ingenious. It might be difficult to find in any professional treatise on the doctrine of evidence, such an union of logical accuracy with minute knowledge of mankind, as was on this occasion applied to the subject by Mr. Windham.

In the course of this session, the bill proposed by Mr. Curwen, for preventing the sale of seats in parliament, afforded him an opportunity of discussing at considerable length the general question of Reform, against which his protest had been frequently and forcibly given. This speech, for close observation of human nature, and for vigour of imagination, is not to be excelled. As it included a full statement of his opinions on this important subject, he was willing that it should be published in the form of a pamphlet, and he added to it, on that occasion, a note, in which he strongly animadverted on some transactions, recently laid open, between the persons who had been principally concerned in the proceedings against the Duke of York.

Lord Erskine's Bill for preventing Cruelty to Animals he opposed with equal wit and argument. But though he thought the subject to be wholly unfit for legislation, no person could be more ready at all

times than himself, to resent those acts of cruelty with which our public roads and streets are occasionally disgraced. Indeed, when any incident, of whatever nature, seemed to call for the interference of a byestander, he was always prompt to step forward to the relief of the injured party, and by a certain alertness and energy he generally effected the

purpose of his interposition.

The summer of 1809 was remarkable for the complete triumph of France over Austria, and for the failure of our expedition to the Scheldt. To shew that both these calamitous events were calculated upon by Mr. Windham, and that his opinion of the object of the latter was not at all influenced by its result, it might be sufficient to quote a letter to me written at Beaconsfield, on the 21st July 1809, in which he said, "I tremble for the event of the next Austrian battle, and am not without my tremors for the fate of the expedition, which, whether successful or not, I am satisfied is a most foolish enterprize." In a subsequent letter, he remarks, in reference to the expedition, that "the grand fault was that which was quite independent of the event;—the sending of the force any where but to Spain." His opinion, however, concerning this question, as well as that of the Austrian campaign, will be collected more in detail from the following letter, addressed to his nephew Captain Lukin, some days before the actual sailing of the expedition:—

" DEAR WILLIAM,

Beaconsfield, July 23, 1809.

"I hold to my purpose of going to the assizes, and shall accordingly set off for town to-morrow.

Terrible news this from Germany!—though the learned in London, I understand (at least those about the offices), do not consider the battle as one of those decisive ones that leave nothing afterwards to be hoped. There is nothing to me in the event that at all comes unexpectedly, however it may be to be lamented. The most discouraging consideration is the dreadful inferiority of talent that appears to be always on the side of the Austrians. Why is Buonaparte to be able to pass the Danube, before the Archduke is apprized of what he is about? I cannot think that this would have happened the other way.

our expedition I conceive to be a most injudicious one, whatever be the event of it. My opinion is, that the whole should have been sent to Spain; so as not to leave Buonaparte, when he has settled the Austrian business, to begin, as he did last year, on the banks of the Ebro; but to have driven the whole of the French force out of the Peninsula. With a view even to a respite from invasion, the total clearance from Spain would have been of more importance than the destruction of all the vessels and arsenals in the Scheldt, should we even accomplish that purpose. If I could have been tempted by any other object, it would have been (with a view to remote and contingent consequences) to undertake the capture of Belleisle, the troops being afterwards to proceed to Spain.

Your's affectionately,

66 W. WINDHAM."

The following extract from a letter to his friend, Mr. A. Hudson of Norwich, is submitted to the reader, not so much for its reference to the Scheldt expedition, as for the manner in which it treats of another popular topic, rendered indeed a political one by the turn which is given to it:—

" Felbrigg, Aug. 17, 1809.

Gazette, that the supposed superiority of the French arms, so arrogantly assumed and so meanly acquiesced in for several years past, vanishes before British troops. Though the late victory should produce nothing more (as I fear it will not), than a confirmation of this proof, I don't know that it is too dearly purchased. Had our expedition gone to Spain, are there not grounds for believing that we might have driven the French out of the Peninsula? Such an achievement would have been a great thing, even though it should have been found impossible, after their complete success elsewhere, to prevent them from returning. I hope our troops at Flushing will either succeed or withdraw, before Buonaparte comes to efface the impression of what has hitherto been done, by some signal victory over them.

"A smart contest this between Maddox and Richman! Why are we to boast so much of the native valour of our troops, as shewn at Talavera, at Vimeira, and at Maida, yet to discourage all the practices and habits which tend to keep alive the same sentiments and feelings? The sentiments that filled the minds of the three thousand spectators who attended the two pugilists, were just the same in kind as those which inspired the higher combatants on the occasions before enumerated. It is the circumstances only in which they are displayed, that make the

difference.

" He that the world subdued, had been

" But the best wrestler on the green."

There is no sense in the answer always made to this,—" Are no men brave but boxers?" Bravery is found in all habits, classes, circumstances, and conditions. But have habits and institutions of one sort no tendency to form it, more than of another? Longevity is found in persons of habits the most opposite; but are not certain habits more favourable to it than others? The courage does not arise from mere boxing, from the mere beating or being beat:—but from the sentiments excited by the contemplation and cultivation of such practices. Will it make no difference in the mass of a people, whether their amusements are all of a pacific, pleasurable, and effeminate nature, or whether they are of a sort that calls forth a continued admiration of prowess and hardihood? But when I get on these topics, I never know how to stop; so I will, send my best respects to Mrs. H. and have done.

"Yours, my dear Sir, with great truth, "W. WINDHAM."

The failure of the Walcheren expedition was followed by proceedings in the cabinet which led to the resignation of Lord Castlereagh and

Mr. Canning. A formal offer was now made by Mr. Perceval, on the part of the ministers, to Lords Grenville and Grey, to receive them, with their friends, as members of the administration. The proposal, however, was rejected, and the answer, as well as the note in which the offer was conveyed, were afterwards made public. In Mr. Windham, who had retired for the summer to Felbrigg, these proceedings did not fail to produce a strong degree of interest; but the result which he hoped for was exactly the reverse of that which might have been expected to be foremost in his wishes. The following extracts from letters which I received from him about this time, will serve to shew that nothing was further from his disposition than that avarice of office which to public men is now indiscriminately imputed :-

" Felbrigg, September 16, 1809.

"I Have received from several quarters information of the probability of a change in the ministry, which is far from presenting to me a prospect that I can contemplate with any feelings of pleasure. I have not virtue enough to wish the ministers out, at the risk of being one of those who may be called upon to succeed them. While the change was said to be only partial, I felt sufficiently at my ease; but in the way in which my informants suppose it is to take place, an offer to me, of some sort or another, I take it for granted, must be made. It is one of the things that one neither knows how to accept or decline. If I could always be as as well as I am here, -if Downing-street were in Felbrigg Park, or a dozen miles from London,-I should think much less about it; but the being called upon to read and to write, to consider and to decide, when one is exhausted and worn down with one's duty in parliament, has something in it that hardly any advantages or gratifications can repay; and I am afraid my inabilities in point of health or strength are not got the better of, even in the two years that have elapsed since I was last in office. My hope must be, that the intelligence is unfounded, and that the question will not arise; though I have my misgivings; and partly from the progress which I understand is making in the Catholic question, and the alarms which I have heard the ministers have conceived on that account. If it should be found that the measure must be submitted to, it will not be unnatural that an entire new ministry should be called in, composed of men entirely friendly to it. * * *

" A slight hurt which I got here in riding retards my return to town. I am, in the meantime, living a most wholesome life, and in many respects a very pleasant and useful one; -- pleasant, as I can recur to pursuits long laid aside, but very ill calculated to prepare me for a return to public life; -- and useful, as I am getting things into order, both within

doors and without."

THE LIVES OF THE GREAT CAPTAINS OF MODERN HISTORY.

IT is our purpose under this head to execute a task very much wanted, that of giving a complete collection of The Lives of the Great Captains of Modern History. As far as respects France this has been already executed by Brantome, but we have no English Writer who has attempted it. The materials of these Lives will be as follows: 1. Where the subjects themselves have left their own Memoirs, they shall be given in full. 2. Where these Lives have been written by any author of authority, they will likewise be given in full,—such work being translated or reprinted. 3. In want of such materials, the best will be selected from the annals and memoirs of the age in which they lived.

THE LIFE OF JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,

BOOK III.

Fo the Battle of Ramilies, and the Reduction of Brahant and Flanders.
(Continued from our last.)

FIELD MARSHAL D'AUVERQUERQUE, though the duke declares he was of the same opinion with himself, did not think fit, it seems, openly to avow it, when the project was laid aside. "We had made," says he, "a detachment of 20 battalions and 20 squadrons, to attack the right wing of the enemy in flank, through the wood of Soignies, at the same time we should begin to attack them in front: but that detachment, commanded by general Churchill, was obliged to rejoin the army in the evening, having found it impossible to march that way, because of the trees the enemy had cut down to make the roads impassable. Our generals went twice, the day we came, to view all the posts from one end of the line to the other, whereby they might be attacked, and found them of so difficult access, that they unanimously reported to me, as their sentiment, that the enterprize was neither adviseable nor practicable; whereupon it was resolved to retire, which we did, in so good order, that the enemy did not think fit to attack our rear."

But the field-deputies, at the same time that they give their reasons for disapproving this enterprise, own that their chief general thought otherwise than themselves. "All the enemies' forces," they tell the states, "were advantageously posted; and besides, according to the report of three generals, who had been to view them, there was no ground fit for our horse to march. We did not think fit to attempt the passage, without first hearing the opinion of the generals, all of whom we found, except M. d' Auverquerque, unanimously agreed, that it was an affair of the last consequence to attack the enemy in the said post, and might be of great danger to the state and common cause. The reasons they gave were, that the enemy could not be attacked without abundance of danger and disadvantage on our side; and that in case we should receive any disaster, we should find ourselves in very troublesome circumstances,

because, being so far advanced into the enemy's country, we had neither towns nor hospitals for our wounded, so that the enemies might in such case very easily cut off our convoys of provisions. Besides, the abovementioned generals were of opinion, that the affairs of the high allies, and of our republic, were not yet in such a condition, as to undertake such a desperate enterprize. My lord Marlborough, as well as M. d'Auverquerque, was indeed of opinion, that the thing was practicable; but we could not think of giving our consent, in an affair of so great importance, against the mind of all the other generals of the army."

General Salish, in his letter to M. Fagel, is yet more particular as to the difficulty of this enterprize. "The enemy," he writes, "had posted themselves very advantageously behind the river Ische, having the wood of Soignies on their right, and the Dyle, on the other side of Nether Ische, on their left. They had fortified all the avenues, and were still very hard at work at the village of Upper Ische, and other eminences, erecting batteries, and making coupures: in a word, we found them posted in that manner, that it was not possible to attack them without exposing our whole army, which would have been obliged to climb a high hill full of hedges and shrubs, as also to pass the said river; for which reason the generals, having well viewed the ground every where, resolved to pass the Lane, which we did accordingly."

As this was the greatest instance of of misunderstanding that ever happened among the generals of the allies, I have endeavoured to do justice to both parties, by inserting what they had to urge. But then we are to consider, as we go along, of how much greater weight the opinion of his grace, as remarkable for his great caution and foresight, as for any other quality of a general, and M. d' Auverquerque, who adjusted his measures by the experience of above 50 campaigns, ought to be in a matter of this nature, than the opinion of three or four timorous statesmen, and half a score junior officers. It is certain their high mightinesses thought in this way, because they instantly removed those persons of whom his grace complained. Thus the ill consequences that some were afraid of, were happily prevented by the wisdom of that senate, who were sensible that unity and concord were the only cement of the grand alliance. The emissaries of France were big with hopes of these misunderstandings, and fomented them with all imaginable industry: but they saw themselves disappointed, and that the little evil which had happened was productive of good to the allies, as it prevented the tying-up his grace's hands any more in that manner.

The projects of the duke of Marlborough being thus disappointed, the army marched towards Tirlemont, and a detachment was made under the command of lieutenant-general Dedem to besiege Sout-Lewe, a little place situated on a morass, and the chief defence of the enemies' lines. The place was invested the 29th of August, and the garrison surrendered the 5th of September prisoners of war, to the number of 400 men. They found in the place 18 pieces of cannon, 2 mortars, a good quantity of ammunition, which 1800 sacks of meal. The governor sur-

rendered before the batteries began to fire, upon a declaration of the Dutch general, that if they deferred it any longer, they should be allowed no quarter. This place being of great importance for hindering the French from repairing their lines, the allies provided it with a good garrison.

His grace, after this success, ordered the lines of the enemy to be levelled from Waseiger to Sout-Lewe, and Tirlemont to be dismantled; and then, having passed the Demer, encamped at Arschot. The enemy quitted, upon his approach, their old lines between that river and the Nethe, and retired into the new ones between those rivers, wherein they could not be attacked. His grace continued for some days at Arschot, to give time to begin and carry on the fortifications of Diest, Hasselt, Tongeren, and some other places, in which he designed to put strong garrisons the following winter. The army marched towards Herenthal and Turnhout, where M. Buis, pensionary of Amsterdam, waited on his grace on the part of the states of Holland and West-Friesland, and had a long conference with him. His grace set out a few days after for the Hague, and left the army under the command of M. d'Auverquerque. The generals made, in the mean time, preparations for the siege of San Vliet.

After several conferences held with the pensionary, it was agreed his grace should set out for Vienna, to press the pacification of the Troubles in Hungary, which was still obstructed by the same persons, who by their exactions gave the first occasion to the breach. The earl of Sunderland was gone thither before, to join Mr. Stepney, as mediators on the part of her Britannick majesty, to heal this wound, which, by drawing off the imperial troops to that side, proved so fatal to the grand alliance. These ministers having hitherto done little, and it being of the utmost importance, if possible, to expedite the affair, every one agreed. that if the influence of his grace, equally revered as a statesman and a general, could not produce the desired change of measures in the court of Vienna, it would be in vain to expect it, and struggle with insuperable difficulties. The English, knowing that all nations are to be governed by their own laws, and being sensible that something contrary thereto had occasioned, under the reign of the emperor Leopold, the unhappy troubles in Hungary, generously interposed their mediation to appease those differences; which they would not have done, if they had thought that the Hungarians had taken up arms without cause, and rebelled against their sovereign.

Besides this resolution taken at the Hague, the emperor had earnestly desired that the duke of Marlborough would repair to his court, as well to concert the operations of the next campaign, as to adjust these differences, and several other affairs of the highest importance. His grace accordingly set out from the grand army in Brabant, (whither he was returned from the Hague) and being arrived at Frankfort, prince Lewis of Baden met him there. The two Princes had several conferences in the presence of M. Geldermalsen, Plenipotentiary of the States, who enter-

tained their highnesses at dinner, with several other persons of quality. The interview of these two great men was narrowly observed; but, notwithstanding some insinuations of the emissaries of France, as if the British general had suspected the German of infidelity, nothing appeared between them but all imaginable tokens of friendship and good cor-

respondence.

While his grace was upon this Journey, a detachment was made from the grand army, under count Noyelles, (according to a resolution before taken) to besiege Santvliet, a strong fort near the Schelde. The trenches were opened in the night, between the 26th and 27th of October, and carried on the next day into the very counterscarp, which the enemy abandoned. The same day the artillery began to fire against the place, in order to make a breach, and the 29th, at five o'clock in the evening, they beat a parley. Hostages being exchanged as usual, they demanded to march out with the common marks of honour; but upon the count's refusing those conditions, they surrendered, at 11 at night, prisoners of war. The baggage of the officers was conducted to Antwerp, and they were allowed to wear their swords. The sick wounded, who were not in a condition to be transported, were allowed to continue in the place till they were cured, and then to rejoin the prisoners. The garrison consisted of the regiment of Mally, and 400 grenadiers, without including the men belonging to the artillery.

This little loss was in some sort made up to the French, by a new acquisition. While the allies were employed in the siege of Santvliet, the enemy made a detachment to surprize Diest; and the place, not being in a posture of defence, the garrison surrendered the 26th of the same month, and had the same conditions as that of Santvliet. It consisted of four battalions and a regiment of dragoons, and was commanded by brigadier Gaudacker, who wrote a long letter to the states in his own vindication, complaining of the hardship of being put, after 34 years of service, to hold a place that was not tenable, and that too without any artillery. He throws the blame of it on M. d'Auverquerque, and the field-deputies, to whom he had often set forth his condition.

The duke of Marlborough arrived at Vienna the 12th of November, by water from Ratisbon, and was received at his landing by the earl of Sunderland and Mr. Stepney, who conducted him to the house of the prince of Longueval. His grace had the next day his audience of their imperial majesties and the archduchesses, and the two following days received and returned several visits.

(To be continued.)

ORIGINAL LETTERS

WRITTEN BY OFFICERS DURING THE SEVERAL CAMPAIGNS IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN,

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE CAMPAIGNS,

The following Collection of Letters will be duly valued by our Readers, as being so many original cotemporaneous documents, written at the time, and on the spot, of the several Campaigns. They are arranged in distinct packets according as they belong to different Campaigns. Thus the first Packet is entituled,—Letters during the Campaign of 1808; and as the value of this hind of document depends upon its authenticity, at the end of every Packet is added the name of the officer by whom the Letters were written. And where the whole of the Letters are not by one Writer, but are intermixed, the intermixed letters are signed with the name of the Writer.

LETTERS DURING THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1808 AND 1809.

LETTER III (continued).

PICTURE to yourself, in miniature, the most interesting parts of the country this endroit resembles, and you will have a complete portrait of Cintra. Its living objects differ sadly from the landscape. No beauty, no taste, no animation appear in their looks, garbs, and actions: they walk about as if totally insensible of the paradise in which they dwell. I mean the lower class of natives; of the higher, as I did not visit any of their villas, I had no opportunity of judging. The weather continued so adverse, that I returned speedily to Lisbon, not having seen one half of what I wished.

Yesterday Sir John Moore and suite left this capital. We shall follow in a day or two, and hope to overtake the army before it reaches Salamanca, or Valladolid at farthest. In equipping myself for the march, it was necessary to purchase both mules and horses. Of the latter I had only one; but now, were you here, I could introduce you to a very handsome stud. During my traffic for them, I discovered in all the sellers a most insatiable passion for extortion. When I found that all my endeavours to purchase at a reasonable price were abortive, I left the business to my servant, whose honesty, as well as acuteness, is, perhaps, unequalled. Speaking the language well, and not being an Englishman, he succeeded admirably; and in a few hours I had in my stable a pair of excellent mules, with all their appointments, for twenty monnoie d'ors; about one hundred and twenty dollars. For these same animals, had I gone to make the bargain myself, most probably I should have been obliged to have given exactly three or four times the sum.

All seems ceremony with this people: they talk of bravery, and none prove themselves greater cowards: they profess religion, and none are greater formalists. Witness in both instances, the readiness with which they yielded to the French usurpation—the avidity with which they banquet on all the impurities of their satyr-like amusements. As far as encomiums on British valour, and their own fine uniforms will go, they are brave soldiers; as far as church ceremonies will carry them, they are good Christians. To Deums and holy processions are the present business of their lives.

At one of their principal places of devotion three or four sermons were preached, and several grand pieces of music performed, to invoke the canonized

Vor. III. No. 15.

calendar in our behalf. Every star, ribband, and brocade coat and petticoat attended; and, as it was expected that our commanders, and officers of rank naval and military, would be present, accordingly, the first day they acceded to the general wish; but finding the orations possessed more of earth than fire, and that the music seemed more in unison with the lengthened notes of the spheres, than with their harmony, this first visit was the last of our commanders. They made their bow to the St. Cecilia and the St. Mary of the church together, to the no little disappointment of the noblesse, who gave the festival rather as a festivity to their protectors than as a religious feast.

The church of St. Roque is richly ornamented: and is often fully attended. It is celebrated for a chapel dedicated to St. John, wholly composed of Mosaic work. The pictures in this art are exquisite; the brilliancy of their colours being not inferior to that of oil. Specimens of rare marbles, and fine gilt bronze, as well as masses of wrought silver, decorate this hallowed little place. The most valuable of these treasures were buried during the sojourn of their French protectors; but, as soon as we arrived, they, as well as a range of huge candalabras, were brought again to the light of day.

To-morrow we set forth to follow the army. To have all in order, I had my cavalry and force paraded: and I assure you, from their number and respectability, I begin to imagine myself a leader of no little consequence. My friend, too, is not less ably appointed; and when we unite out suites, en route, a very formidable caravan will present itself. As soon as we halt, you shall hear again from yours.

LETTER IV.

MY DEAR S

Abrantes, Nov. 7th. 1808.

WE left the city of Lisbon on the 3d instant.—It was our intention to proceed by easy marches. We were admirably mounted. Our horses and mules numbered ten in all, besides our followers, who had four.

It being so late (three o'clock in the afternoon) we proposed halting at Sacavam, a place distant about two leagues. The road is paved with large stones, which does not promote the ease of travelling. The mind, however, is amused by the surrounding landscape. The country is pretty, and finely enriched with gardens belonging to the villas in the vicinity of the metropolis.

Reaching Sacavam, nothing either for beauty or interest claimed our particular attention, and we left it early next morning to pursue our way.

We passed a branch of the Tagus on a sort of flying bridge; and after winding round a hill, we opened into an extensive plain, which extended itself to the very edge of the narrowing river. A range of high and luxuriantly clothed mountains rose from this flat. Their bold and romantic forms abounding in the dark olive tree, finely contrasted by the pale green pine, gave a striking sublimity to the scene. The sombre hue of the hills, their impenetrable shades, and wildly fantastic shapes, seemed the very seat of Cervantes' genius; and every moment I expected to see the mad Cardenio rush from the thickets, and standing on the steep, discourse most eloquently of love and tyrant man. The country continued flat on the left of us, producing abundance of corn, az well as pasture for cattle. Vast stacks of corn rose in innumerable places like small cities.

Villa Franca closed this day's march, a distance of five leagues. It is a small but pretty town, celebrated for its vineyards and press for the port wine. The season was advanced beyond our wishes; the juice of the grape had already

been extracted; and we were deprived of seeing a process which would have been particularly gratifying to a people who drink so largely of their labours. Early in October is the time of vintage; and during that period the scene in and about the town is extremely busy, and well worthy the visitation of astranger.

In this place we experienced hospitality in the warmest degree; and the next morning resumed our route towards Cartaxo; a march of six leagues. Here again we passed over a regularly paved highway. The roads are so made to prevent their being swept away in the rainy season. The hedges (if so I may be allowed to style them) were composed of the different species of aloc. Many were at that time in full bloom. The stem shoots up to about twelve or fourteen feet from the centre of the form we see them in, when young in England. At the extremity of this, the flowers ramify on every side, wearing in shape, at some distance, the appearance of a Scotch fir-tree. I observed that most of those which had produced this centurial flower were dying; so that a hundred years decides the existence of this venerable plant.

Here the road became very sandy (a soil in which the aloe thrives best), and wound its course over the hills, through an extensive forest of cork, pine, and blive trees; leaving, as we ascended, the dark waters of the Tagus, and the

vest plain beneath stretching to a distance beyond our ken.

The quarters prepared for us at Cartaxo had been occupied by a French general when his army was advancing towards Lisbon. Our host, whose hatred to France only seemed to be equalled by his gratitude to England, amused us with recitals of the abominable insolence of his last military guest. One half of his narrative was so disgraceful a la grande nation, that I neither couuld nor would believe it. However, there were a few complaints not quite so improbable, as the like conduct had been exhibited before; namely, that these Gallic heroes obliged the lord of the mansion to become their valet, to assist in pulling off their boots, and to perform every other duty of that branch of servitude. Not satisfied with using the master of the house as their slave, they appropriated the property as their own, taking away with them the silver appoons, and whatever else tempted their avidity.

This town has not much to boast, either in situation or buildings. The only one of any magnitude is a convent at the entrance, filled with idle and dirty monks, who possess the same excuse for want of hospitality with half the continent—that the French had robbed them of all their treasures. This plea is often resorted to; an argument very disadvantageous to our poor troops when they are so unfortunate as to be quartered on any of these niggardly gentry. Cartaxo is celebrated for making a wine of a peculiar excellence: I have drank it in England under the appellation of white claret.

The city of Santarem was the next place in which we took up our quarters; it being distant from Cartaxo only two leagues. The country is extremely hilly; and the appearance of the city from the last height we mounted before we reached it is beautifully picturesque. It is built on a high and commanding situation, proudly overlooking the far-stretching plains beneath, through the bosom of which rolls the Tagus; whose yellow edges, shaded by dark groves of olive trees, gild the long expanse, enlivened with spreading vine-yards and large fields of Indian corn. These objects enrich with fine variety the aspect of this part of the country, while the blue heads of lofty mountains in the distance raise a majestic boundary to the landscape.

The town possesses large religious edifices, with a handsonie square, and is

encircled by extended fortifications. Its natural situation is extremely strong; the side on the south-east is dangerously steep; and I make no doubt has been the theatre of many a hard-fought contention between the Moors and Portuguese. Specimens of the architecture of the former people present themselves in all quarters; a splendid monument of their power, and a warning to the present inhabitants how they permit the settling of invaders, who will soon reign as tyrants over the people which suffer themselves to be enslaved.

We passed through this city; and when we descended into the plain, the rain set in so thick and heavy as to form a veil between us and the surrounding objects. Hence we lost many a noble feature of the country; and after a tedious and wearisome march of seven hours, found ourselves at Golegam; found, I may justly say, for it was like feeling our way in the dark; so blinding was the watery tempest that blew around. At this place we came up with the rear of the army. Though the circumstance might increase the animation of our future scenery, it certainly did not add to our prospect of accommodation. The greater the number of claimants, the less likely were we to be well-appointed in lodgings and board.

But these considerations, though of consequence with the mere traveller, to the soldier are of secondary moment. If we have a shelter from the weather, with a little wholesome food, and a clean truss of straw to sleep on, these are comforts sufficient for the sons of Mars. But should a decent bed and a spread table await us, then that is luxury. These are sentiments with which all soldiers, of whatever rank, ought as necessarily provide themselves, as with swords or firelocks. But we have not, as yet, had much call for this military philosophy.

Golegam, though very crowded, greeted us with the same hospitality we had met at our last halting place, and allowed us to want for nothing. The weather prevented us from passing beyond the door. Pleasure may be postponed, but duty must be obeyed: so, early next day, under a desperate rain, we renewed our journey. Not far from Golegam we crossed a small but rapid river, on a bridge of pontoons: on the opposite bank rose the town of Punhete; and, for as much as we could discern through the weeping atmosphere, it seemed prettily built.

Continuing our course by the river, and occasionally losing its windings by mounting the succeeding hills over which the road lay; during a favourable moment, while on one of these commanding heights, a short cessation happened of the showers, and discovered a most enchanting view. The Tagus rolling through a bold and rocky range of hills; the dark cork and olive shrouding their antiquated bosoms; even hanging their impending tops to the very brink of the river, excepting where abrupt projections of the stony precipices pushed forward in sterile majesty. The village of Tancos stands at the foot of the mountains we were descending. Its rustic buildings, and one or two religious edifices, rose from amidst the trees; which, with the busy advance of the troops, and the laden waggons appearing and losing themselves in the deep windings of the road, formed a scene which combined all the grandeur of nature with objects similar to those which so often glittered on these heights in the chivalric ages of christian and pagan warfare.

On the opposite shore the view was still more romantic; rude and savage in its character; its dark and gloomy immenses overshadowed a lofty rock which stood proudly and alone in the midst of the rapid stream. Its summit is crowned with the remains of an ancient Moorish fortress; the mouldering

walls and battlements of which still more impress the beholder's fancy with the wild and heroic times of Durendarte and Balermo! The heavens shone in unison with the whole; and the shade of the heavy and impending clouds spread a tone over the view, inspiring a nameless horror.

Leaving this apt region for romance, we journeyed on to Abrantes; at which city we arrived very late, and yet too soon for the civilities of our reception: here we halt a day, hoping the wet weather will abate; and not only promise us drier jackets in our next march, but enable us, while we remain, to traverse the town. The situation of Abrantes is fine, on a high hill; and might have excited our admiration, had not the pelting of the pitiless storm rendered our ascent fatiguing and miserable to the last degree. Within the walls, the reception we met with was a continuation of the same cold and damping welcome we had received from its ever-teeming clouds. In short, Abrantes is the first place in Portugal, where we have found any difficulty in obtaining quarters.

The number of our troops was the excuse; and we might have admitted it, had we not been so hospitably billeted in the preceding towns. The tardiness of the magistrate augmented our disgust; for he left us two full hours on horseback, standing under torrents of rain, before he chose to find us even hovels to shelter. My party, being wet through, were, at last, shown into a naked and wretched house, without the appearance of fire, or any other comfort. Exhausted as we were, with great difficulty we compelled an old Hecate-like dame to produce us beds.

To morrow we renew our march; and not sorry shall I be to shake the dust off my feet which belongs to the inhospitable city of Abrantes .- Ever yours.

LETTER V.

Zibrira, November, 1808.

The sun smiled upon us, and not through tears, the morning we left Abrantes. As we descended the hills, an extensive and magnificent view spread before us. But our route soon became more enclosed; and we found ourselves amongst the ravines of innumerable mountains, whose hollows abounded with luxuriant olive trees and the wild arbutus. The beautiful arms of that sweet plant gave brightness to the scene, while its flowers and fruit yielded a most delightful refreshment both to the eye and palate.

The farther we penetrated these tremendous piles of earth, their aspects became more stony and desolate; and had we not been travelling in such infimidating characters, the desert silence of the scene, its terrific recesses, and solitary wastes, might have made us tremble for our safety.

One track we mounted, bold and hazardous as the precipices of St. Gothard, and not at all inferior in sublimity. The rolling streams which dashed from every chasm or time-worn furrow in the rock, were rendered doubly romantic by the thick chesnut-trees that overhang their edges; the autumnal tints of their yellow leaves made a fine contrast with their sober-hued neighbours, the cork and the olive.

The cork-tree so nearly resembles the oak in form and branching, even to a similar acorn, that, for some time, I mistook it for the same. When age has given the bark sufficient thickness for use, the natives peel it off from the bottom of the trunk up as high as the lowest limbs will permit; and when time re-covers the naked wood with a clothing not inferior to the first, it is

again stripped, and left to acquire new habiliments. So useful is this natural production, that even furniture is made of it; and in most of the cottages you see chairs and tables of no other composition: to a stranger they appear heavy in the extreme, but on raising them from the ground, the sensation is extraordinary on discovering their wonderful lightness. Roofs of dwellings are, in many places, laid over with this vegetable substance; it being found an impenetrable preservative against the sweeping torrents which deluge this country in the rainy months.

I cannot give you any interesting account of the costume of this part of the world; the peasantry have no particular habit; the most characteristic mark is, that one colour of a dark brown is the universal hue of their apparel; the material is generally cloth; and of this is made jacket, breeches, and gaiters. These, with a large hat and cloak over their shoulder, complete their dress. The females exhibit nothing to attract particular notice but their extreme neglect of all cleanlines, and total want of all beauty; not even a tawdry attempt at taste ever appears to vary the sad surface; all is one sombre mass of dirt; a very sympathising covering with such rugged efforts of nature.

Villa del Rea was the halting-place we had fixed on for that day's rest. It is a small village in the heart of the mountains, standing naked and treeless. We found the captain-major, or chief person in the place, very civil. He lodged us, fed us, and performed every act of humble hospitality with the most active zeal. During our evening meal we were visited by the staff of the colony, viz. the apothecary and the priest, besides a train of villagers who filled our room, staring and smoking, and sending forth an odour which stopped the action of our mouths that we might defend our noses.

Our patience of these rustic intruders certainly gained in comparison with that of our Gallic predecessors, who, so far from allowing them to pollute the respirations of their imperial lungs, chased the natives away from within a hundred yards of their dwelling; and if any dared to draw near, answered his curiosity with the flat of a sword or stick.

The next day we left our host impressed with a high idea of our merits, and full of prayers for our success. Seeing our retinue off, we resumed the march, and made our slow advances to the nearest village, called Cortazados, four leagues distant. By the way, I must apprise you that these same leagues are the longest divisions of that name I ever travelled; four good English miles and a half would but scantily make up a Portuguese league. I am told that in Spain they are shorter; I hope it may prove so, else we have a most tremendous march in perspective before we come up with the main body of the army, should they be destined to halt at Valladolid ere they advance to Burgos.

The road led along the tops of the hills; and with here and there an exception, was tolerably good; as both artillery and cavalry might keep on without difficulty. Droves of goats hung on the brows of the adjacent eminences; while, at their feet an oxen-drawn plough was seen dragging its industrious share through the scanty soil. The rustic pursuit below, and the rugged scene above, uniting in one picture the contrary charms of cultivation and of wild nature.

At Cortazados we were wretchedly accommodated; but, at least, not worse than the inhabitants, for there was scarcely a dwelling in the place that deserved the name of a house. The people expressed willingness to oblige, and lamented much that the French pillagers in their advance to Lisbon had robbed them of almost every means to serve us. Owing to this, it was with

difficulty we procured corn for our cattle; and even for the little we did collect we paid exorbitantly.

During our march we were frequently shewn the caps and arms of the unfortunate Frenchmen who had fallen sacrifices to the knives of this oppressed people. They told us exultingly, while they held them up, the particulars of many a bloody scene; and how often it had been repeated by the discovery and murder of some other stragglers.

Five leagues from our present sojourn were to bring us to Sazados. We set forth, and the weather proving good, enjoyed many noble scenes; the prospect was like the former, mountainous, with every varied form of alpine and yet bolder character. The general aspect of the view recalled to me, though with a gigantic resemblance, the sublimest parts of North Wales. And if this colossial country possessed a few lakes, it would have in all things the advantage; as the richness of the vallies are beauties which the bleak Switzerland of our island cannot boast.

At some distance from Sazados we came to a strong pass, which might very easily be defended. Four forts have been thrown up on the commanding points: they cover the whole of the opposite country, and the only practicable road to the river which runs at the foot of these mountains. In winter this water must be very formidable, as, from its situation amongst the hills, at that meason of the year it becomes a most rapid and unstemable torrent. From the natural station of this position, a very few men could maintain it, and prevent the penetrating of any body of troops into this quarter of the kingdom.

Notwithstanding such an advantage, General Junot entered here; and no precaution having been taken by the country, he advanced unimpeded. In passing through a deep valley a little onward, he found the bridge of the river carried away by the violence of the waters. Not to be checked, he ordered a body of cavalry to swim the stream; but it was too potent for them: few accomplished their task, and upwards of two squadrons were drowned in the attempt.

The late summer having been particularly dry we met with no obstacle of this kind, the waters in most places being easily fordable. From their usually uncertain state, rendered so by sudden and deluging rains, the march of an army through the interior of this country is extremely precarious.

What added considerably to the sublimity of the way we had recently come, were the mists and clouds veiling, and occasionally discovering, by beautiful breaks, spots in the landscape of the most exquisite interest. After traversing a sort of undulating plain of hills, we rose upon Sazados, a village built on the summit of a romantic height, and embosomed in a wood of cork and chesnut trees.

At the entrance or end of these places there is generally a little building, wherein ought to be deposited the grain for its annual supply. Near it rise four or five large stone crosses, which make good objects; and when accompanied by a few natives lying in all the luxury of rags and indolence at their feet, the scene does not compose a bad picture.

I cannot say much as to the inhabitants of this part of the country. Our hosts, indeed, were civil to us as we passed along; but their society afforded us neither interest nor amusement. Almost always they had recourse to the guitar; and sometimes stunned us intolerably with their vocal accompaniments.

We left our little village at nine o'clock in the morning, under a most copious rain, which attended us the whole way till we reached Castello Branco, a distance of three leagues. Here, we found some insolence and unwillingness to oblige: but a little French military proceeding on our parts, soon brought the master of the mansion to his senses; and we made him produce whatever

we had occasion for.

Owing to the wet weather it was next to an impossibility to walk much into the city: but what little I did see convinced me that it must be very ancient. The remains of a lofty castle, and long-extending towered walls, proclaim the consequence it once held in the kingdom of Portugal; and now stand splendid monuments of the architecture of former ages. The town is built on the side of a granite rock; which circumstance produced some odd effects in the interior, as many huge masses of the above-mentioned stone rose in immoveable obstinacy amidst the chapels and other buildings allotted, as quarters, to the British troops,

Our road, after leaving Castello Branco, was excellent; and the inclemency of the weather abating, we journeyed on in tolerable comfort. We passed over a fine bridge, evidently of a very antiquated age: but beautiful as such remains may be, the modern architecture of the Portuguese does not deserve less praise. Their tanks and fountains, so useful to the traveler, decorate the roads with every appropriate ornament of good taste and excellent

workmanship.

The evening of this day drought us to Idanhia Nova. This place is built on a high rocky hill; and possesses the ruins of an old fortress which, over an extensive plain, commands a view of the Spanish mountains. Here, the country began to shew its own natural riches, and a specimen that the Portuguese can be industrions. Cattle, grain, and olives abounded; and from the latter an oil is pressed, not inferior to the Italian. In fact, we found every necessary of life in great plenty; and did not make a niggardly use of our good fortune. The inhabitants look nuch better than their neighbours, although dirt, and an undescribable appearance of misery, still mark them all to be of the same family. Were so luxuriant a soil in the hands of a more active people, how valuable would this part of the country become to the state!

Mounted early in the morning for our long march, we descended a steep hill into the plain; and crossed the river Ponsul, which flows at the foot of this rugged mountain. The road is very good; and being shaded by a dark wood for some distance, contrasted by its narrow glooms, the wide solitariness of the hills we had left. As we rose a commanding hill, and turned ourselves round, our eyes fell back upon our past footsteps, and we beheld a most extensive and sublime stretch of black mountains in the rear of our advancing army. The proud and alpine summit of the rock on which stands the fortress of Monta Santo, and the nearer heights, pierced the clouds; while far in the distance, the stupendous mountains in the vicinity of Guarda and Alinada shrouded in snows, and flashing their silver radiance in the sun, seemed to cap their heads even in the azure sky.

On my rising early this morning, the view from the castle of Idanhia Nova was curious and beautiful. Clouds rolled in one white mass below on the plain; and from the bright light of the sun already up, the appearance was like a frozen sea covered with a northern snow. But when the heat took effect, the delusion evaporated; and the casual openings in this airy ocean presented the far distant country and mountains with all the visionary indis-

tinctness, or glittering charms of enchantment.

Zibrira, where we stopped, intending the day following to pass the Spanish frontiers and halt at Alcantara, is a very small and dirty place, not containing more than 150 inhabitants. Here I saw children, rather too old for such exhibition, wandering about the village in groupes totally naked. The women were better looking than any of the natives I had lately seen; and wore rich gold necklaces, and other ornaments. Their dress was no where else particular, unless I except the enormous bunch of petticoats that hung about them.

To-morrow I hope to write from the Spanish dominions, and then you will

have objects of greater interest-Adieu!

HISTORY OF THE WAR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

(Translated from the French of General Sarrazin.)

(Continued from page 144.)

AT their assault upon the village of Elvina, the French were received at the point of the bayonet. The attack on the centre and on the left wing was less impetuous, the ground being in favour of the English. On all sides the French were repulsed; and after having continued their musketry and artillery fire till late at night, they withdrew to their former position. The loss on both sides was nearly equal. Each had about one thousand men hors de combat. But the loss of the English proved more considerable by the death of General Moore, who had his left shoulder broken to pieces by a cannon ball, at the moment he was ordering the 42d regiment to rush on the French with the bayonet. General Baird had been severely wounded, and obliged to quit the field of battle. General Hope, on whom the command devolved of course, acted up to Sir John's dispositions, and embarked the army in the night. This operation, one of the most difficult in the presence of an enemy, even when he is inferior in number, was most successfully performed, although the corps of Soult was present, and twenty thousand strong. This oversight of the French can be ascribed only to the signal conduct of the English in their retreat, and particularly on the preceding day.

Thus ended an expedition, which his been too much praised by the friends, and too much criticised by the enemies of the brave general. who terminated it by a victory, and by the sacrifice of his life. An expedition to the north of Spain was a very judicious measure: it was badly performed. The troops ought to have been landed between Gijon and Santander, in the early part of November: they would have acted as a reserve for the armies of Blake, and of La Romana, which were untouched at that time. The movement against Soult, though incomplete, forced Buonaparte to delay the execution of his designs against Andalusia, and Portugal. There was not a soldier to defend the passages of the Sierra Morena, and there were but few English left in Portugal. Had Buonaparte been accurately informed of the situation of the English army, and of the distress in La Romana's corps, he would have left Lefévre at Madrid; sent Victor to Andalusia, and Ney to Portugal; and then have marched with Bessières's cavalry and Junot's corps, solely to threaten the right of General Moore. All reports rated the English at forty thousand, and the Spaniards at twenty thousand. Buonaparte wished to attack them at least with equal numbers: it is to this error on his part, as much as to General Moore's sagacity, that Valentia, Seville, and Lisbon, were indebted, for not having to open their gates to the French at this time. The English general was justly censured for not having availed himself of La Romana's co-operation, in order to attack Soult, as he might have done without danger, from the eighteenth to the twenty-second of December. Had he obtained a complete success against the Marshal, as his superiority, owing to his

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ignation with the Spaniards, led to hope, he might, by leaving the pursuit to some fresh Spanish levies, have rapidly advanced by his right on the road of Benevente, and encountered the troops that were coming from Madrid; which troops, surprised at seeing themselves vigorously attacked by those very English, whom they expected to catch in a trap, would have undoubtedly been obliged to fall back with great loss. John has also been reproached for not having attacked Soult on the eighth of January, at Lugo; but this is a very unjust reproach of his adversaries. Ney's corps was but one day's march from Lugo. His junction with Soult, which might have been effected in twelve hours, would have rendered the position of the English army externely critical. After having well weighed all the probabilities for and against the two parties, the impartial observer is obliged to confess that, whilst he is doing full justice to Buonaparte's coldness in marching to Madrid, and the ability of his manœuvres to crush the English near Benevente; yet in the whole course of this campaign, Sir John Moore and the English army yied, in point of science and valor, with the troops and lieutenants of Buonaparte; who owed their successes merely to their numerical superiority, and to the unparalleled apathy of the Spanish leaders, soldiers and peasants, in the countries which were the theatre of war.

* BOOK SECOND.

BUONAPARTE learned with more pleasure the successes in Catalonia. On the 12th of January Victor had defeated the army of Castanos near Cuenca; Soult after the battle of the 16th had taken possession of Corunna, and Ferrol had submitted on the 27th. The occupation of Madrid, the capture of Rosas, and the dispersion of the Spanish armies led Buonaparte to assure himself of the rapid subjugation of the Peninsula. Saragossa, however, was still to conquer, and marshal Lannes, having Mortier and Junot under him, was entrusted with this service.

The officers and troops still remembered the heroic defence of Palafox in the first siege. As soon as Castanos was defeated at Tudela, Moncey had been ordered to attack that place. The armed peasants of Arragon, to the amount of 50,000, threw themselves into the town in addition to its regular garrison. On the 20th of December, 1808, general Suchet attacked the heights of Saint Lambert on the right shore of the Ebro, whilst General Gazan carried the heights of San Gregorio on the left bank. The besieged had here erected some entrenchments, and they defended them with the most obstinate courage. The artillerymen were cut to pieces at their guns, and the troops were almost destroyed to a man. Moncey, who was but little acquainted with the warfare of sieges, was now superseded by General Junot-a thunderbolt of war, in short, the very man requisite to vie with Palafox. Junot wished to mark his arrival by a coup d' éclat. He attacked the convent of St. Joseph, and succeeded after a sanguinary conflict in obtaining possession of it. The garrison made several sorties, and almost all successful ones. Scarcely had the French constructed a work, when Palafox destroyed it. He

drew the attention of the besiegers upon other points by false attacks. His experience, and his coup d' wil, frequently disappointed the well-arranged dispositions of Generals Dedon and Lacoste, who commanded the artillery and the engineers.

The slowness of the siege, and the desire of seeing it quickly terminated induced Buonaparte to employ Marshal Lannes, who, to the most uncommon intrepidity, joined much good sense and coolness. auxious to please the Emperor, had already lost considerable numbers by repeatedly making, against all common rules of warfare, attacks which often proved fruitless, and always very fatal. He continued to to serve under Lannes, who assumed the command in chief on the twentieth of January (1809). Mortier was sent with the fifth corps to support the attacks, and to cover them against any troops that might attempt to succour the place. From the twentieth to the twenty-sixth of January the Spaniards showed themselves, at several points, for the purpose of harassing the army employed in the siege. They were every where repulsed with loss. Their defeats were occasioned by the superiority of the French cavalry. On the twenty-sixth Lannes made a breach. On the twenty-seventh he ordered the place to be stormed. The convent of Santa Eugrazia was carried, sword in hand, by General Rostollant, who was dangerously wounded, and whose aid-de-camp was killed by his side. The breach was made so soon because Saragossa is not a fortified town. Its walls were merely those of a large town, they had neither bastions nor half-moons; not even the turrets of ancient fortification. Brick houses, solidly built, and narrow crooked streets, were the only means of defence,

It is impossible to convey a higher idea of the courageous defence . made by the besieged, than by quoting the very expressions of Buonaparte's thirty-third bulletin, which says-" On the thirtieth of January the convents of St. Monica, and of the great Augustines, were carried. Sixty houses were taken by having been undermined! The sappers of the 14th regiment of the line have greatly distinguished themselves, On the first of February a ball struck General Lacoste, who died in the field of honour. He was equally brave and learned. His loss has been sensibly felt by the whole army, and still more particularly by the (General Lacoste was one of his aides-de-camp.) ----- The enemy defended every house. Three attacks were maintained at once by undermining, and every day three or four mines destroyed several houses, thereby enabling the troops to fix themselves in many others. Thus the French arrived at the Corso, a large street, almost in the centre of Saragossa, and lodged themselves on the quays, taking possession of the buildings of the schools and University. The enemy attempted to oppose the French in their own way; but little experienced in this species of warfare, their mines were immediately discovered, and suffocated." The fort surrended on the twenty-first of February; and Saragossa was nothing but a heap of ruins, or to speak more accurately, a vast

burial-ground. Palafox had been dangerously ill for several days, and this event had spread more consternation through the town than the fire of the besiegers. The French general doubtless acting under the command of Buonaparte, refused a capitulation to Palafox, though the most valiant officer with whom he had hitherto had to fight and to treat. He stated, moreover, that Palafox was an object of contempt to the Spaniards, and never was seen in dangerous posts. These imputations against a general without fear and without reproach were as odious as false. Palafox was then forty years old. His education had been excellent. He accompanied Ferdinand VII. to Bayonne. When he saw that his king was a prisoner, he escaped from France, flew to Saragossa, and used all his means to oppose the invaders. This brave officer remained for a long time a prisoner in France. Thus, the winter campaign commenced on the first of November, 1808, and terminated on the first of March, 1809, to the advantage of the French, who, for that reason, denominate it the Imperial campaign.

The panic, excited by these events, extended to Lisbon: General Craddock had made all the necessary arrangements to embark the troops under his command, in case Victor, who was already arrived at Alcantara, should attack the capital of Portugal. But this march was not undertaken when it might have been performed successfully. Victor was waiting for news from Soult. On the tenth of February, the latter had collected his army in the neighbourhood of Tuy. According to Buonaparte's calculations, he was to cross the Minho on the eleventh, arrive at Oporto from the fifteenth to the twentieth, and enter Lisbon towards the end of the same month. But though he encountered only regiments of Portuguese militia, he was detained on his march longer than Buonaparteexpected. He did not arrive before Oporto till the twenty-sixth of March 1809; when he reconnoitred the environs of the place. On the twenty-seventh and twenty-eight, he made unsuccessful attempts. On the twenty-ninth he renewed his attack on the whole front; and when he thought the favourable moment arrived, he suddenly attacked by a column of choice troops concealed behind some rising ground. The town was plundered in spite of Soult's efforts to prevent the pillage. He wished to preserve the resources which it might afford to the army. The resistance, which he had experienced in his march to Oporto, gave him an idea of the obstacles to be encountered in a march to Lisbon. He had been obliged to leave garrisons at Chaves and Braga, to keep up his communications with Ney, who occupied Galicia. General Silveira, who incessantly harassed his rear guard, from the moment of its entrance into Portugal, had taken a position at Amarante, where he maintained himself until the second of May. But the French, having attacked him with very superior forces, he was forced to retreat to the mountains of the left shore of the Tamega.

After having wisely calculated all the chances of his position, Soult resolved not to march to Lisbon, before he was informed that Victor was

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advancing to second his operations: he waited for this intelligence during the whole month of April. At the beginning of that month, Marshal Victor had gained, near Medellin, a decisive advantage over Cuesta's army, and killed several thousand men: but he knew not how to profit by this success. He wished to obtain intelligence from Marshal Soult before he entered Portugal. Soult and Victor were constantly bearing in mind the terrible reproaches of incapacity and want of energy made by Buonaparte to Dupont, who, I repeat it, is one of the best informed and most courageous generals of the French army. It is to his injustice towards this officer, rather than to the energy of the Portuguese militia and peasants, that Buonaparte ought to ascribe the non-execution of his orders by Soult-Lisbon, besides, was occupied by the English, who in April received sufficient reinforcements to assume the offensive, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley.

This general reviewed his troops at Coimbra, on the sixth of May. On the tenth his vanguard passed the Vonga, and, having met a French party, forced them to take to flight. On the eleventh, Sir Arthur encountered the French advanced guard, which occupied a strong position on the heights to the north of Grijon. The attack was made slowly; and the French, having discovered that they were assailed by superior forces, retreated in good order. Soult had sent to this column his command to retreat. The officer, who was the bearer of these orders, had been killed by the peasants. Had General Murray, who had turned the left of the French, advanced by columns against those lines, instead of losing precious time in deploying, the French battalion, which formed the rear-guard of those troops, would have been cut off, and forced to lay down their arms. Sir Arthur had not been exactly informed of the strength of this advanced guard, otherwise he would certainly have manageuvred in a manner, that not one individual could have escaped.

In the night, from the eleventh to the twelfth, Soult drew all his posts on the right bank of the Douro, and broke the ship bridge thrown over that river. General Beresford had been detached by Sir Arthur to threaten the left of the French, by crossing the Douro near Lamego. He was ordered to march rapidly to Chavas, through Villa-Pouca, with the view to close this pass on Marshal Soult, in his retrograde movement towards Galicia. To second General Beresford's operation, it was essential to attack the French army, in order to detain the greatest part of its forces at that point. On the twelfth, Sir Arthur crossed the Douro, under the cover of artillery, which he had placed on the heights of Villanova, almost facing Oporto. The French general cannot be exculpated for not having made any arrangements to dispute the passage. He never appeared till he possessed troops sufficient to overpower those in opposition to him. As the nature of the ground exposed the French to a heavy fire of artillery, their attacks were but feebly supported. Soult had returned to Oporto, there to give orders for the retreat, which he intended to effect at night. He supposed that Sir Arthur, after having crossed the Douro, would take a position, and postpone his general attack to

the next day. Under this idea he had sat down at table with his staff, when the firing of the English riflemen, who were in the streets of Oporto, warned him that he had not a moment to lose, if he wished to avoid being taken prisoner. He immediately mounted his horse, and opened himself a passage, sword in hand, with his staff, and an escort of chasseurs à cheval. After having rallied his troops, he wanted to re-enter Oporto, but was repulsed. Sir Arthur, at the same time, was joined by General Murray, who had crossed the Douro one league above Oporto. Thus, pressed in the centre by General Hill, on the right by General Sherbrooke, and on the left by General Murray, Soult retreated to Amarante, where he found General Loison's division.

The French at Oporto were nearly surprised. As it is always necessary to find some reason for palliating a fault, it was asserted that an officer of the 18th regiment of dragoons, named Argento, had surrendered a post, and communicated the watch-word, which circumstance had facilitated the crossing of the Douro to Gen. Murray's column. Without contesting the accuracy of the fact, it affords no sufficient excuse for the negligence of the French, in having suffered part of General Hill's column to land without firing a single musket. Is it not, besides, surprising, that Sir Arthur should, immediately after his arrival at Villanova, have procured boats enough to effect so rapidly the passage of a river of the greatest importance? Soult, who must have been informed of all these preparations, for they were going forward in sight of his sentries, and almost under his own eyes (since he had his head-quarters at Oporto), did not even cannonade the allies, although he was provided with a very numerous artillery. Those, who know Marshal Soult, are of opinion that, considering his position as a very hazardous one, he was glad of an opportunity of leaving it as soon as possible, and in a way not to commit himself with Buonaparte. He had still eighteen thousand men, and Sir Arthur had but sixteen thousand. The engagements of Grijon and Villanova prove that he fought only pro forma. He left seven hundred sick in the hospital at Oporto. At Pennafiel he abandoned part of his artillery, which embarrassed his march, and proceeded to Braga, through Guiamerens. Sir Arthur had begun his pursuit of Soult on the thirteenth, by the road to Braga, and had repeated his orders to General Beresford, commanding his march to Chaves, in order to harass the French, and to cut off their communication with Galicia, at that point. Soult, who knew that he was actively pursued, saw that nothing but speed could extricate him from a situation, the embarrassment of which was particularly increased by the general insurrection of the inhabitants. He determined to abandon his heavy baggage, and whatever artillery he had left, after the conflict of his rear-guard on the sixteenth, at Salamonde, against a column commanded by General Sherbrooke. The French left Chaves on their right, and marched to Orense, through Montalegre. They had to pass through roads that were almost impracticable, and many perished by the hands of the Portuguese peasants. Soult had entered Portugal in February, 1809, with twenty-three thousand men a

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three months after that, he quitted the kingdom with sixteen thousand, leaving his equipage and artillery. This fruitless expedition cost France seven thousand soldiers, of whom more than two-thirds were slaughtered by the Portuguese. The rest perished in engagements, or remained in the hospitals at Oporto. With a more experienced, more active, and more enterprizing general than Sir Arthur Wellesley, Portugal would have witnessed a repetition of the tragedy of Baylen in Andalusia.

If, instead of directing his principal forces towards Oporto, the English general had made only a false attack in that direction, and had marched with the flower of his troops to Pennafiel, after having crossed the Douro, opposite to Poucinho, Soult would have been cut off from Loison. Each of them might then have been successively attacked with superior forces; for to the sixteen thousand English under Sir Arthur's command, must be added ten thousand Portuguese, under the orders of Generals Beresford and Silveira. It was thus that Castanos had manœuvred when he took possession of Baylen, placing himself between Dupont and Wedel. Soult would probably have abandoned Loison, and, by forced marches, have endeavoured to reach Tuy by the way of Barcelos and Ponte de Lima. Admitting even that he should have succeeded in crossing the Minho, and in forcing the defiles of the Serrada-Estria, his loss would probably have been very considerable, independently of Loison's column, consisting of six thousand men, who would have been obliged to lay down their arms.

Soult's good fortune, however, prevailed: not only did he escape from Portugal, but he was even so lucky as to arrive in the neighbourhood of Lugo; when this town, blockaded by General Mahi, at the head of twenty thousand Spaniards, was on the point of surrendering, the garrison being without any provisions. The French had before had some thoughts of evacuating the place during the night, and withdrawing to Astorga. General Fournier, the governor of Lugo, would have executed this project, had the road between the two towns offered any facility to effect his movement successfully. But it is a defile of nearly eight leagues in length, where a retreating army may easily be destroyed by the superior advantages afforded to the pursuing enemy from the heights, which command the road on both sides. The beseiged were highly rejoiced, when, instead of seeing the Spaniards, they recognized the French. Prudence at first suggested some precautions. The watchword not being the same, they were afraid of a surprise; but Marshal Soult having shown himself, he was immediately recognized by General Fournier, and triumphantly received as a liberator. Soult confessed that he had never found himself in a situation so critical as in Portugal, having at his heels an army of choice troops, far superior to his own; and being incessantly harassed on his front and on his flanks by clouds of Portuguese peasants. The officers of the garrison, after having thanked him for the eminent service which he had just rendered them, declared that they had been so much the more agreeably surprised at his arrival, as, for several days past, all reports had agreed in stating that he had been

obliged to surrender, and that he was already on board a ship bound to England. The soldiers of Soult's army had been a fortnight without victuals, and had lived only by marauding. Without clothes, without shoes, and some of them without arms, almost all pale and emaciated. they looked more like a band of revolted peasants than regular troops. They all agreed, that had it not been for the superior talents of Marshal Soult, not one individual of the army could have escaped the fury of the Portuguese, and that it was solely to his abilities what the army was indebted for having avoided complete destruction.

Sir Arthur arrived at Montalegre on the eighteenth of May: not judging it proper to continue the pursuit of the French beyond the boundaries of Portugal. This expedition cost the allies but four hundred men hors de combat. General Silveira remained in the north on the frontiers of Galicia: the English army marched to Lisbon through Oporto; and wherever they passed, were received with enthusism, inspired by the services they had rendered to the country. Their march was a series of festivities-a real triumph. Sir Arthur, in spite of his numerous mistakes, was proclaimed the saviour of the Portuguese : having delivered them, for a second time, from the domination of the French, at a moment when the advantages, gained by Buonaparte and his lieutenants in the interior of Spain, made them justly apprehensive of absolute servitude. The blessings of a whole people, crowding forward to express their gratitude, afforded to the English army the sweetest of rewards.

It was in the midst of the loud acclamations of joy on the part of the Portuguese, that the English army arrived, on the twelfth of June, 1809. in the neighbourhood of Abrantes, where General Mackenzie had been stationed to cover Lisbon, during Sir Arthur's campaign against Soults. When Marshal Victor learnt the latter's retreat, and the return of the English army to the south, he did not think himself strong enough to resist a combined attack of the English and Spaniards. On the twelfth of May he had detached one division to obtain possession of Alcantara, which Colonel Mayne was forced to quit with the less of three hundred men. This French division pushed some few troops into Portugal, but Victor, who had Cuesta's army on his left flank, recalled them. As soon as he heard that Sir Arthur was in person at Abrantes, and that the Anglo-Portuguese army was preparing to march against him, he left Truxillo, crossed the Tagus over the bridges of Almaraz and Arzobispe, and took a positon at Talavera de la Reyna.

1815.7

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR,

From the year 1792 to 1814; in which the Military Transactions of each Campaign are related separately and in detail.

CAMPAIGN OF 1793.

BOOK II. CHAP II. (continued.)

The French raise the Siege of Maestricht, and retreat on all sides.

The necessary preparations being made, it was determined to attempt the passage during the night; but an event occurred in the mean time which saved Holland, entirely changed the nature of the war, and at length forced the French to retire within their own territories.

The army which had so lately chased the Austrians from the Low-countries, and appeared to be sufficient to prevent their return, was not only dispirited by the absence of its leader, but rendered incapable of active operations in consequence of the disputes that prevailed among the generals. Miranda, in pursuance to orders, had laid siege to Maestricht, and commenced a terrible bombardment, which set fire to that city in several different parts. The defence however was far more vigorous than had been expected; for a body of French emigrants, who expected but little mercy in case their countrymen should triumph, had thrown themselves into the place, under the command of M. d'Autichamp, and displayed equal skill and bravery in the course of the siege. General Champmorin had also failed in his attempt to obtain possession of Venloo; for although he had taken the forts of Stevenswert and St. Michel on the Meuse, he had been anticipated in his design by the Prussians, who immediately occupied the place.

While the generals Valence, Stengel, and Dampierre, remained in their cantonments in the neighbourhood of Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle, the prince de Cobourg, an officer who had distinguished himself during the war against the Turks, arrived at Cologne, and assumed the command of the Austrian forces. Having learned that disunion prevailed among the leaders, and discontent among the troops, he immediately collected his army, and resolved to commence his military career by some brilliant exploit.

General Clairfayt accordingly passed the Roer during the night, and not only repulsed the French army both on the side of Duren and Juliers, but compelled it to retreat beyond Aldenhoven, with the loss of two thousand men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; twelve pieces of cannon; thirteen ammunition waggons, and the military chest. In the mean time the Austrian commander in chief penetrated through Aldenhoven, without experiencing any obstruction whatever, and five days after obtained a decisive victory over the enemy, whom he chased before him.

The French who remained in cantonments, and had not as yet any central position assigned where they might assemble, immediately fell back on Liege, without fighting. General Leveneur, who presided over

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the attack of Maestricht, on the side of Wyck, deemed himself fortunate in being able to carry away his cannon and cross the Meuse, while general Miranda was under the necessity of entirely relinquishing the siege. Lieutenant-general Lanoue was also obliged to retreat from Aix-la-Chapelle, after being beaten at Aldenhoven; and general Valence with some difficulty saved a column of twenty-seven battalions, by a vigorous charge of cavalry, in the plain of Tongres.

The Imperialists, having thus relieved Maestricht, crossed the Meuse and entered Liege, where they seized all the magazines belonging to the French, and got possession of the clothing for the troops; the Prussians at the same time obliged general Champmorin to evacuate Stevenswert and fort St. Michel, and fall back on Diest; in consequence of which, the course of the Lower Meuse was subject to their control, and had they persevered and penetrated either by Antwerp or Bois-le-Duc, the retreat of the army in Holland would have been entirely cut off, or at least rendered equivocal. In short, the defeat of the republican troops in the Low-countries was so complete, that, excepting the battering artillery, nothing was saved; desertion instantly succeeded, and more than ten thousand men retired amidst the general confusion.

The commissioners of the convention, alarmed at the desperate situation of the wreck of the army now assembled in the camp of Louvain, immediately hastened to Paris, and in consequence of their representations, Dumouriez, whose enterprising spirit had led him to expect the speedy conquest of Holland, was awakened from his dream of glory, by the unwelcome tidings of a fugitive army, and a victorious foe. After a short struggle, he however obeyed the orders of the council, and set out next morning for Flanders, leaving the troops under the command of general de Flers, with directions to attempt the passage from Gertruydenberg, and in case of success to wait at Dort, where he was to receive further instructions. But the arrival of the English forces in Holland, the check received by the grand army, and the sudden departure of Dumouriez, with whom the ill-fated scheme of conquest had originated, rendered the invaders dispirited. De Flers, instead of effecting a descent, found it necessary, in consequence of the approach of the Prussians, to throw himself into Brede, with six battalions of infantry, and two hundred horse, while colonel Tilly garrisoned Gertruydenberg, with three battalions and five hundred cavalry. The rest of the army was conducted to Antwerp, under the command of colonels de Vaux and Thouvenot, who evacuated the batteries of Mordyck without loss, destroyed the fortifications of Klundert, and prevented the troops, now greatly dispirited, from flying in disorder.

Thus terminated the expedition against Holland, the idea of which was conceived, and the plan carried into execution, within the space of a few days. The success of this irruption was at first far greater than it deserved; for the French were actually destitute of cannon and ammunition, and had it not not been for the unexpected surrender of Breda and Gertruydenberg, Dumouriez must have retired before in disgrace.

This general was undoubtedly misled by the brilliant example of the duke of Brunswick, who had over-run and subjugated the same country in the space of a few weeks; but the Prussians on that occasion were not under the necessity of either obtaining or creating a flotilla for the passage of the troops; neither had they any hostile troops in their rear, nor did they experience any considerable resistance from the fortified towns. In fine, the case was entirely different, and the French commander, by the mismanagement of this expedition, lost much of the reputation he had acquired in Champagne, placed the covering army in a situation where it was liable to be beaten, and not only produced his own disgrace which soon after occurred, but entailed a variety of calamities upon his country.

In the mean time the progress of the French arms in Germany in a great measure ceased to be either brilliant or prosperous. Custine had been unable to prevent the Hessians from rendezvousing at Coblentz, whither the king of Prussia also directed his march, and not only occupied the two banks of the Lahn, but appeared desirous to force the general to abandon Francfort, and shut himself up within the walls of Mentz. Being apprised of their motions, and determined to act as long as possible on the offensive, he immediately marched against the enemy, and, notwithstanding previous information had been obtained of his design, such was the spirited nature of the attack, that they were obliged to relinquish all their positions.

These temporary successes, joined to his critical situation, at length induced the government to listen to the representations of Custine, and afford him succour: Biron accordingly received instructions to send a body of troops to his assistance. On this, although a senior officer, he immediately determined to put both himself and his troops under his command. But before a junction could be effected, the former was obliged to withdraw from Mentz in the face of a superior army, collected from all quarters by the king of Prussia; to add to his misfortunes, the inhabitants of Francfort opened one of their gates to the enemy, on the very night preceding the arrival of succour, and part of the garrison was put to the sword, with a degree of barbarity hitherto without example in the course of the war.

While the blockade of Mentz was conducted in a languid manner during the winter by the Prussians, the French appear to have remained on the defensive; but they again took the field early in the spring, and endeavoured to make up by celerity their deficiency in respect to numbers. Custine accordingly made an irruption into the territories of the duke of Deux Ponts, and suddenly took possession of his residence of Calsberg; their serene highnesses escaping with great difficulty. But the tide of war now set in a contrary direction, and the three-coloured flag, which had so lately flaunted in triumph along the Rhine and Maine, was doomed in its turn to experience humiliation. Kouigstein, with its garrison of four hundred and forty men, surrendered to the Prussians;

Worms was evacuated; and part of the magazines at Bingen, Kreutznach, and Nierstein, seized.

Nor was this all, for the states of the empire had at length declared war against France; and the diet of Ratisbon, in consequence of the menaces of the courts of Vienna and Berlin, had ordained "a junction of arms," and voted the necessary contingents.

CHAP, III,

Conduct of Dumouriez on his Return to Belgium-Battle of Nerwinden -Secret Treaty with the Austrians-Retreat of the French Army-Arrest of the Deputies-Dumouriez, being abandoned by his Troops, takes Refuge within the Austrian lines.

ON his return to Antwerp, Dumouriez found the inhabitants of that city reduced to a state of despondency; for the late unexpected flight, desertion, and disorder of the French troops, seemed to render the restoration of the Belgick provinces to the house of Austria inevitable. Nor did the situation of his own army appear encouraging, as the heavy artillery was already on its return to France, and all the tents and bag-

gage had been lost during this absence.

Having issued orders to arrest the deserters, and collect the fugitives. he repaired immediately to the head-quarters at Louvain, convoked and reproached the soldiery with the disorders committed by them, their want of confidence in their generals, the relaxation of discipline, and the precipitation and disorder of their recent retreat. The troops being affected with these accusations, which were but too well founded, professed to be ashamed of their conduct, and appeared eager to march against the enemy. Advantage was accordingly taken of this disposition to introduce a new system of subordination into the army, which was still formidable in point of numbers, and amounted even at this period to forty thousand infantry and four thousand five hundred cavalry. General Valence was appointed to the command of the right, the duke of Chartres of the centre, and general Miranda of the left. Under these served the generals Dampierre, Champmorin, and Neuilly; the reserve was commanded by general Chancel, and the advanced guard by general La Marche.

Having retaken Tirlemont from the Austrians, who recrossed the Gette. and occupied the heights of Neerlanden, Nerwinden, Middlewinden, and Oberwinden, the French commander in chief advanced once more against them, and seized on Gotzenhoven, which he maintained during an engagement of eight hours between the two advanced guards, supported by the main body of each of the hostile armies.

Dumouriez, inflamed with this slight success, determined to give battle to the enemy, partly on purpose to stop their further progress, and partly to prevent them from being strengthened by the reinforcements now marching to their assistance. He was also desirous to be the assailant upon this occasion, as he would not only derive all the advantages usually accompanying this measure, but gratify the inclination of his 1815.]

troops; the French being ever more desirous to attack than to defend. He accordingly spent a whole day in reconnoitring the position of the Imperialists, posting his troops in order of battle, and preparing his plan of operations. The army, divided into eight columns, was at length put in motion between seven and eight o'clock next morning, March 18th, 1793, and crossed the river without any obstacle. General La Marche with the first column immediately entered the plain of Landen, and, not finding the enemy there, joined the second, which attacked the village of Oberwinden, and the tomb of Middlewinden, about ten o'clock, with such vigour that they were both carried; but the Austrians afterwards retook the latter, the importance of which became now apparent; the possession was accordingly disputed during the whole day. column, under general Neuilly, about the same time drove the Imperialists from a village where they had taken post, but in consequence of a mistake it was abandoned immediately. The Austrians on this resumed their former position, whence they were chased a second time by the fourth and fifth columns under the command of the duke of Chartres; general Desforets, however, having been wounded in the head with a musket shot, the village encumbered with infantry, and the troops thrown into confusion, it was once more relinquished on the approach of the enemy, who threatened to carry it by assault.

In the mean time, while the republican troops were in disorder, the Austrians, relying on the superiority of their cavalry, desecended into the plain between Nerwinden and Middlewinden, and made a furious charge on the French horse. General Valence, who fought with great valour at their head, was wounded and obliged to retire to Tirlemont. The Imperialists however, were at length forced to withdraw. Nearly at the same period another body of cavalry attacked the infantry of the fourth column on the left of Nerwinden with great gallantry; but general Thouvenot, who was posted there, received them with coolness, and rendered their charge destructive to themselves alone; for on perceiving their approach, he opened his ranks to allow them to pass, and made such a critical discharge of grape and case shot from his artillery, in addition to a close fire of musketry from the regiment of Deux-Ponts, that nearly the whole of this detachment was destroyed.

The fate of the action, both in the centre and on the right, now appeared to be decisively in favour of the French, and these two divisions passed the night in the field of battle, on purpose to resume the engagement and complete the victory at the break of day.

But whilst this portion of the army had thus succeeded, a far different fate was reserved for the left wing. The sixth and seventh columns, which had attacked the enemy with great success, were already in possession of Orsmael, when a panick terrour appears to have seized on some of the battalions, in consequence of which great confusion immediately ensued. General Clairfayt took advantage of and augmented the disorder; by a brisk charge of cavalry, which completed the rout of two columns, occasioned the slaughter of a great number of men, and rendered the

the officers incapable of restoring order: Guiscard, a maréchal-de-camp, attached to the artillery, was killed upon this occasion; and generals Rualt and Iller, with several aides-de-camp, and other persons belonging to the staff, were among the wounded.

On this, general Miranda gave orders to retreat, and withdrew to a position behind Tirlemont, without being harassed by the Austrians, who were as yet unacquainted with the extent of their good fortune; general Champmorin also retired from Leaw, crossed the river by the bridge of Bingen, which he cut down after him, and resumed his position at Oplinter,

Dumouriez, who had superintended the movements of his right and centre in person, being greatly alarmed at not hearing from his left flank, entered Tirlemont, were he found general Miranda, and gave him orders to assemble his division during the night, on purpose to occupy the height of Wommersem, as well as the great road, and the bridges of Orsmael and Neerhelpen, with a view of insuring the passage of the Gette, as well as the retreat of the right and centre, which would otherwise engage with the enemy's army subject to the disadvantage of a river in their rear.

Such was the battle of Nerwinden, which decided the fate of the campaign. In this action, the French, according to the confession of their own general, sacrificed about three thousand men either killed or taken, and more than a thousand wounded, besides many cannon; while the loss of the Imperialists, which fell principally on the cavalry, did not exceed fourteen hundred. Both armies displayed great courage and perseverance upon this occasion.

The French army withdrew to the heights behind Tirlemont in good order, but the disaffection of the national guards soon rendered a further retreat necessary. Nor were they mistaken in respect to their suspicions, for their commander had now entered into a correspondence with the allies. Under pretence of treating about the wounded and prisoners, he dispatched an officer belonging to his staff, with the necessary instructions, to the head-quarters of the prince de Cobourg, where he had a conference with colonel Mack, with whom a suspension of arms was agreed upon. On the evening of the succeeding day, the latter repaired to Louvain, and certain articles, without being reduced to writing, were acceded to verbally*.

(To be continued.)

* "1. That the Imperialists should make no more general attacks, and that the French commander in chief should not on his side endeavour to give battle.

"2. That, in conformity to this tacit convention, the French should retire to Brussels by easy marches, and in good order, without being harassed.

"3. That the same parties should meet again after the evacuation of that city, on purpose to agree as to further contingencies."

OFFICIAL NARRATIVES

1315.]

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS OF BUONAPARTE,

SINCE THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

BEING A COMPLETE COLLECTION OF THE WHOLE OF THE BULLETINS PUBLISHED BY BUONAPARTE TO HIS ABDICATION.

IT is the well known opinion of some of our ablest Generals, that the French Bulletins of Buonaparte contain the most complete practical lessons of modern warfare, and with a due allowance for some exaggeration, include the fullest narrative of the most memorable campaigns on record. A wish, therefore, has often been expressed that they were all published in one form, so as to form a portable manual as well for future reference as for present study. It is our present purpose to effect this. In this, and in the following numbers of the Chronicle, we shall accordingly give a complete collection of the whole of the Bulletins published by Buonaparte. This began only in the first Campaign after he was Emperor. The form of a Bulletin being considered in foreign Cabinets as belonging only to Sovereigns.

CAMPAIGN IN PRUSSIA OF 1806-1807.

EIGHTY-SIXTH BULLETIN—(Continued).
GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-quarters at Stettin, July 10.

THE corps of observation of the grand army must return an attack, and advance into Swedish Pomerania. On the 18th of April an armistice was concluded at Schlatkow, which was to have continued until ten days should have expired after notice had been given of the intention to resume hostilities. In consequence of some subsequent conferences between the commanding Generals, the term of ten days was extended to thirty days by an additional article, signed the 29th of the same month. The latter arrangement experienced no kind of difficulties: but his Majesty the King of Sweden appeared in Pomerania, assumed the command of his army, and immediately declared his intention to acknowledge merely the first stipulation of a term of ten days. At the same time the Swedish navy, in spite of the armistice, committed hostilities before Colberg, against the French troops and their allies which besieged that place. In this state of affairs, an explanatory correspondence arose between the commanding General, and the King of Sweden proposed a conference to me, in order to put an end to the subsisting differences, which conference was to be held at Schlatkow, in the Swedish territory. Hopes were then entertained, that the opposition his Majesty experienced, arose merely from his wish to conduct the affairs himself; and that the conference proposed might perhaps lead to peaceful overtures, and some permanent arrangement. On the 4th of June, I accordingly proceeded to Schlatkow, attended by five or six officers of the staff, and by as many orderly gens d'armes. The aides-de-camp of his Swedish Majesty had declared to me, that the King was at Schlatkow, almost without an escort, attended merely by a retinue by no means numerous. On my arrival I found the house where the King was, without guards, but in the court a squadron of horse was drawn up in order of battle. Being alone admitted to the Prince, I represented to him the object of the conference, but he interrupted me almost immediately, and declared, that his determination in favour of the term of the first armistice was unalterable, and thus cut off all questions, which were to form the object of the conference. Europe will learn it with indignation, because the laws of nations, and the laws of honour, were violated: he dared to propose to the French General, to one of the first subjects of the Emperor Napoleon, to betray his Sovereign and his country: to espouse the cause of the English under the disgraceful banner of a band of deserters, who feel neither for the happiness of their native country, nor share in its glory. Since that conference, the King caused the above hostilities before Colberg to be continued, and others to be continued at the mouth of the Trave. He had drawn from England both money and soldiers: he has collected as many fugitives and deserters as came within his reach, and full of confidence in his force, he gave on the Soth of this month notice, that at the expiration of ten days the armistice would be at an end; he gave that notice at the very moment when he could be informed of the change of dispositions on the part of Russia and Prussia. The hostilities with Sweden recommence therefore, on the 13th of this month. We might begin them sooner, because the King's conduct has been nothing but a series of violations and infringements: but it is a prominent feature in the character of our sovereign to be as great in magnanimity and moderation, as he is through his genius and heroic exploits. Europe will know how to appreciate such conduct, and discern those who wish to prolong the scourge of war. The French troops will vie with those of the allies in discipline and valour; they will not forget that the Emperor Napoleon has his regards fixed on them, and feel confident that we shall all deserve approbation by our attachment. MARSHAL BRUNE.

EIGHTY-SEVENTH BULLETIN.

Kanigsberg, July 12.

THE Emperors of France and Russia, after 20 days residence at Tilsitz, where the Imperial Palaces were in the same street, and at no great distance, took leave of each other with the greatest cordiality, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th. The Journal which contains an account of what passed between them will be very interesting to both nations. At half-past four, the Emperor Napoleon having received a visit from the King of Prussia, who came to take his leave, set out for Kænigsberg, where he arrived at ten at night. The King of Prussia went to Memel. Yesterday the Emperor inspected the port of Kænigsberg, in a boat manned by the Imperial Guard. To-day his Majesty will review Marshal Soult's corps, and at two o'clock to-morrow, he will set out for Dresden. The number of Russians killed in the battle of Friedland, amounts to 17,500, the prisoners to 40,000; 18,000 of whom have already passed through Kenigsberg, 7000 remain sick in the hospitals, and the rest have been conducted to Thorn and Warsaw. Orders have been issued to send them home to Russia, without delay; 7000 have already returned again to Kenigsberg. Those in France are to be formed into provisional regiments. The Emperor has ordered them to be clothed and armed. The ratifications of the treaty of peace between France and Russia were exchanged at Tilsitz, on the 9th. The ratification of the treaty of peace between France and Prussia, will be exchanged here this day. The plenipotentiaries charged with these negociations were, on the part of France, the Prince of Benevento; Princes Kurakin and Labanoff, on the part of Russia; on the part of Prussia, Field Marshal Count Kalkreuth, and the Count de Goltz. After such events as these, one cannot but smile when the great English expedition is mentioned

and at the new frenzy which animates the King of Sweden. Besides, we may remark that the army of observation, between the Elbe and the Oder, is 70,000 strong, exclusive of the grand army, without including the Spanish divisions, which are now upon the Oder also. It was, therefore, necessary for England to have brought her whole force together, her soldiers, her volunteers, fencibles, &c. in order to have made a diversion of any interest. But when we take into our account, that England, under the present circumstances, has sent 6000 men to Egypt, only to be slaughtered by the Arabians, and 7000 men to the Spanish West Indies, we can alone feel sentiments of pity for the extravagant avarice with which that cabinet is tormented. The peace of Tilsitz puts an end to the operations of the army; notwithstanding this, all the Prussian coasts and ports will be shut against the English; and it is probable that the continental blockade will not prove a mere sound. The Porte is included in the treaty. The revolution which lately occurred at Constantinople, was an antichristian revolution, which has nothing in common with the policy of Europe. The Adjutant-Commandant Guilleminot is gone to Bessarabia. where he will communicate to the Grand Vizier the intelligence of the peace. and the liberty given to the Porte to take part in it, as well as of the conditions of the treaty in which the Porte is interested.

(To be continued).

LONDON GAZETTES.—CAMPAIGN OF 1815.

AS the strong interest for present events renders it impossible to defer the Gazettes of the Campaign of 1815, which is now commenced, we accordingly begin them in this number. The interrupted thread of the former Gazettes will be continued in a few pages set aside for the purpose in our next number.



The London Gazette EXTRAORDINARY.

Published by Authority.

THURSDAY, June 22, 1815.

Downing-street, June 22, 1815.—Major the Honourable H. Percy arrived late last night with a dispatch from Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K. G. to Earl Bathurst, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the War Department, of which the following is a copy:

Waterloo, June 19, 1815.—My LORD,—BUONAPARTE having collected the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th and 6th corps of the French army and the Imperial Guards, and nearly all the cavalry on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobez, on the Sambre, at daylight in the morning.

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I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march; and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movements upon Charlerov was the real attack.

The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and General Zieten, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroy, retired upon Fleurus; and Marshal Prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, holding the villages in front of his position of St.

Amand and Ligny.

The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroy towards Bruxelles, and on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the Prince de Weimar, posted at Frasne, and forced it back to the farm-house on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras.

The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced the brigade with another of the same division, under Gen. Perponcher, and in the morning early regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Bruxelles, with Marshal Blucher's position.

In the mean time I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the 5th division under Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, arrived at about half past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blucher with his whole force, excepting the 1st and 2d corps and a corps of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived

We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery; he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadlest manner. In this affair His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, and Major-General Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves, as well as Lieutenant-General Charles Baron Alten, Major-General Sir C. Halket, Lieutenant-General Cooke, and Major-Generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the 5th division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42d, 78th, and 92d regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians.

Our loss was great, as your Lordship will perceive by the inclosed return; and I have particularly to regret His Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell, fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

Although Marshal Blucher had maintained his position at Sambref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and as the fourth corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over.

This movement of the Marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon the Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock.

The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrole which I sent to Sambref in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrole advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting by following, with a large body of cavalry, brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge.

This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st Life Guards, upon their debouche from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his Lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that

regiment.

1815.1

The position which I took up in front of Waterloo crossed the high roads from Charleroy and Nivelle, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre and near the Nivelle road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank: and in front of the left centre, we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blucher, at Wavre through Ohaim; and the Marshal had promised me, that in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blucher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning; and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of Guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieutenant-Colouel Macdonel, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which Lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the life-guards, royal horse-guards, and 1st dragoon-guards, highly distinguished themselves, as did that of Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre near the farm of La Haye-Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated, and having observed that the troops retired from the attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's com-



Euschermont upon Planchenorte and La belle Alliance, had begun to take effect, and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blucher had joined in person, with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Chaim, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery.—The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands. I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night; he has sent me word this morning that he had taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Buonaparte, in Genappe.

I propose to move, this morning, upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my

operations.

Your Lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and I am sorry to add, that ours has been immense. In Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, His Majesty has sustained the loss of an Officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service, and he fell, gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position, was defeated. The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this ardous day, received a wound, by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive His Majesty for some time of his services.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct till he received a would from a musket ball through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your Lordship, that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. The division of guards, under Lieutenant-General Cooke, who is severely wounded, Major-General Maitland and Major-General Byng, set an example which was followed by all; and there is no Officer, nor description of troops, that did not behave well.

I must, however, particularly mention, for His Royal Highness's approbation, Lieutenant-General Sir H. Clinton, Major-General Adam, Lieutenant-General Charles Baron Alten, severely wounded: Major-General Sir Colin Halket, severely wounded; Colonel Ompteda, Colonel Mitchell, commanding a brigade of the 4th division; Major-Generals Sir James Kempt and Sir Denis Pack, Major-General Lambert, Major-General Lord E. Somerset, Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, Major-General Sir C. Grant, and Major-General Sir H. Vivian; Major-General Sir O. Vandeleur; Major-General Count Dornberg. I am also particularly indebted to General Lord Hill for his assistance and conduct upon this as upon all former occasions.

The Artillery and Engineer departments were conducted much to my satisfaction by Colonel Sir G. Wood and Colonel Smyth; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Adjutant-General Major-General Barnes, who was wounded, and of the Quarter-Master-General, Colonel Delancy, who was killed by a cannon-shot in the middle of the action. This of-

ficer is a serious loss to His Majesty's service and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzrov Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in this action. Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Sir Alexander Gordon, who has died of his wounds, was a most promising officer, and is a serious loss to His Majesty's service.

General Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did General Trip, commanding the heavy brigade of cavalry, and General Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry of the King of the Netherlands.

General Pozzo di Borgo, General Baron Vincent, General Muffling, and General Alava, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in their power. Baron Vincent is wounded, but I hope not severely; and General Pozzo di Borgo received a contusion.

I should not do justice to my feelings or to Marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day, to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them.

The operations of General Eulow, upon the enemy's flank, was a most decisive one; and even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack. which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded.

I send, with this dispatch, two eagles, taken by the troops in this action. which Major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of His Royal Highness.

I beg leave to recommend him to your Lordship's protection.

I have the honour, &c. (Signed) WELLINGTON.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have received a report, that Major-General Sir William Ponsonby is killed, and, in announcing this intelligence to your Lordship, I have to add the expression of my grief, for the fate of an officer. who had already rendered very brilliant and important services, and was an ornament to his profession.

2d P.S. I have not yet got the return of killed and wounded, but I inclose a list of Officers killed and wounded on the two days, as far as the same can be made out without the returns; and I am very happy to add, that Colonel De Lancy is not dead, and that strong hopes of his recovery are entertained.

List of Officers killed and wounded.

KILLED.

His Serene Highness the Duke of Major Norman Ramsay, R. Artillery Brunswick Oels Lieut.-Gen. Sir T. Picton, G. C. B. Major-Gen. Sir W. Ponsonby, K. C. B. Col. Du Plat, King's German Legion Col. Ompteda, King's German Legion Colonel Morrin, 69th Foot Colonel Sir W. Ellis, 23d Foot Lieut -Col. Macara, 42d Foot Lieut.-Col. Cameron, 92d Foot Lieut.-Col. Sir Alexander Gordon Lieut.-Col. Canning Lieut.-Col. Currie, of Lord Hill's Staff Major the Hon. F. Howard, 10th Hussars Major G. Bain, Royal Artillery

Major Cairnes, Royal Artillery Major Chambers, 30th Foot Brevet Major Crefton, 5th Division Brevet Major Rosewiel, 2d Lt. Regt. Captain Bolton, Royal Artillery Captain Crawford, Guards Captain the Hon. - Curzon, Aidede-Camp to His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange Captain Chambers, Aide-de-Camp to General Picton Captain Charles Eles, 95th Foot Captain Robertson, 78d Foot Captain Kennedy, 73d Foot

Captain Schauman, 2d Light Battalion | King's German Legion

Captain Holycowan, 1st Light Batt. King's German Legion

Captain H. Marshal, 1st Light Batt. King's German Legion Captain Goeben, 1st Light Battalion

King's German Legion

Captain Gunning, 10th Hussars Captain Grove, 1st Guards Lieut. C. Manners, Royal Artillery Lieutenant Lister, 95th Foot. Ensign Lord Hay, Aide-de-Camp to Major-General Maitland Ensign Brown, 1st Guards.

WOUNDED.

Gen. His Royal Highness the Prince | Major Parker, Royal Horse Artillery, of Orange, G.C.B. severely Lieut.-General the Earl of Uxbridge,

G. C. B. right leg amputated Lieut.-Gen Sir Charles Alten, K.C.B.

severely

Major-Gen. Cork, right arm amputated Major-Gen. Sir E. Barnes, K. C. B. Adjutant-General, severely

Major-Gen. Sir Jas. Kempt, K. C. B.

Major-Gen. Sir Colin Halket, K. C. B. severely

Major-Gen. Adams, severely Major-Gen. Sir W. Dornberg, K. C. B.

severely Col. Sir John Elley, K. C.B. slightly Colonel Harris, 73d Foot

Col. Quentin, 10th Hussars, slightly Col. Hon. Frederick Ponsonby, severely Col. Sir Wm. De Lancy, severely Lieut.-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somersct,

right arm amputated Lieut.-Col. Hay, 16th Light Dragoons,

Lieut.-Col. Vigoureau, 30th Foot Lieut.-Col. Abercromby, A. Q. M. G. slightly

Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, 30th Foot Lieut.-Colonel Cameron, 95th Foot, severely

Lieut.-Colonel Wyndham, 1st Foot Guards, severely

Lieut.-Col. Bowater, 3d Foot Guards, slightly

Lieut.-Col. Mac Donnell, Coldstream Guards, slightly

Lieut.-Colonel Dashwood, \$d Guards, severely

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Robert Hill, Royal Horse Guards (Blue) severely Lieut.-Col. Norcott, 95th, severely

Lieut.-Col. Hill, severely

Lieut.-Col. Schreider, 8th Line Batt. Lieut.-Col. Adair, 1st Guards, severely Lieut.-Col. Miller, 1st Guards, dan-

gerously Lieut.-Col. Sir G. H. Berkeley, A.A.G.

Major Maclean, 75d Foot Major Beckwith, 95th Foot, severely. Major Jessop, A. Q. M. G.

Major Busch, 1st Light Batt. King's Germ. Legion, right arm amputated Major Parkinson, 73d Foot, severely

leg amputated

Maj. Robert Ball, R. Artillery, severely Major Hamilton, Aide-de-Camp to

Major-General Sir E. Barns Major Lindsay, 69th Foot, dengerously Major Watson, 69th Foot, severely. Brevet Major Einem, dangerously. Major Wilkins, 95th Foot, severely Major Miller, 95th Foot, severely. Captain Smith, 95th Foot severely

Captain Tyler, Aide-de-Camp to Sir Thomas Picton, slightly.

Captain Dance, 23d Light Dragoons. Captain Johnston, 95th Foot Captain Carmes, 95th Foot

Cap. Darney, Royal Artillery, severely Cap. Napier, Royal Artillery, severely Cap. A. M' Donald, R. Artill. severely Cap. Webber, Royal Artillery, severely Cap. Dumaresque; Aide-de-Camp to

Gen. Sir J. Byng, severely Cap. Whynnates, R. Artillery, severely Cap. Barnes, Brevet Major, Royal Artillery, severely

Cap. the Honourable — Erskine, D. A. A. G. left arm amputated

Cap. A. Dangton, Aide-de-Camp to Lieutenant-Gen. Piction, severely. Lieut. Foster, Royal Artillery, severely Lieut. Crome, Royal Artillery, severely Lieut. Robe, Royal Artillery, severely Licut. Smith, Royal Artillery, severely Lieut. Strangway, R. Artillery, severely Lieut. Hormey, Royal Artillery, arm amputated

Lieut. Bloomfield, R. Artillery, slightly Lieut. Brierton, R. Artillery severely Lieut. Forbes, Royal Artillery, severely Lieut. D. Crawford, slightly

Lieut. Haverlock, Aide-de-Camp to Lieut.-Gen. Sir Charles Alten. Lieut. Pringle, R. Engineers, slightly Lieut. Hamilton, 46th Foot, slightly Lieut. Heise, 1st Light Battalion. Lieut. Gardiner, 95th, severely Lieut. Johnstone. 95th, severely Lieut. Moltry, 95th, severely Lieut. Simmons, 95th, severely

Lieut. J. Gardiner, 95th, severely Lieut. Fitzmaurice, 95th, severely Lieut. Shenley, 95th, severely Lieut. Wright, 95th, severely

(T. Chaplin, Printer, 1, Grane-Court.)

HISTORY

OF THE

WAR OF THE FRENCH

IN

SPAIN.

BY

M. DE ROCCA,

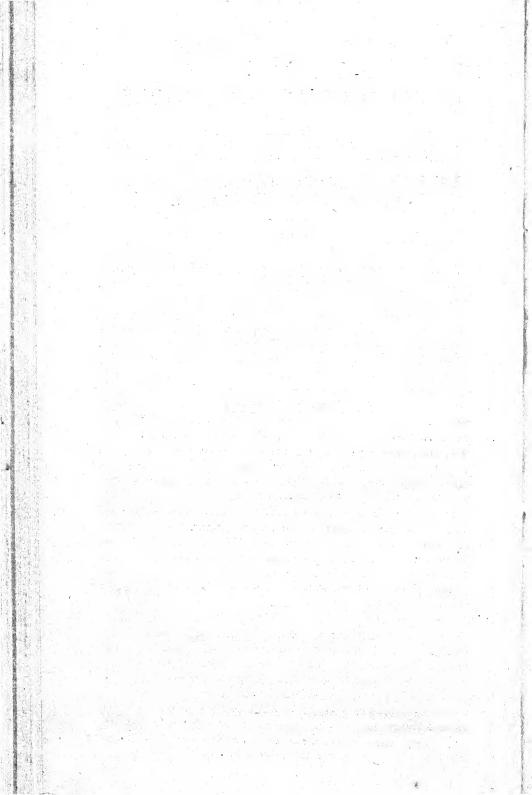
AN OFFICER OF HUSSARS, AND KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

Being the Quarterly Supplement to the Military Chronicle for Volume III. July 1815.

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ROYAL MILITARY CHRONICLE.

Vol. III.]

NEW SERIES, JULY, 1815.

[Supplement

HISTORY OF THE WAR OF THE FRENCH IN SPAIN.

BOOK I.

I HAD the honour to serve in the second regiment of hussars, formerly called Chamboran. In the year 1808 we received orders to quit Prussia in order to go to Spain. I thus found myself in a situation to compare two different kinds of war; the war of regular troops, and the popular warfare which a nation of patriots can oppose to regular armies. The German governments and armies were entirely military. The German princes had. for more than a century, turned all their views towards perfecting those military institutions which might secure their authority and serve their personal ambition; but in accustoming their subjects to a minutely punctual obedience, they had weakened the national character, the only invincible bulwark that nations can oppose to foreign invaders. The people, unaccustomed to think for themselves, were subdued as soon as conquered, and obeyed their French masters as submissively as they hadobeyed their German lords. The local character of the country was equally unfavourable to any partial revolts against us. There were no mountains in which to rally or refuge.

The war in Germany was between army and army, and we had nothing to apprehend from the people. They neither harassed our small detachments nor intercepted our convoys. We had only to subdue governments and armies. In Spain, all was about to be different. The Emperor Napoleon had already extinguished both the government and army; and war was to be solely with a people, who at once hated and feared us, because so unlike themselves.

The Spanish people were as remote in character as in situation from all the other nations of Europe. Our philosophy had made no progress amongst them. They were attached even to bigotry to their priests and kings. Their government, indeed, was despotic in form; but the weakness, perhaps the benevolence of their kings, had left them in possession of a practical freedom, which preserved their national character. Thus, in the most absolute government in Europe, the people were free, brave and obstinate.

Our war, therefore, with Spain was with a brave and free people. Every Spaniard regarded the public cause as his own private quarrel, and we had, in short, almost as many individual enemies to fight as the Spanish peninsula contained inhabitants. The high and barren mountains, which surround and intersect Spain, were peopled by warlike tribes, always armed for the purpose of smuggling, and accustomed to baffle the regular troops of their own country, which were frequently sent in pursuit of them. The untamed character of the inhabitants of the peninsula, the mildness of the climate, which admits of living in the open air almost all the year, and thus to abandon their dwelling upon occasion; the inaccessible retreats of the inland mountains; the sea. which washes such extensive shores; all the great circumstances arising from the national character, the climate, and local situation, were all so many circumstances in favour of the popular warfare which their circumstances required. They equally assisted them either to fall upon those points on which the French were weak, or to effect their escape from pursuit.

Our disappointment was the greater as we expected only certain victory. When we quitted our cantonments in Prussia towards the end of August 1808, we promised ourselves a campaign rather of pleasure than arms. We divided the world only into two parts, the happy zone, in which the vine grows, and the detestable zone, which is without it.

After having passed the Elbe and the Weser, we reached the left bank of the Rhine and France. We cast back a longing eye upon the rich fields of Germany which we now quitted. We traversed France in triumph and festivity. The Emperor Napoleon had ordered that his soldiers should be well received and feasted every where; deputations came to compliment us at the gates of his good cities. The officers and soldiers were conducted immediately on their arrival to sumptuous banquets prepared beforehand, and on our departure, the mugistrates thanked as again that we had deigned to spend in one day many weeks' private revenues of their municipal chests. The soldiers of the grand army did not lose in France the habit they had contracted in Germany, of now and then maltreating the citizens or peasants with whom they lodged. Our troops were composed, besides the French, of Germans, Italians. Poles, Swiss, Dutch, and even Irish and Mameluks; these strangers were all dressed in their national uniforms, and spoke their own languages; but notwithstanding the dissimilarity of manners, military discipline easily united them all under the powerful hand of one; all these men wore the same cockade, and they had but one shout of war, and one cry to rally.

We crossed the Seine at Paris, the Loire at Saumur, the Garonne at Bordeaux; there, for the first time since we left Prussia, we enjoyed a few days of rest, while the rest of the army was employed in gaining the other bank of the river. We next traversed the uncultivated tract between Bordeaux and Bayonne. In these solitary plains, as in the moors of Prussia and Poland, the sandy soil no longer resounded under the horses' feet. Vast forests of pine and of cork bound the horizon at an immense distance; one sees at long intervals single shepherds,

clad in black sheep-skins, mounted on stilts six or seven feet high, and leaning on a long pole; they remain motionless on the same spot, without ever losing sight of their flocks which feed around them on the heath. When the Emperor Napoleon crossed these wide plains, the poverty of the country did not permit it to furnish the usual horse guard of honour: he was escorted by a detachment of these shepherds, who, with their tall stilts, kept pace through the sand with the horses at full trot.

Some leagues beyond Bayonne we reached the Bidasson, a rivulet which bounds France in the Pyrenees. The narrow crooked streets of the towns, the grated windows, the doors of the houses always carefully shut, the severe and reserved air of the inhabitants of all classes now proved to us that we were out of France. We saw the Emperor Napoleon pass before he arrived at Vittoria. He was on horseback; and the simplicity of his green uniform distinguished him amidst the richly clothed generals "who surrounded him. He waved his hand to every individual officer as he passed, seeming to say-I rely on you. The French and the Spaniards were gathered in crowds on his way; the first regarded him as the fortune of the whole army: the Spaniards seemed willing to read in his aspect and behaviour the fate of their unhappy country.

During the last days of October, 1803, the French army in Spain, commanded by King Joseph, was successively joined by the grand army of Germany. We now learned, with astonishment, from our brethren in arms, a part of the events of the Peninsular war; that Generals Dupont and Junot had capitulated in Andalusia and in Portugal, that Marshal Moncey had retired from before Valentia, and, in short that the whole army had concentrated itself on the left bank of the Ebro.

The 8th November, in the night, the imperial quarters were removed from Vittoria to Miranda. The next day the whole of the centre, of which we were a part, marched under the immediate orders of the Emperor. We were to make a powerful attack on Burgos, where the centre of the Spanish forces was placed, then to threaten, by advancing rapidly, the flanks of their armies of the right and left in Biscay, and towards the frontiers of Navarre and Arragon; to prevent those armies from concentrating themselves towards Madrid, if they retired; and to cut off, by throwing ourselves on their rear, all their communications, if they attempted resistance.

To effect this, our army of the right, formed of the corps of Marshals Victor and Lefevre, were to continue marching against the army of Blake, who was retiring upon Espinosa, after having been repulsed from Durango and Vulmaceda. Our army of the left, under Marshals Lannes and Moncey, remained in the neighbourhood of Logrono and Tafalla; it awaited the result of the action that we expected without fail at Burgos, in order to move and go up the Ebro, towards Saragossa.

The imperial head-quarters were fixed, on the night of the 9th, at Briviesca; the army under the orders of the Emperor was cantoned in the neighbourhood of that town. The inhabitants of the country had every where fled to the mountains on our approach.

At day-break on the 10th, Marshal Soult went, with a division of infantry, to reconnoitre the positions of the enemy in the direction of Burgos. On his arrival at the village of Gamoual, he was received by a discharge of 30 pieces of cannon.—This was to the French the signal for attack. Marshal Soult did not wait for the rest of the army which was following him; he engaged immediately, and overthrew the Walloons and Spanish guards, which formed the chief strength of the enemy. Marshal Bessieres, arriving soon after with the cavalry, turned the enemy's wings, completed the rout, and entered Burgos pel-mel with the fugitives.

An accident detained our brigade of hussars two leagues in the rear of Briviesca. The adjutant who was to have brought us our orders to march lost his way, and we only began our march at nine o'clock in the morning; we followed the track of the army all the day, without even surmising what had passed in the morning in our front. When night came, we perceived, at a great distance, the fires of the vanguard of the army. Notwithstanding the darkness, we discovered, by the motions of our horses, that we were crossing a field of battle; they slackened their pace every moment, raising their feet cautiously, for fear of touching the dead over whom they were passing. They stopped sometimes to put down their heads, and started as they smelt the carcases of the horses killed during the action.

Upon entering Burgos, we found it entirely abandoned by its inhabitants. That great city was now only a vast solitude. Our soldiers were still busy in plundering it of what was still left. As we entered, we heard on all sides the confused voices of the soldiers, who were searching in all directions for provisions and utensils through the deserted houses. They carried as lights enormous torches, which they had found in the neighbouring convents. As we advanced along the high street, we heard doleful and stifled groans from the aged and the sick, who, unable to fly, had taken refuge in a church, where they were crowded together in great numbers; they were repeating prayers with their clergy, expecting a death which they believed to be near. The feeble rays of the sacred lamp shone through the lattices of the church. We passed between two high walls of enormous peaks of wool, which the Spaniards had collected to carry with the baggage of their army into the south of France, so certain did they think themselves of a victory over us.

At eleven o'clock at night we arrived at the bivouac designed for us, near the banks of the Arlanzon. When day came, we saw in the low river which ran by us the bodies of a few Spanish soldiers and monks, who died in the battle the day before.

Our brigade of light cavalry set off at sun-rise of the 11th, to explore the country up the Arlanzon. The peasants retired behind the heights as we advanced. From time to time they raised their heads above the brushwood to see if we had passed. We met some nuns who had fled from Burgos during the battle the day before. The greater part of these

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poor creatures had never been beyond their cloister, and had now walked, in their fright, as far as their limbs could bear. They tried to conceal themselves in the groves near the river. They had fled as they saw us approach from a distance, but again collected together, and received us on their knees, close to each other, with their heads hanging down and concealed in their hoods. One of them arose as we advanced. Her face had that kind of tranquillity and even dignity which is given by strong passions in a moment of despair. She touched the beads of her rosary, and addressed us in the only three words she knew of our language, "Bon jour, Messieurs François." These poor nuns were left in peace.

We spent four days in a town about four leagues from Burgos, of whose name I am ignorant, because we found no person to inquire it of. The imperial quarters remained at Burgos till the 22d.

Detachments were sent in all directions in pursuit of the enemy whomwe had defeated. Ten thousand cavalry, with twenty pieces of light artillery, were thus dispatched, by way of Placentia, Leon, and Zamora," towards the rear of the English army, which was believed to be at Valladolid. Marshal Soult threw himself, by Villarcayo and Reynosa, behind the Spanish army of the left. A division of infantry went by a more direct route to occupy the defiles of the mountains towards St. Ander. The army of General Blake, in retreat ever since the affair of Durango, had vainly tried to rally at Guenes and at Valmaceda. Marshal Victor pursued it in the direction of Espinosa; Marshal Lefevre in that of Villarcayo, and at length totally defeated it, on the 10th of November, at Espinosa, after two days' fighting. There remained now only the army of the right between us and Madrid. To meet this army, Marshal Ney was sent from Burgos, by Lerma and Aranda, up the Douro, and down again towards the Ebro, thus to turn the corps of Generals Castanos and Palafox, whilst Marshals Lannes and Moncey attacked them in front.

On the 15th of November, our brigade of hussars went to Lerma, and there joined the corps of Marshal Ney. On the 16th, Marshal Ney's corps went from Lerma to Aranda. The inhabitants always fied at our approach, carrying with them into their mountain-retreats all their money and valuable articles, and leaving us nothing but empty houses. In approaching the deserted towns and villages of Castile, we saw no sign of human habitation. No smoke arose from the chimnies of their most populous cities. Instead of living sounds, and the hum of men, we heard nothing within the circles of their walls but the passing bells, which our arrival could not suspend, or the croaking of the ravens hovering round the high belfries. The empty houses served only to re-echo the deep sounds of our drum. There was no difficulty, therefore, in finding lodgings. Every regiment occupied a quarter, and every company a street. There was a house for every one, and in a few minutes after our entry, the soldiers were established in their new dwellings, as if they had come to found a colony. With the same facility we gave

new names to the places we occupied-one quarter we called the Dragoon ward; another, Such a company's street; Our general's house; The main-guard square, or Parade-place. On the walls of the convents might be read, written with charcoal, Barracks of such a battalion. The cell of a deserted cloister presented a sign with a French inscription, bearing the name of one of our first cooks, a victualler, who had hastened to set up his traveller's tavern in that spot. But if we arrived late, the quarters were taken with less ceremony. As soon as the main guard was posted, the drum beat, and the soldiers at this signal left the ranks, and each ran in together or in crowds, to find their own quarters. The doors were now broken open with hatchets or great stones, and woe to any women that remained. We had a method, as quick as efficacious, to force such doors as were locked; we fired point blank into the key-holes of the locks, and thus rendered vain the precautions of the inhabitants, who always carefully locked up their houses , before they fled, at our approach, to the mountains.

. On the morning of the 20th, we (Ney's corps) left Aranda. For two days we continued to march up the banks of the Douro, having no news of the enemy, and not meeting any where a living creature. On the 21st, a little before sun-eet, we suddenly remarked some cautionary movements of our advanced skirmishers: we immediately formed in squadrous, and shortly afterwards a detachment of our advanced guard was engaged with a corps of the enemy. We repulsed them with ease, and made some prisoners as we entered Almazan. Our corps bivouacked for the night under the walls of that town. The inhabitants had entirely deserted it. As it was too late to make regular distributions, we could not prevent its plunder during half an hour, to satisfy the immediate necessities of the troops.

The next day, being the 22d of November, we continued our march for Soria. The 2d hussars, our regiment, was left alone at Almazan, to guard the communication with Burgos by Aranda, and to watch the enemy's corps which were said to be in the neighbourhood of Siguenza

and Medina Cœli.

At day-break on the 24th, I was ordered to go with twenty-five horse and reconnoitre on the direct road from Almazan to Agreda. A very bad French map led me into an error as to the road, and we lost our way. After four hours' hard march, through cross roads, we saw two children, who fled screaming towards the thicket. I followed them, and suddenly found myself alone in an encampment of women, who had fled from their village with their sheep and their children, and had taken refuge in a little island in the river. I arrived so totally unawares that I had time to assure them of safety before my troops came up. I asked them which was the direct road from Almazan to Agreda. An aged pastor, the only man who was with the women, answered that I had wandered from it about four leagues, and he pointed out the right road on the other side of the Douro. We passed through a line of

villages and little towns where the only inhabitants were men, and we at length arrived at our place of destination.

I had with me, as an interpreter, a Flemish deserter, whom we had forced to come to us from Burgos; we had nicknamed him Blanco, because, to keep himself warm, he had covered his old Walloon uniform, which was worn out and torn, with a white dominican habit which the hussars had given him; and he also wore on his head the enormous hat of that religious order. As we passed through the inhabited villages, the peasants, when they saw him on foot marching at our head, believed that he was really a monk whom we had forced to accompany us; they saluted him profoundly, pitied his unhappy fate, and all gave money to the reverend father, who, proud of so many honours, would not, even when he had an opportunity, quit his lucrative costume.

Before we left Almazan, we again lost our way, and were nine hours marching only four miles. No guides in fact were to be got, because the inhabitants deserted their villages on our approach.

Our regiment received orders to quit Almazan the same night. We marched nearly a night and a day without stopping, and joined Marshal Ney just as he was entering Agreda. The infantry lodged in the town. The light cavalry was sent a league farther, on the road to Cascante, in order to cover the position of the army. We were now, as we thought, close upon the rear of the left wing of the Spanish forces. The city of Agreda was deserted; and we in vain endeavoured to find a guide in it. We were accordingly obliged to follow our map in search of the cantonment intended for us. Night overtook us, and we soon lost ourselves in the mountains. We now fancied ourselves every moment on the brink of some precipice; at every hundred paces we made a breathless halt, while those who were at the head of the column almost groped their way between the rocks. In the deep silence of the night, we heard only the uncertain tread of feet, and the shudderings of the horses who were gnawing the bit, impatient to get on to rest. We had alighted and were marching in file, listening to, and repeating by turns, the warnings of holes, or of precipices, which were given in an under voice, in order not to awake a corps whose half-extinguished fires we saw on the opposite side of a deep ravine. We knew not whether they were friends or foes, and, in our situation, an attack of infantry must have been fatal to us. We thus passed the greater part of the night in marching and counter-marching. The moon rose a little before daybreak; we found ourselves nearly in the place from which we had set out the night before, and we at length saw, at the bottom of a narrow valley, the village where we should have passed the night; we had been marching above thirty hours.

We here learned that the armies of Castanos and Palafox had been completely defeated at Tudela, on the 23d. If we had arrived only a day sooner at Agreda, we should have met and taken in that town the dispersed columns of Spaniards, who were retiring upon Madrid.

The left of our army, whose movements we were to second, had concentrated itself on the 22d, at the bridge of Lodosa. On the 23d, it met the Spanish right, drawn up in battle array, of a league in extent, between the town of Tudela and the village of Cascante. Marshal Lannes, by a division in close column, broke the centre of the enemy's line; General Lefevre's cavalry immediately passed through the opening, and, by an oblique movement, surrounded the Spanish right. The enemy could no longer manœuvre, and retired in disorder, leaving thirty pieces of cannon, many dead, and a great number of prisoners on the field.

The Spaniards were in fact ruined by their own foolish confidence. They made sure of an easy victory, and actually manœuvred as if to surround us. They drew up their forces in long shallow lines, and this in plains where our superior tactics, and superior cavalry, had full room to act. They were in consequence defeated as soon as attacked. We now made sure that all our work was done, and that Spain was subdued. On the 26th of November we moved by Cascante, upon Borja. The 27th we arrived at Alagon, a little town four leagues from Saragossa, whose numerous steeples appeared in the distance.

The Arragonese maintained their firmness amidst all these reverses of their armies; and resolved to defend themselves in Saragossa. They had not the advantage of surrounding themselves by regular fortifications, but they had converted every dwelling into a separate fortress, and so strengthened every convent, every house, as to require a separate assault. This kind of fortification is, perhaps, the best of all calculated to lengthen out a siege. Palafox, moreover, had just thrown himself into the town with 10,000 men, whom he had saved after the battle of Tudela, and these same soldiers of the army of Arragon, that we had defeated almost without an effort in the flat country, as citizens within the walls of their capital town, resisted us nearly twelve months.

Nothing, indeed, could exceed the enthusiasm with which the whole population of Arragon thronged to defend Saragossa. The peasants, to the amount of fifty thousand, forced themselves into the city. "Let us defend," said they, "our Lady of the Pillar, who in happier times has sent us abundant harvests, and days of peace and wealth."

It is impossible to deny that the people of Spain have much nobility of character; but they differ from all other nations. In the ancient world the animating military principle was in patriotism and national vanity. In the ages of chivalry the point of honour succeeded the ancient vanity. Discipline is the virtue of modern armies: but amongst the Spaniards religion supplies the place of all. It is a noble principle, and has truly wrought their deliverance.

But their hatred of us led some of the meaner characters into acts of atrocity. One of the peasants of Arragon was seized by our skirmishers; he was armed with a gun, and was driving before him an ass laden with some months' provisions. The officer of our detachment took pity on him, and ordered him to depart in peace. The peasant obeyed, but re-

tired only on one side to load his gun, and then came back immediately to our ranks to fire at his deliverer. Happily the ball missed. This peasant hoped to die a martyr for killing one whom he had mistaken for one of our principal chiefs. On halting, he was brought before the colonel of the regiment. We surrounded him from curiosity. A motion of one of our hussars persuaded him that he was going to be shot; he immediately, and with a manifest pride, knelt down, prayed to God and the Virgin Mary, and thus awaited his death. We raised him, and at night he was sent to head-quarters. If these men had known how to fight as well as how to die, we should not so easily have passed the Pyrenees. But they learned it at last.

The division of Marshal Lannes remained in Arragon to besiege Saragossa; that of Marshal Ney continued by forced marches to pursue the remains of the army of Castanos, which was retiring on Guadalaxara and Madrid. The 28th, the advanced division cut to pieces the Spanish rear-guard, which attempted to defend the defile of Buvierca on the Kalon. The forced marches of our army often continued till late at night, and in passing the squadrons we frequently heard Italians, Germans or Frenchmen, singing their national airs to lull their fatigue, or, in this distant and hostile land, to recal a lively remembrance of their

absent country.

The army stopped very late at night near deserted towns or villages. On our arrival, we generally found ourselves in want of every thing. The soldiers however soon dispersed on all sides to forage, and in less than an hour they collected, at the bivouac, all that yet remained in the neigh-Around large fires, lighted at intervals, all the bouring villages. implements of military cookery were seen. Here they were busy constructing in haste barracks of plank, covered with leaves for want of straw; there they were erecting tents, by stretching across four stakes such pieces of stuff as had been found in the deserted houses. The ground was strewed up and down with the skins of the sheep just slain. guitars, pitchers, bladders of wine, the cowls of monks, clothes of every form and colour; here the cavalry under arms were sleeping by the side of their horses, farther on a few of the infantry, dressed in women's cloaths, were dancing grotesquely among piles of arms to the sound of music.

The peasants began to appear as soon as the army was on its march. They then started up on every side, as if out of the bosom of the earth, and hastened back to their dwellings. If any of our soldiers lagged behind, they fell upon them, and assassinated them. Some of our stragglers made a ridiculous figure; they mounted themselves on asses, holding their long muskets in their left hands, and their bayonets in their right, which they used as goads.

On the 1st December we reached a village a league to the north of Guadalaxara; the billets for the night were distributed, and we were going to break our ranks and to disperse into quarters, when some one came to inform us that they saw at a distance some of the enemy's sal-

diers flying. Two or three of the youngest of us offered, as sport, to pursue them; the colonel waved his hand, and we departed. I fixed on one in particular, who ran faster than the others, and by his uniform of azure blue, which was rather bright, led me to take him for an officer. When he saw that he could not escape, he stopped and waited for me on the opposite side of a ditch he had just lightly leaped. I thought at first that he was going to level his piece at me, but when I came within twenty paces of him, he let fall his arms, took off his hat. and said several times over, making the most profound bows in all the positions-" Monsieur, j'ai l'honneur de vous saluer; Monsieur, je suis votre très humble serviteur."-I stopped, as much astonished at his grotesque figure as at hearing him speak French. I told him he had nothing to fear. He informed me that he was a dancing-master, a native of Thoulouse; that at the time of the rising en masse in Andalusia. he had been put in the pillory for a fortnight, in order to force him to serve in the regiment of Ferdinand VII. the uniform of which he then wore; which, as he said, was most contrary to his pacific genius. I told him to go to the village where the regiment was. We also made another Frenchman prisoner; he was the son of one of the first magistrates of the town of Pau in Béarn.

Hurried on by the pleasure of the ride, I climbed one hill, which lay before me, then another; I crossed a torrent, and arrived, after half an hour's hard riding, at the entrance of a large village, which I went into. The inhabitants, having seen me coming from afar, thought that I was followed by a numerous body; the alarm instantly spread among them, and they hurried from all quarters to their houses, where they were occupied in barricading the street-doors, preparing according to their custom, to escape over the walls of the back courts. Seeing that I was alone, they gradually came out of their dwellings to the market-place, where I had stopped. I heard several men repeat, with considerable emotion, the word matar; and as I did not then know the Spanish language, I thought that it was a mere manner of expressing their astonishment at the sight of a stranger. I afterwards learnt that the words meant kill him. As I saw the crowd increase, I began to fear lest the inhabitants should detain me as a prisoner. I spurred my horse on both sides. and went without the village, placing myself on a hillock. I was soon followed both by the men and the women; I then began to make my horse curvet, and made him leap backwards and forwards over a low wall, and a ditch behind me, to shew the inhabitants that I was not afraid of them, and that I could easily escape when I pleased. As it was the first time since we passed the Ebro that I had seen a village entirely inhabited, and above all by women, I returned from curiosity to the height where I had at first placed myself, and making a sign with my scabbard to the people not to come within ten paces, I tried to make them understand that my horse wanted food. The inhabitants, wrapped up in their great cloaks, looked at me in silence with a kind of astonishment: maintaining nevertheless that gravity and dignity which characterize the Castilians of every age and of every class.

When I saw that they would not comprehend me, I tried a few words of Latin (a language often useful to us in Spain to make ourselves understood by the clergy). A young student stepped out of the crowd, and came back a few moments afterwards with the village schoolmaster: he was so pleased to speak Latin, and to tell me how he acquired such a degree of knowledge, that he procured for me all I wanted, and I set off soon afterwards. When our regiment passed through this same village, the next morning, it was completely deserted. I lost my way in the dark as I went back to my quarters, and

only joined my comrades at midnight.

The next day, December 2d, we took up our quarters in the neighbourhood of the town of Alcala de Henares; we met a squadron of Polish lancers, which Marshal Bessieres had sent from St. Augustin to reconnoitre towards Guadalaxara. From them we learned, that the advanced guard of the army of the centre had arrived before Madrid. We were now indeed only three leagues from that capital. The Emperor Napoleon had left Burgos, for Aranda, shortly after our departure. The 20th November, nine days after the affair of Tudela, the Emperor had marched against Madrid, with the army of the centre, by the direct road of the Castiles, leaving Marshal Soult's corps towards Asturia, to watch the remains of the Spanish army of Galicia. At daybreak, on the 30th, the van-guard had arrived at the foot of the mountain called Somo Sierra. The Puerto, a passage of this mountain, was defended by a division of from 12 to 15,000 Spaniards, and by a battery of 16 pieces of cannon. Three regiments of infantry, of the first division, and six pieces of cannon, commenced the attack. The Polish lancers of the guard then charged along the causeway, and carried the enemy's batteries by assault. The Spaniards, too weak to resist the Emperor Napoleon's army, sought safety on every side, by flying to the rocks. On the 1st of December, the imperial head-quarters were fixed at St. Augustino. Marshal Ney's corps, to which our regiment was attached, arrived the same day, and joined the Emperor.

On the 2d December, in the morning, the Emperor Napoleon preceded the main body of his army, and arrived, with his cavalry only, on the heights, close to the capital of Spain. Instead of the order one commonly perceives on approaching fortified towns, where all the circumstances of war are foreseen; instead of that silence, which is only interrupted by the deep and lengthened call of the sentry, were heard the bells of the 600 churches of Madrid, ringing in continual peals, and, from time to time, the sharp cries of the mob, and the quick roll of the drum. The inhabitants of Madrid had only thought of their defence eight days before the arrival of the French armies, and all their preparations were marked by hurry and inexperience. They had placed artillery behind sand-bags and barricades, or raised intrenchments, in haste, with bales of wool or cotton. The houses, at the entrance of the

principal streets were filled with armed men, placed behind mattrasses, at the windows. The Retiro alone had been fortified with any care; it is a royal castle, situated on a height which commands the capital. One of Marshal Bessieres' aides-de-camp was sent, according to the custom, in the morning, to summon Madrid; he narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the inhabitants, when he proposed their submitting to the French; he owed his life to the protection of the Spanish troops of the line.

The Emperor Napoleon employed the evening in reconvoiting the environs of the city, and in fixing his plan of attack. The first columns of the infantry having arrived, at seven o'clock in the evening, a brigade of the first division, supported by four pieces of artillery, marched against the suburbs, and the sharp-shooters of the 16th regiment seized the great burying-ground, after having dislodged the Spaniards from some advanced houses. The night was employed in placing the artillery, in making every preparation for an assault on the following day.

A Spanish officer, taken at Somo Sierra, whom the Prince of Neufchatel sent, at midnight, into Madrid, returned some hours afterwards, to say that the inhabitants persisted in defending themselves; and, on

the 3d, at nine o'clock in the morning, the cannonade began.

Thirty pieces of cannon, under the command of General Cenarmont, battered the walls of the Retiro, while twenty pieces of artillery of the guard, and some light troops, made, in another quarter, a false attack, to distract the attention of the enemy, and to oblige him to divide his forces. The light companies of Villatte's division entered the garden of the Retiro, by the breach, and were soon followed by their battalion, and, in less than an hour, the 4000 Spanish regulars, who defended this important point, were overthrown: at cleven o'clock, our soldiers already occupied the important posts of the observatory, the china manufactory, the great barracks, and the palace of Medina Cœli. Being now masters of all the Retiro, the French might have burned Madrid in a few hours.

The cannonade then ceased to be heard, the progress of the troops was stopped in every direction, and a third envoy was sent into the place. It was of consequence to the Emperor to conciliate the capital of the kingdom he destined for his brother. One may establish a camp, but not a court, in the midst of ruins. Madrid, in ashes, might, by its example, have excited a desperate resistance in the other cities of the kingdom. Its destruction, moreover, would have deprived the French armies of immense resources.

At five o'clock in the afternoon, General Morla, chief of the military junto, and Don B. Yriarte, deputed from the city, came back with the French envoy. They were conducted to the Prince of Neufchatel's tent. They solicited a suspension of arms during the 4th that they might have time to persuade the people to surrender. The Emperor reproached them, with much feigned anger, for their breach of the treaty of Baylen, and for the massacre of the French prisoners in An-

dalusia. The object of this artifice was to frighten the Spanish deputies, and to induce them to communicate their terrors to those whom they commanded. The Emperor earnestly desired the reduction of Madrid to have the appearance of a voluntary submission. It was then generally believed that the whole of Spain would follow the example of the capital.

Meantime the inhabitants refused to lay down their arms, and they continued to fire upon the French, from the windows of the houses surrounding the public walk of the Prado. Accounts of the fury and consternation of the city were hourly received. Fifty thousand armed inhabitants, without any discipline, ran up and down the streets, clamourously demanding orders, and accusing their leaders of treason. The Captain General Marquis of Castellar, and the other military men of rank, left Madrid during the night, with the regular troops, and sixteen pieces of cannon. On the 4th December, at six o'clock in the morning, General Morla and Don F. de Vera came back to the Prince of Neufchâtel's tent, and at ten o'clock the French troops took possession of Madrid.

The Emperor remained with his guard encamped on the heights of Chamartin. It was his constant system of war to avail himself of all great occasions, to improve upon the effects of panic, and to accomplish what he had begun. To this end, on the very day of the taking of Madrid, he sent detachments in all directions to pursue the enemy. Marshal Bessieres, with sixteen squadrons, pursued the Spanish army of General la Penna, on the road of Valencia. Marshal Victor's corps went by Aranjuez to Toledo. Generals Lasalle and Milhaud's divisions of cavalry followed towards Talavera de la Reyna the wreck of the Spanish division, which had been defeated at Somo Siera, and the troops which had escaped from Madrid. General La Houssaye entered the Escurial.

Our regiment of hussars had passed the 2d, 3d, and 4th December in the neighbourhood of Alcala, three leagues from Madrid. On the 5th, we received orders to join the imperial head-quarters early, in order to be reviewed. We had not been arrived many minutes on a plain near the castle of Chamartin before the Emperor Napoleon suddenly appeared. He was accompanied by the Prince of Neufchâtel, and by five or six aidesde-camp, who could scarcely keep up with him, so hard was he riding. All the trumpets sounded; the Emperor placed himself about a hundred paces in front of the centre of our regiment, and asked the colonel for the list of officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, who had merited military distinction. The colonel immediately called them by their names; the Emperor Napoleon spoke familiarly to some of the common soldiers who were presented to him; then addressing himself to the general commanding the brigade of which we formed a part, he rapidly put two or three short questions to him; the general having begun to answer rather diffusely, the Emperor Napoleon turned his horse without waiting for the end of the speech, and his departure was as sudden and as swift as his arrival.

After the review we took the road towards Madrid. A melancholy silence had succeeded to the noisy and tumultuous agitation which had reigned only the day before, both within and without the walls of that capital. The streets were deserted, and in the public places, even the numerous shops for eatables had not been re-opened. The water carriers were the only inhabitants who had not interrupted their customary employ. They walked along, calling, with the slow nasal accent of their native mountains of Galicia, Quien quière agua? Nobody appearing to buy, the aguador from time to time ruefully answered himself, Dios que la da, and began his cry again.

As we advanced towards the centre of Madrid, we saw a few groups of Spaniards standing upright, wrapped in their great cloaks. They looked at us with a melancholy and dejected air. When they discovered among our ranks any horse we might have taken, and ridden by one of our husbars, they immediately knew him by his paces. This roused them from their apathy, and they exclaimed to each other, Este cavallo es Espanol;

as if to reproach them for belonging to us.

We only passed through Madrid; our regiment being quartered sixteen days at Cevolla, not far from the banks of the Tagus, near Talayera, after which it returned, on the 19th December, to form a part of the garrison of Madrid. The inhabitants of the capital and its neighbourhood had recovered from their great astonishment. By degrees they had become accustomed to the sight of the French, and our army observed the strictest discipline. The variety at Madrid is really astonishing. The morning market, held in the place Cevada, is thronged with the peasantry from the provinces; and each appears in a different costume. Here a Castilian gathers up the ample folds of his cloak with the dignity of a Roman senator wrapped in his toga. There a drover from La Mancha. with a long goad in his hand and clad in a kelt of hide, which also resembles the ancient form of the tunic worn by the Roman and Gothic warriors. Farther on are seen men whose hair is bound with long silken fillets, and others wearing a sort of short brown vest, chequered with blue and red, which reminds one of the Moresco garb. The men who wear this habit come from Andalusia; they are distinguished by their black lively eyes, their expressive and animated looks, and the rapidity of their utterance. Women sitting in the corners of the streets and in the public places, are occupied preparing food for this passing crowd, whose homes are not in Madrid. Long strings of mules laden with skins of wine or of oil; droves of asses led by a single man who talks to them unceasingly; carriages drawn by eight or ten mules, ornamented with little bells, are images peculiar to this city. The mules are drawn by a single coachman, and a whistle supplies the place of a whip. Their slender legs, their tall stature, their proudly raised heads, give them the air of stags or elks. The ringing of the church bells, which is unceasing, the various vesture of the men, their animation, their sonorous language, and manners so different from our own, all contributed to make the appearance of the capital of Spain very strange to us. We were so much the more

struck with it, as Madrid was the first great town we had found peopled since our entry into Spain.

At the hour of the siesta, especially in summer, during the heat of the day, all these noises were suspended, the whole city was asleep, and the streets only re-echoed to the trampling of the horses of our corps of cavalry, going their rounds, or the drum of a solitary detachment mounting guard. This same French drum had beaten the march and the charge in Alexandria, in Cairo, in Rome, and in almost every town

in Europe, from Konigsberg to Madrid, where we then were.

Our regiment remained almost a month in the capital of Spain. I was quartered on an old man of illustrious name, who lived alone with his daughter. He went regularly twice a-day to mass, and once to the place Del Sol, to learn the news. He sat down as soon as he came in. in a parlour where he passed his days doing nothing. Sometimes he lighted his segar, and dissipated his cares and his thoughts by smoking : he rarely spoke, and I never saw him laugh. He only exclaimed every half-hour, with a sigh of dejection, Ay Jesus! his daughter always answered in the same words, and they both again became silent. A priest, the spiritual director of the house, came every day to see my hosts, with as much assiduity as a physician visits his patients. He wore a fair wig to hide his priest's tonsure, and was habited like an ordinary citizen. always affecting to say that he dared not wear his canonical dress for for fear of being murdered by our soldiers.

Amidst much apparent tranquillity, our regiment was always ready to mount at a moment's warning. There was a report that eleven hundred determined Spaniards had remained concealed in the town when it capitulated, in order to raise the inhabitants, and to put an end to every Frenchman at the first favourable opportunity. One circumstance rather surprised us. The Emperor Napoleon made no public entry into Madrid as he had done into the other capitals of Europe; he remained encamped with his guard on the heights of Chamartin, and

thence issued daily decrees to Spain,

But if the people were defeated, they brought as yet no homage of submission. No man presented himself to lay himself and country at the feet of Napoleon. The deputations from the city of Madrid, and a few alcades from the places occupied by our troops, came alone to the imperial quarters of Chamartin, and made such submissions as were dictated by fear. Twelve hundred heads of families chosen in Madrid itself were also summoned, and came to take the oath of fidelity to King Joseph. But the priests, it is said, had absolved them beforehand from all oaths of submission they might make to their conquerors. The reduction of the religious orders and the abolition of the Inquisition, which had been proclaimed by the French authorities, only augmented the violent hatred of this superstitious people. The monks of all orders, who had been forcibly turned out of the convents, dispersed themselves through the country and preached against us wherever they went.

Vol. III. SUPPLEMENT.

The Inquisition had become much milder during the last century; it no longer inspired the Spaniards with terror; and even enlightened men had come to look upon it as a means necessary to a weak government, in order to curb the people, and repress the power of the inferior clergy. The poor began to consider where they should seek, in years of scarcity, that daily food they were accustomed to receive at the convent gates.

A few days after the taking of Madrid, while our regiment was still at Cevolla, on the banks of the Tagus, I received orders to carry an open dispatch from General Lassalle, who was in our front at Talavera, to Marshal Lefevre. Marshal Lefevre was to read the dispatch, and then send it direct to the Prince of Neufchatel. I met Marshal Lefevre at sun-set, just as he arrived from Casa Rubios. In order to spare his own aides-de-camp, the marshal ordered me to carry the letters myself to the imperial head-quarters. As I was to ride post, I was obliged to leave my horse at Maqueda, and I mounted a requisition mule, which the head of the staff forced the alcade of the place to give me. I was soon on the road, in a dark night, and on a vicious mule, a Spanish peasant, who served me as a guide, riding before me on a mule the fellow of mine. When we had ridden about a mile, my guide fell, and his mule immediately set off on a gallop for his own village. I fancied that the peasant had fainted, and I dismounted to help him, but I sought for him in vain: he had slipped behind the thick brushwood, and disappeared. I now remounted my mule, and endeavoured to find my way alone. The restive beast, no longer hearing his companion march before him, would neither go backwards nor forwards; the more I spurred, the more he kicked; my blows, my abuse, my threats in French only irritated him the more. I did not know his proper name. I was not even aware that every Spanish mule is provided with one, and that the only way of getting them on is to speak to them in their own language, Talighted to tighten the girth of my wooden saddle, when the irritated mule started to one side, and knocked me down with a kick on the breast. When I recovered from my fall, I ran after him with all my strength, guided by the sound of my stirrups, the saddle having turned round, and dragging on the stones. When I had run over about half a league I found my saddle, which the mule had succeeded in kicking off. I took it on my back, and soon after reached a large village, where the advanced guard of one of Marshal Lefevre's brigades had just arrived. I procured a horse from the alcade, and proceeded on my way. taking good care to keep pretty near my guide. There was no French garrison in the village where I changed horses for the second time. The post-master opened the door to me himself: he was a spare hale old man. He awoke a post-boy, and told him to put my saddle upon an old horse which could hardly stand, his fore legs were so crooked. I began to threaten the postmaster, and, as I raised my voice, pointed at the horse I wanted. The old man was not to be alarmed; he took me by the hand with a tranquillity which instantly disarmed my rage, and,

making signs to me to make no noise, he shewed me thirty or forty peasants, asleep upon the cut straw in the barn, at the other end of the stable. I took his advice, and mounted the bad horse, without saving another word, astonished at this simple trait, and reflecting on the innumerable difficulties which the hatred of the Spaniards already opposed to us.

At one o'clock in the morning, I arrived at the imperial quarters at Chamartin. The Duke of Neufchatel was awakened by one of his aides-de-eamp; I gave him the letters I had brought, and I was sent back, at eleven o'clock the same night, to my own division, with fresh dispatches for Marshal Victor. I arrived at Aranjuez in the morning; the commandant of the place advised me to wait before I went to Toledo, for a detachment which was soon to march. The director of the posts, attached to the first division, had been massacred on the road the evening before, having gone on only a few minutes before his escort. But as I had been told that the orders I was carrying were pressing, I continued my journey, mounted on a small requisition horse. Being alone, I was obliged to perform for myself the offices of rear-guard, advance-guard, and flank, galloping up every eminence, and continually on the watch, for fear of surprise.

The wild horses, belonging to the royal stud, mingled with deer and fawns, in herds of sixty or seventy head, fled at my approach. A few miles beyond Aranjuez, I saw, at a distance, two Spanish peasants, who had just fettered a French soldier, and were dragging him into the thicket, to murder him. I rode towards them with all the speed of which my horse was capable, and had the good fortune to arrive time enough to deliver the unhappy prisoner; he was a foot soldier, who had left the hospital at Aranjuez the day before; overcome with fatigue, he had set down while his comrades continued their march. I escorted him to his detachment, which was halting near at hand, and then con-

tinued my route.

Nothing can be more horrible than the spectacle which shortly after presented itself before my eyes. At every step I beheld the mutilated bodies of Frenchmen, assassinated during a few previous days, and bloody fragments of clothing strewed up and down. Traces, still recent in the dust, indicated the struggle that some of those wretches had made, and the long fortures they had suffered before they expired. The brazen plates of their military caps were the only marks either of their having once been soldiers, or of the regiments to which they belonged. Those who thus attacked the French on the road to Toledo, were the keepers of the royal stud, and such peasants as had deserted the villages on the arrival of our troops; they had acquired a great ferocity of manners, from the habits of a wandering and solitary life.

I left my dispatches with Marshal Victor, at Toledo, and I returned to my regiment the day before it went to garrison Madrid.

The whole nation in fact was now in arms against us. The inhabitants of the places we occupied had retired to the mountains, or the woods,

with their wives and children; from thence they watched all our movements, and they lay in ambuscade, near the high roads, to surprize our couriers, our ordonnance, or to fall suddenly upon our detachments. Every day we received some disastrous news. In whatever station we left our detachments of correspondence of ten or fifteen men, they were certain of being murdered.

The Spanish Junta had retired to Merida; and thence to Seville. It had sent orders to the alcades and clergy, even of the places occupied by us, to invite the soldiers belonging to the Spanish militia to rejoin the corps to which they had belonged; these soldiers of their country marched, during the night, through by eways to avoid meeting our troops; and thus the dispersed armies of the Spaniards continually recovered from their disasters with inconceivable facility. When the army of Castanos arrived at Cuenea, after the defeat at Tudela, it was reduced to 9000 foot and 2000 horse; a month after, at the battle of Ucles, this same army was upwards of 20,000 strong. After the defeat of Blake's army, at Espinosa, the Marquis de la Romana had great difficulty in collecting 5000 soldiers in Galicia; but, so early as the beginning of December, he had assembled 22,000 men in the neighbourhood of the city of Leon.

The Spanish juntas, and generals, however weak in themselves, were all powerful when they were seconded by the unanimous hand and heart of the nation. They could not, indeed, either restrain their soldiers in success, nor command them when a reverse of fortune occurred, and these undisciplined bands, in victory or in flight, dragged their generals with them. The Spaniards too proud to acknowledge themselves inferior, would never attribute their misfortunes to their want of experience, or to the military superiority of their enemies. The moment they were beaten, they accused their chiefs of treason. General Saint Juan was hanged by his soldiers at Talavera, General la Penna was superseded by the divisions of Andalusia, and the Duke de l'Infantado forced to take the command of the army at Cuenca. They considered the present war as a religious crusade against the French for their country and their king: and the only military distinction of the greatest part of their citizen soldiers was a red ribbon, with this inscription, Vincer o morir pro patria et pro Ferdinando septimo. At the first call, men from every province presented themselves, almost naked, at the great assemblies, which they called their armies. Their ardent patriotism made them support privations to which all the power of the severest discipline could never have subjected the best regular troops. Even at the time of our greatest victories, no Spaniard would believe in the disasters of Spain, or own that she could be conquered. These noble sentiments, (for such I must own they were) inherent in every mind, rendered the nation invincible, and the frequent defeats, and individual losses of its armies, were repaired as soon as sustained.

The English had entered Spain towards the end of 1808. Thirteen thousand men, under Sir David Baird, had landed at Corunna, on the

14th of October, and had advanced, by Lugo, as far as Astorga. Auother army of 21,000 men, under General Moore, commander-in-chief of all the British forces, had left Lishon on the 27th of the same month. It had reached Estremadura and the Castiles, by the roads of Almeida, Ciudad Rodrigo, Alcantara, and Merida. The division which marched by Merida, had, on the 22d of November, advanced as far as the Escurial; all the English corps in the Peninsula were to unite at Salamanca and Valladolid, to strengthen the Spanish central army before Burgos; when that army had been dispersed, as well as that of General Blake, in the Asturias, Sir D. Baird retired from Astorga to Villa Franca; and afterwards, when the French marched upon Madrid, after the affair of Tudela, General Moore recalled the body of English which had reached the Escurial, and concentrated his army in the neighbourhood of Salamanca. The English armies in Spain remained near a month at Salamanca and Villa Franca, uncertain of what they were to do: they could not advance in the face of the immense forces of the French, nor could they venture to retreat for fear of discouraging the people of Spain. and damping the national spirit which still existed in spite of the greatest misfortunes.

There was a momentary misunderstanding between the Spaniards and English, which occasioned a want of union in their military operations. The Spaniards, forgetting that the English were only auxiliaries in their quarrel, reproached them, first with the slowness of their marches, and soon after with remaining stationary. The English general, in his turn, accused the Spaniards of having constantly concealed from him their situation, and their defeats, and of exaggerating their strength and means of resistance. He was deceived, like the leader of the French armies, in the Spanish character, and generally mistook for imbecillity the enthusiastic belief and representations of a people without military resources, but strong in patriotism, and in their national character, and who are invincible, inasmuch as it is their own determination and spirit which exaggerate their means.

The Spaniards went so far as to persuade themselves, that the English meant to leave them to their fate. The French also believed, according to the report generally current, that the English were now only occupied with the means of re-embarking at Corunna and Lisbon; they even sent Marshal Lefevre forward from Talavera to Badajoz, to threaten General Moore's communications, and to force him to return hastily down the Tagus. General Soult, who had remained on the frontiers of Leon, also preparted to enter Galicia; he was to be reinforced, by General Junot's corps, which had just arrived from France, and was advancing towards Burgos.

Meantime, on the 21st December, it was reported, at the Imperial head-quarters at Chamartin, that one of General Franceschi's posts, at Rueda, had been carried during the night, between the 12th and 13th, and that parties of English cavalry were scouring the country, even to the gates of Valladolids. Day which house the radius country.

These advanced parties belonged to General Moore's army, which had quitted Salamanca on the 13th December, and had passed the Doura, to join the 13,000 English, whom Sir D. Baird was bringing up from Villa Franca; their object was to make, in conjunction with Marquis Romana's Spanish troops, an attack upon Marshal Soult, who, with 15,000 men, occupied the small towns of Guarda, Saldanas, and Salagun, along the little river Cea. On the 21st, a brigade of cavalry, belonging to the English advanced guard, under General Paget's orders, attacked and defeated a French dragoon regiment which Marshal Soult had left at Salagun.

On learning this movement of the English, the Emperor Napoleon left Madrid on the 22d, with his guards and Marshal Ney's corps, to endeavour to cut off their retreat towards Corunna. He reached Villa Castina on the 23d, Tordesillas on the 25th, Medina de Rio Seco on the 27th, and, on the morning of the 29th December, his advanced guard, consisting of three squadrons of mounted chasseurs, commanded by General Lefevre, presented itself before Benavente, where the English army was.

General Lefevre, finding the bridge over the Esla broken down, forded that river, and drove in the English advanced posts to the gates of the city. The General, hurried on by the eagerness of pursuit, forgot to form his chasseurs, and to send on scouts; he was soon engaged with the cavalry of the enemy's rear-guard. The French chasseurs were forced to repass the Esla; sixty men, wounded of dismounted, among whom was the General, remained in the hands of the English. The French chasseurs rallied, and formed on the opposite bank of the river, and were preparing to make a desperate charge, to recover their chief, when the English brought two pieces of light artillery to bear, near the broken bridge, and, with grape-shot, forced the French squadrons to retire.

The Anglo-Spanish armies learnt the march of the Emperor Napoleon, at the moment they were preparing to attack Marshal Soult, at the village of Carion: they began to retire rapidly, ou the 24th, upon Astorga and Benavente, by the roads of Mayorga, Valencia, and Mancilla. They would probably have been cut off from the passes of Galicia, if the French army had not been considerably impeded in its march by the snow recently fallen in the sierra of Guadarama, and by the torrents which had overflowed. On the 30th December, the Emperor Napoleon arrived at Benavente: he went no farther than Astorga, but returned on the 7th January, with his guards; and a few days afterwards he was in France, making preparations for marching against Austria.

Marshal Ney remained at Astorga, to guard the passes of Galicia, and to organize the country: Marshal Soult continued to pursue General Moore's army towards Corunna. The country the English left behind them, in their retreat was totally wasted, and, every night, Marshal Soult's troops had to seek provisions at very great distances from the beaten road, which considerably retarded their march, and augmented

their fatigues. The advanced guards of Marshal Soult's army, nevertheless, first at Villa Franca, and afterwards at Lugo, reached the eneamy's reserve, but were not strong enough to attack it. It was in an engagement which took place before the first of these towns, that the French lost General Colbert, of the cavalry.

On the 16th, the English were forced to give battle at Corunna, before they embarked; the business was bloody and well contested. The French at first gained ground, but, towards the end of the day, the English recovered the strong position in which they had placed themselves, to cover the anchorage of their fleet, and they embarked during the night, between the 16th and 17th. General Moore was struck by a cannon ball at the moment when he was leading a corps, which had been broken, back to the charge.

The army of the Marquis de la Romana had dispersed itself among the mountains, to the westward of Astorga. The town of Corunna, surrounded by fortifications, was defended by its inhabitants, and only capitulated on the 20th. The English troops had suffered, in their retreat, all the evils to which armies hotly pursued are exposed, when the soldiers are exasperated beyond endurance by fatigue; and, without having ever fought a pitched battle, they had lost more than 10,000 men, their treasure, a great deal of baggage, and almost all their horses.

It is not easy to imagine the causes which induced General Moore to risk his whole army, by an expedition against Marshal Soult, the result of which could only be extremely doubtful, as the Marshal might have retired upon Burgos, and have been reinforced by General Junot's corps. By going towards Saldanas, General Moore gave the Emperor Napoleon, who was preparing to return to France, an opportunity of attacking him with the whole of his united forces.

From Salamanca, General Moore might have thrown himself behind the bridge of Almarez, over the Tagus, into an almost impregnable situation, where he could have re-organized the Spanish armies. It was there that he was most dreaded by the French. At all events, on leaving Salamanca, General Moore should have retired rather upon Lisbon than on Corunna, to shorten his own road, while he increased the difficulties of Marshal Lefevre and Soult, by widening the communications they had to maintain, and thus forcing them to weaken themselves, by leaving behind them a greater number of detachments: the English general would thus have furnished the troops of General Romana, and the peasants of Galicia and Portugal, with numerous opportunities of carrying on a petty war against the French detachments. This last operation has been performed since, with the greatest success, by General Sir Arthur Wellesley.

It is asserted, that General Moore was deceived by false reports, and that it was against his own judgment and wishes, that he was induced, on this occasion, to overstep the rules of military science. For the rest,

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it is always easy to judge of things when the event is known; the difficulty in all enterprizes is to foresee their probable result.

While Marshal Soult was driving the English from Galicia, the Spanish army of Andalusia was making divers movements in advance from Cuenca, apparently threatening Madrid; and Marshal Victor set out, on the 10th January, from Toledo, with the first corps, to oppose that army, commanded by the Duke de l'Infantado.

The first division was several days in the neighbourhood of Ocana, advancing slowly, without receiving any news of the enemy. Either by chance, or from ignorance of the ground, the French found themselves, on the morning of the 13th, so completely engaged in the very midst of the Spaniards, that, without having the smallest intention of attempting to turn them, they imagined themselves to be surrounded.

Villate's division was the first to engage with a part of the enemy's army, drawn up in battle array, on the summit of a high and steep hill. The Spaniards confided more in the strength of their position than in the experience of their troops, which were chiefly new recruits. When they saw the vigour and coolness with which the French, under arms, climbed the rocks, they dispersed as soon as they had fired their first volley, and, in retreating, at a short distance from Alcazar. they met Ruffin's division, which, in pursuit of the enemy, had turned them without being aware of it. Several thousand Spaniards were obliged to throw down their arms; terror seized their whole army, and the various corps which composed it precipitately fled on all sides. Several of the enemy's columns, in attempting to escape, came upon General Cenarmont's park of artillery, and were received by a discharge of grape-shot, which forced them to change their direction. A French piece of artillery, the horses of which were much fatigued, was met on the road by the enemy's cavalry, who opened and filed off in silence on each side of the road. The French made more than 2006 prisoners, and took forty pieces of cannon, which the Spaniards left behind in their flight. If General Latour Maubourg's division of dragoons had not been too much fatigued to follow the enemy, the whole Spanish army must have fallen into the hands of the French.

The 13th January, the day on which the affair of Ucles took place, our regiment left Madrid, to join the first division of the army. On the 14th, we lay at Ocana; and, at three leagues distance from that city, on the morning of the 15th, we met the Spanish prisoners coming from Ucles, on their way to Madrid; many of these wretches sunk under their fatigue, others died of inanition; when they could march no farther, they were shot without mercy. This sanguinary order was given by way of reprisal against the Spaniards, who hanged such Frenchmen as they took prisoners. But nothing could justify these murders, which were moreover as impolitic as they were cruel. They united the whole nation against us. Every cavern, every precipice, now served as a screen behind which we were aimed at. Twelve millions of people were now in ambuscade against an army of 400,000. One of the un-

fortunate Spanish prisoners particularly attracted our attention; he was stretched on his back, mortally wounded. His long black mustachies. sprinkled with a few grey hairs, and his uniform, marked him for an old soldier. His nearly inarticulate words seemed to invoke the Virgin and the Saints; we endeavoured to revive him with a little brandy. but he died in a few moments. Nothing is, in fact, more dreadful than to follow a few marches behind a victorious army. We traversed a wasted and deserted country; we lodged indiscriminately among the dead and the dying, who had dragged their wounded limbs from the field of battle to die in the nearest hovels.

At Cuenca we joined our division; and for some days we occupied cantonments at Belmonte and the neighbourhood of San Clemente: we waited for our artillery, which had great difficulty in advancing even one league, or, at most, two in a day: the winter rains had so destroyed the roads, that it was frequently necessary to use the horses belonging to several pieces of cannon to drag a single gun. We afterwards crossed the country of Don Quixote, on our way to Consuegra and Madrilegos. Toboso perfectly answers the description of Cervantes, in his immortal poem of Don Quixote de la Mancha. If that imaginary hero was not of any great service to widows and orphans during his lifetime, his memory, at least, protected the country of his Dulcinea from some of the horrors of war. As soon as the French soldiers saw a woman at a window, they cried out, laughingly, "There's Dulcinea!" Their gaiety tranquillized the inhabitants; and instead of flying, as usual, at the first sight of our advanced posts, they crowded to see us pass; witticisms upon Dulcinea and Don Quixote became a bond of union between our soldiers and the inhabitants of Toboso, and the French, being well received, treated their hosts in return with civility.

We remained near a month quartered in La Mancha. Whether in houses, or bivouacked in the fields, we led the same sort of life; either going from house to house, or from our own fire in the open air to that of a comrade. In either situation, we passed the long nights in drinking, and talking over the present events of the war, or our past campaigns. Sometimes, a horse, tormented by the chilliness of the dews, just before day-break, would tear up the picket to which he was fastened, and come gently and put his head close to the fire to warm himself, as if he was conscious of being an old servant, and wished to remind us that he also had been present in the battle.

This simple though irregular life had its evils and its charms. If in presence of the enemy, detachments hourly departing, or returning, brought us news of other parties in the most remote parts of Spain, If we received orders to be ready to mount, we were equally ignorant of our destination; it might have been France, Germany, the farthest extremity of Europe, or only a short ride. When we took leave of each other, we knew not if we should ever meet again; when we halted, we could not tell whether it was only for a few hours, or for whole months. Even the longest and most unvaried residence in one place passed with-

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out ennui, because we had always the chance of an unforeseen occurrence. We were often in want of the necessaries of life, but we consoled ourselves in our distress by hopes of a speedy change. In plenty, when we met with it, we lived as fast as we could, because we knew that it would not last long. When the cannon, roaring from a distance, announced an approaching battle, and the different corps were hurrying into action, we stopped only for a hasty embrace, and in a moment afterwards were in action.

The habit of danger rendered us indifferent to the casualties of ourselves and others. We considered them as the inevitable fate of war. I was much struck with the different characters of our foot and horse. Our foot, having only to think of themselves and their guns, were great talkers, and sound sleepers. The habit of greater danger made them merciless in battle. The same habit induced a pride which sometimes vented itself in insolence to their officers. They were withal gay and fond of rallery. The hussars were distinguished for their prodigality and love of plunder. Accustomed to sleep as it were with their eyes open, to have an ear always awake to the sound of the trumpet, to reconnoitre and to trace ambuscades, they necessarily became intelligent. active and independent. The fear of being dismounted, however, kept them in subordination. For ever smoking, to pass away his life, the light horseman under his large cloak, braved in every country the rigour of the seasons. The rider and his horse, accustomed to live together. contracted a character of resemblance. The rider derived animation from his horse, and the horse from his rider. When a hussar, not quite sober, pressed his horse to speed, in ravines or among precipices, the horse assumed the government which reason might before have given to the man; he avoided the danger, and always returned to take his own and his master's place in the ranks. Sometimes also, during a march, the horse would gently slacken his pace, or lean on one side or the other to keep his intoxicated and sleeping master in the saddle; and when the involuntary sleep was over, and the hussar saw his horse panting with fatigue, he would weep, and swear never to drink more. For several days he would march on foot, and would go without his own bread to feed his companion.

When a carabine shot, from the videttes, gave the alarm in a camp of light cavalry, every horse was saddled in an instant, and the French horsemen were seen on every side leaping over the fires of the bivouac, the hedges, the ditches, and, with the rapidity of lightning, flying to the place of rendezvous, to repel the first attack of the enemy. The trumpeter's horse alone remained impassive in the midst of the tumult, but the moment his master had ceased to blow, he pawed the ground with impatience, and hastened to join his comrades.

Our division quitted La Mancha towards the middle of February, and the troops under the command of General Sebastiani, who had succeeded Marshal Lefèvre, came to the environs of Toledo, to observe the remains of the Duke de l'Infantado's army. We proceeded to occupy Talavera,

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Arzobispo, and Almarez, on the right bank of the Tagus, in face of the Spanish army of Estremadura. That army had been dispersed the 24th Dec. by M. Lefèvre, at Arzobispo, and opposite Almarez; it had since recovered itself, and been reinforced under the command of Gen. Cuesta; it had retaken the bridge of Almarez from the French, and had blown up the principal arches, which completely arrested the march of our troops, and put us under the absolute necessity of constructing a new bridge over the Tagus, under the enemy's fire. It is true, we had two other bridges at Arzobispo and at Talavera, but the roads by them were at that time impassable for canaon. Marshal Victor fixed his head-quarters at the village of Almarez, that he might be in a situation to defend the works, and to superintend the construction of rafts. A part of our division of light horse went over to the left bank of the river, to observe the enemy, and to reconnoitre their right flank, which was stationed on the lbor.

We often changed our quarters, on account of the difficulty of procuring forage and provisions. The inhabitants had abandoned almost the whole country occupied by the army. They frequently walled up all that they could not carry with them. We frequently found jars of wine buried in the earth. We passed whole weeks without bread, and even without being able to procure barley for our horses. At length, on the 14th March, our rafts were finished, but we could neither launch them, nor construct a bridge under the enemy's fire, and it was found necessary to drive them from their strong position, opposite to Almarez, at the confinence of the Tagus and Ibor.

On the 15th March, a party from the first division crossed the Tagus, at Talavera and at Arzobispo, to fall upon the flank and rear of the Spanish posts. The German division, under General Leval, attacked the enemy, on the morning of the 17th, at Messa de Ibor; 3000 of that division, without its artillery, overthrew with the bayonet 8000 Spaniards, entrenched on a high hill, and defended by six pieces of cannon. The whole of the 18th was employed in driving the enemy from Valdecannar, and in pursuing him from post to post, and from rock to rock, as fat as the gulley of Miravette. Our regiment was with Villate's division, on the left wing of the army; we went up the banks of the Ibor, having no difficulty in driving the Spaniards from every point, as they never stood when they found their positions turned.

On the 19th March, the whole army remained stationary, while the rafts were launched. The flying bridge being finished before night, the artillery, and the troops which had remained on the right bank of the Tagus, began to pass on the same day. On the 20th, the whole army assembled at Truxillo. A little before our arrival, there had been an engagement between the mounted chasseurs of the 5th regiment, who composed our advanced guard, and the royal carabineers of the enemy's rearguard, before that city.

The two armies passed the night in sight of each other: an hour before sun-rise hext day, the enemy marched, and we followed soon after. The 10th chasseurs formed the advanced guard of our division of light horse, which itself cleared the way for the whole of the army. Four companies of light infantry passed on before us, whenever we came to a mountainous or woody country.

The advanced corps of the 10th chasseurs reached the enemy's rearguard, which, finding itself closely pressed, fell back upon the main body of the Spanish army. The colonel of the 10th imprudently permitted his whole regiment to charge; it became heated, and pursued the Spanish cavalry for more than a league, along a causeway between rocky hills planted with oak. But when a regiment of cavalry charges in line or in column, it is impossible long to maintain the order in which it sets out; the horses encourage one another, and the best mounted men are always far before the others.

The order of battle is thus broken. A cavalry officer, therefore, should be careful of these long charges. He would do well to keep at least half his corps in reserve, and above all to beware of ambuscades. We now suffered from the want of this precaution. An ambush suddenly arose upon our advanced chasseurs. Our horses, fatigued by an excessive long charge, and separated by long intervals, could not form to resist, and, in less than ten minutes, our enemy completely destroyed upwards of 150 of the bravest of our 10th regiment. General Lasalle sent us on hastily to assist them. We arrived too late, and saw nothing but the cloud of dust at a distance, which the Spaniards left behind them, the colonel of the 10th tearing his hair at the sight of his numerous wounded. As night was now coming on, we bivouaced a little in the rear of the spot where the action had taken place.

On the 22d March, the enemy crossed the Guadiana. We took up various quarters in the neighbourhood of San Pedro and Mia Casas, and our artillery at length coming up, on the 23d, the greater part of the army concentrated itself in the town of Merida, and its vicinity.

During the night between the 27th and 28th, the whole army was in motion, to march towards the enemy. General Cuesta had been several days awaiting us in the plains before Medellin. His engineers had carefully reconnoitred, and the position of his army was certainly advantageous.

The recent advantage of the Spaniards over the 10th hussars had inspired them with confidence. The plains of Medellin had likewise been renowned in their history for some noble victories over the Moors. These recollections inspired them with courage and confidence in the issue of approaching battles. The French, trusting in the habit of victory, made equally sure of the victory.

The town of Medellin is immediately on the other side of the Guadiana; it is surrounded by an immense plain, without trees, which extends along the Guadiana upwards, between the river, the town of Don Benito, and the village of Mingabril. The Spaniards had at first occupied the heights which separate these two places. They afterwards extended their line, and formed themselves in a crescent, their left at Min-

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gabril, their centre in front opposite to Don Benito, and their right near the Guadiana.

At eleven o'clock in the morning we left Medellin, to place ourselves in order of battle; at a little distance from the town we formed an arc of a very narrow circle, between the Guadiana and a ravine, planted with trees and vineyards, extending from Medellin to Mingabril. General Lasalle's division of light cavalry was placed on the left, in the centre the division of German infantry, and on the right General Latour Maubourg's dragoons: Villate's and Ruffin's divisions were in reserve. The three divisions which formed our first line of battle, had left numerous detachments in the rear, to keep up our communications, so that we had scarcely 7000 soldiers. The enemy before us presented an immense front, more than 34,000 strong. The body of Germans began the attack. The 2d and 4th regiments of dragoons next charged the Spanish infantry; they were repulsed with loss, and the Germans remained alone in the midst of the battle; they formed a square, and, during the remainder of the battle, most gallantly repulsed the enemy. Marshal Victor brought up Villate's division to renew the fight. The enemy's cavalry first assailed in vain our right wing; they then furiously turned upon our left, and hemmed us in between themselves and the river. We retired slowly and in good order, every moment facing about, and presenting a front to the enemy. The cannon balls ploughed up the earth around us, but we were not dismayed.

The Spaniards now shouted to us that they would give no quarter. We replied to them only by keeping our ranks unbroken. Had we given them any interval, their horse, in which they were so vastly superior, would have rushed on, and surrounded us. Medellin would then indeed have been our grave. General Lasalle rode proudly and calmly backwards and forwards in front of his division, to show them we were not afraid of them.

The Spaniards had sent six chosen squadrons against a single one of ours; they marched in close column; at their head were the lancers of Xeres. This whole body now prepared to charge us while we were The captain, commanding our squadron, made his four platoons, who together were only 120 strong, wheel half round to the right, and drew up the front line of his troops as quietly as if we had not been in presence of the enemy. The Spanish horse, seized with astonishment, at his coolness, involuntarily slackened their pace. Our commandant profited by their momentary hesitation, and ordered the charge to be sounded. Our hussars, who had hitherto preserved the strictest silence, now drowned the sound of the trumpet as they moved onwards by a single and terrible shout of joy and fury. The Spanish lancers were seized with terror; they turned their horses at the distance of half pistol-shot, and overthrew in their flight their own cavalry. Our hussars mingled with them indiscriminately, cut them down without resistance, and we followed them to the rear of their own army. Our trumpets now sounded the recal, and we abandoned the enemy, to

return and form our line again. This charge was taste enough for them, for the whole of the Spanish cavalry, both right and left, immediately afterwards disappeared. The Spanish infantry seemed shaken by the flight of the cavalry, and our dragoons made a brilliant and fortunate charge. In an instant the army that was before us disappeared, and the enemy vanished like clouds driven by the wind. The Spaniards threw down their arms and fled; the cannonade ceased, and the whole of our cavalry went off in pursuit of the enemy.

Our soldiers, who had seen themselves threatened with certain death, gave no quarter at first. The infantry followed the cavalry at a distance, and dispatched the wounded with the bayonet. The fury of our soldiers was particularly directed against such Spaniards as were without military dresses. The hussars and dragoons, who had dispersed themselves as foraging parties, soon returned with immense bodies of Spaniards, whom they delivered up to the infantry to conduct to Medellin. The same men, who had confidently promised us death before the

battle, now marched as our captives.

A colonel, of our army, who was a courtier and an aide-de-camp, and who was looking on as the prisoners passed in files before our regiments, ordered them to shout in Spanish, "Viva il Re Joseph!" The prisoners at first appeared not to understand, then, after a moment's silence, they all together repeated the cry of "Long live Napoleon and his invincible troops!" The colonel then seized on an individual prisoner, and repeated the order with threats. The prisoner having then shouted. "Viva Joseph!" a Spanish officer, who, according to custom, had not been disarmed, came up to his countryman, and ran his sword through his body. Our enemies had no objection to pay homage to our victorious arms, but they could never be brought to acknowledge the authority of a master not of their own choice, even in their lowest fortune.

Preturned to the town of Medellin a little before night. Silence and quiet had now succeeded to the shouts of victory. In the plain, the only audible sounds were the groans of the wounded, and the confused murmurs of the dying, as they raised their heads in prayer to God and the blessed Virgin. Two regiments of Swiss and Walloon guards were stretched on the field in the very line they had occupied in battle. Some broken amountion waggons, cannon, with their teams of mules, left to themselves, still marked the position which the Spanish army had occupied. Here and there lay wounded horses, whose legs being broken by the shot, could not stir from the spot on which they were soon to perish. They lay grazing on the field as far as their necks could reach, in a happy ignorance of the nature of their death.

The French did not lose 4000 men. The Spaniards left on the field 12,000 dead, and nineteen pieces of artillery; we made seven or 8000 prisoners, but of these scarcely 2000 reached Madrid. The Spanish prisoners so well knowing the roads found it very easy to escape.

It was really pleasing to see the artifices of the inhabitants of the towns

and villages to assist the escape of these prisoners. They assembled in great numbers on their road to distract the attention of the French escorts. They took care to leave their doors open, and the prisoners. mingling in the crowd as they passed, ran secretly into the houses, whose doors readily shut to save them. Our French soldiers, who recovered their humanity after the battle was over, lent themselves to these practices, notwithstanding the severity of their orders on the subject. The Spanish prisoners would say with a sigh, as they pointed out a distant village, to a grenadier who had to guard and lead them. "Senor Soldado-there is our native village; there are our wives and children, must we pass so near them without ever seeing them again?" must we go so far off as France? The grenadier, affecting a rough manner, would answer " If you attempt to escape I shoot you, these are my orders, but I never see behind me." He would then march forwards, and the prisoners would take to the fields, and soon rejoin their armies. We were at last obliged to send German escorts with our prisoners; their national character and strict discipline rendered them vigilant and inflexible.

A part of our regiment was left at Mingabril, on the field of the battle of Medellin, near the place where the engagement had been hottest. We lived in the midst of the dead, and we hourly saw the dark thick vapours rise, which impelled forwards by the winds, spread pestilence and infection in the surrounding country. The oxen of La Mesta, who had come as usual to winter on the banks of the Guadiana, fled with horror from their accustomed pastures. Their melancholy lowing, and the long howls of the dogs who kept them, shewed the vague instinct of terror which agitated them. Thousands of enormous vultures now hovered over that vast and silent field of death. As they were seen on the distant heights they appeared as large as men, and our videts, mistaking them for enemies, often marched towards them.

On the 27th of March, two days before the battle of Medellin or Merida, General Sebastiani had completely defeated the Spanish army destined to guard the passes of the Sierra Morena, near Ciudad Real, in La Mancha. These two victories spread consternation over all Andalusia, every road through which remained for the moment open to the French.

The Spanish government, however, behaved nobly. They did not allow themselves to be depressed by these two great misfortunes. The Roman senate, after the defeat at Cannæ, thanked Varus because he had not despaired of the salvation of Rome. The supreme junta of Seville, with a like magnanimity, declared by a public ordonnance, that Cuesta and his army had deserved well of their country, and awarded to them the same recompence as if they had been victorious. The result answered their expectations. A fortnight after the battle of Medellin, the Spanish army recovered from its losses, and, with a force of 30,000 men, had occupied the passes of the mountains in our front. General Sebastiani did not advance farther into La Mancha than Mu-

della, and our corps remained quartered between the Tagus and Guadiana. We dared not advance very far from the latter river, lest our only communication with Madrid, by the bridge of Almarez, should be cut off by the new bodies of Spaniards, which were ready to form in our rear. Nor had we yet heard of Marshal Soult's army, which was to have entered Portugal, and with which we were to co-operate.

The French army in the north of the Peninsula had not met with success equal to that which we had gained, by the superiority of our discipline, in the plains of Estremadura and La Mancha. The troops under the orders of Marshals Soult and Ney had had to fight in a mountainous country, where the inhabitants had it constantly in their power, by their local knowledge, their activity, and their numbers, to baffle the calculations of military science, and the consummate experience of two of the most renowned of our chiefs.

After the retreat of General Moore, Marshal Soult marched towards Portugal by San Jago, Vigo and Tuy; but as the fire of the Portuguese fortresses prevented him from crossing the Minho near its mouth, he reascended the river to Orense, where he crossed the Minho on the 6th March. On the 7th he defeated the army of the Marquis of Romana, on the heights of Orsuma. On the 13th, he invested and took by capitulation Chaves, a frontier town of Portugal. On the 19th he entered Braga, after having forced the defile of Carvalho d'Este, one of the most formidable positions of Portugal. On the 29th, he carried Oporto by assault, though defended by an intrenched camp and by 270 pieces of cannon. The vanguard of this body then passed the Douro, and pro-

ceeded to the Vouga, forty-five leagues from Lisbon.

But scarcely had the French made their victorious entrance into Oporto, than the garrisons which they had left behind them to keep possession of the country and their communications open, were taken on all parts. The Portuguese troops in the fortress of Caminha, at the mouth of the Minho, had crossed the river since the 10th March; they had joined a considerable number of Spaniards, had fortified the bridge of San Payo, and had also retaken Vigo. Chaves was also retaken on the 21st of March by the Portuguese general Francisco Silveira, who then advanced to Amarante on the Tamega to hold this strong position, from whence he might harass the rear-guard and the French detachments in the environs of Oporto. Romana likewise again appeared in the field. On the 30th of March, he descended from the mountains of Puebla de Sanabria with fresh thousands of his men, and proceeding to Ponteferrada took a small number of French prisoners. Finding there some ammunition and provisions, and a single damaged 12-pounder, he repaired it, crossed the route of Castile; possessed himself, by the aid of his single cannon, of Villa Franca, and made the garrison prisoners; it held 800 men. His army now swelled as a rolling ball of snow. Marshal Ney, forced to retire before him, abandoned Brezzo to concentrate himself on Lugo; Romana then threw himself in the Asturias, and stirred them up to arms as he had done Galicia.

The war now assumed a most unfavourable character for the French. Their armies and divisions now lost all communication and co-operation. Each was obliged to fight partial actions for its own defence. Marshal Ney himself did not act with prudence. He had recourse to violent measures which exasperated rather than terrified a courageous enemy. The Spaniards replied by a threefold retribution. Squadrons, entire battalions, were massacred by the peasants, and even by the government, in the course of a night. Seven hundred French prisoners were drowned at once in the Minho by order of Don Pedro de Barrios, the Governor of Galicia.

The inhabitants of Portugal had risen in mass like those of Galicia, and the Portuguese opposed the French with 12,000 soldiers of the line, and 70,000 of their militia. Marshal Soult could not with only 22,000 men keep the country in his rear and advance to Lisbon. He remained, however, more than 40 days in Oporto, in a vain effort to conciliate the inhabitants. He had not received for several months either orders or remforcements, and his communications were intirely cut off. His situation, therefore, was extremely dangerous, but he was unwilling to retreat, lest he should thus injure the operations of the other bodies of our armies of whose positions he remained totally ignorant. But necessity has no law. On the 2d May the division of General Loison was ordered to proceed to the bridge of Amaranta on the Tamega, and by taking it, ensure a safe

retreat from Portugal on the route of Braganza.

The English were now again on the advance towards the Douro. Their army, which had returned to Portugal after the retreat of General Moore, was reduced to 15,000 men; it had not at first ventured to disembark its heavy baggage, but held itself ready to re-embark on the first approach of the French. On the 4th and the 22d April it had received considerable reinforcements, and, joined by Sir Arthur Wellesley, and being more than 23,000 strong, it approached Oporto. The French quitted this city the 12th May, and their rear had an affair with the advance-guard of the English. The army of Marshal Soult was pursued and encircled by three hostile armies; that of General Sir A. Wellesley, who never lost sight of the French rear-guard; the Anglo-Portuguese army of General Beresford, who marched by Lamego and Amaranta, on Chaves, advancing by several marches on the right of Marshal Soult: and the Portuguese of General Francisco Silveira, who moved in advance of the two first, to cut the French off from the passes of Ruivaes between Salamonde and Montalegre. Marshal Soult, finding the route of Chaves occupied by Marshal Beresford, rapidly concentrated his army on Braga, and directed his march to Orense by the difficult roads of the mountains. In traversing these insurgent tracts, he lost a third of his corps d'armée, and was obliged to abandon all his heavy baggage and artillery."

The English did not advance beyond Montalegre and Chaves; they returned quickly on the Tagus, towards the environs of Lisbon. Marshal Soult arrived on the 22d May at Lugo in Galicia, relieved the garrison of this town, who were besieged by the Spaniards, and opened a

communication with Marshal Ney, who had returned from an expedition against Oviedo in the Asturias. A few days after he recommenced hostilities with the army of the Marquis of Romana, whom he pursued without effect by Monforte, Ponteferrada, Bollo, and Viana. He then proceeded, by Puebla de Sanabria, to Zamora, leaving Galicia, with a design to follow the movement which the English, as it seemed to him, were making towards the Tagus in Estremadura, against the army of Marshal Victor.

After the departure of Marshal Soult, Marshal Ney was soon forced to retire into the kingdom of Leon. His army had made no durable establishment in Galicia and in the Asturias. It was now totally impossible to reduce the immense number of armed peasants, which was every day increasing. He was hourly assailed by clouds of armed mountaineers, who avoiding the fight of close ranks, and body to body, retreated from position to position, from rock to rock, on heights, without ceasing to fire, even in flying. It sometimes required entire battalions to carry an order of a battalion to another. The soldiers wounded, sick, or fatigued, who remained behind the French columns, were immediately murdered. Every victory produced only a new conflict. Victories had become useless by the persevering and invincible character of the Spaniards. The French armies were thus consuming themselves, for want of repose, in continual fatigues, nightly watchings, and never-ceasing anxieties.

Such were the events which had passed in the north of Spain, and which had hindered our armies of Estremadura and La Mancha from profiting by their signal victories of Medellin and Ciudad-Real. The operations of the army of Arragon had likewise been suspended by the necessity in which the French were, to recal to this province the body of troops under Marshal Mortier, and to place him at Valladolid, to carry succours to Marshal Ney, and re-establish the communications in Galicia.

Since the departure of the Emperor Napoleon, and the commencement of the Austrian campaign, the French army in Spain had received no reinforcements, to make up for its daily losses. Instead of concentrating itself, King Joseph had dispersed it over the Peninsula. Being so widely scattered, it was necassarily weak on every point. Our disasters moreover had destroyed that reputation of invincibility, a charm more powerful than the real force which had conquered so many nations.

King Joseph had been commander-in-chief since the departure of the Emperor; he fancied that he might attach the people of Spain to his sway after our arms had subdued them, by the well-known mildness of his character, in the same manner as he had gained the Neapolitans; and he had allowed the French troops to advance from all sides into the peninsula, with the intention of organising provinces, that he might reign over a greater extent of country; it was thus that

he compromised the military safety of the armies of Galicia and Portugal, which were five whole months without being heard of.

King Joseph had contracted habits of indolence upon the peaceful throne of Naples. Surrounded by flatterers, and by a few Spaniards who deceived him, he allowed himself to be misled by groundless hopes. Instead of following his armies, he remained in his capital, plunged in dissipation, and regretting the delights of Italy. He wanted to sleep and reign at Madrid, as he had done at Naples, even before we had conquered for him, supposing the conquest possible, a kingdom, at the price of our blood.

He filled the columns of his state journals with decrees, which were never executed, and scarcely read; he gave to one church the wax and sacred vases of another, pillaged long before by the French, or stripped by the Spaniards themselves. He lavished the decorations of his royal orders on his courtiers, who did not dare to wear them in any place that was not occupied by the French, for fear of being murdered by the Spanish peasants. King Joseph made several promotions in his army, which, however, was not as yet in existence; he gave away places in reversion, governments, administrations, and judgships in the most distant provinces in the kingdom in both hemispheres, while he dared not sleep even a few leagues from Madrid in one of his country houses. Like his brother at Paris, he pulled down old buildings to beautify his capital, but he had no money to raise a single new edifice, and the extent of his munificence was the removal of rubbish.

In order to please the people, he endeavoured, by every possible means, to imitate the solemn pomp, the grave ceremony, and even the tedious piety of his predecessors. He marched on foot at the head of processions through the streets of Madrid, making the officers of his staff, and the soldiers of his body-guards follow him with lighted tapers in their hands. All these pretensions to sanctity, his affectation of munificence, and his absurd prodigality, only made him an object of ridicule, when, after the departure of Napoleon, terror, which magnifies every thing, had ceased.

The Spaniards had amused themselves with spreading a report that King Joseph was a one-eyed drunkard, which made a profound impression on the imagination of the country people: nothing could be more untrue; but it was in vain that he endeavoured to overcome the popular prejudice by shewing himself often in public, and by looking full in the face of whosoever passed by, the people never lost the conceit that he was one-eyed.

On the day of his coronation the places of public amusement were opened gratis, and at one of the theatres a farce, called Harlequin Emperor of the Moon, was played several times. During the representations, the people openly made applications to the ephemeral situation of King Joseph at Madrid. Devotees, who were accustomed to interlard all their conversation with the ejaculation, Jesus, Maria, y Joseph, stopped short when they had pronounced the two first names, and, pausing, would use the periphrase, y el Padre de nuestro Senor, lest they should

draw down a benediction on King Joseph by naming the saint who was his supposed patron in heaven.

The very good nature of King Joseph came afterwards to be looked upon as weakness, even by the French themselves. After the great battles had been won, he would go himself to the prisoners sent from the army to the Retiro, and receive their oaths of fidelity, telling them that they had been deceived by traitors, and that he, as their king, wished only for their happiness and that of their country. The prisoners, who expected nothing less than to be shot immediately, made no scruple of taking the oaths of submission required of them, but the moment they were armed and equipped they deserted and returned to their own armies, so that our soldiers called King Joseph the administrator and organiser-in-chief of the military depôts of the Supreme Junta.

The French marshals and generals were very unwilling to obey a man whom they did not consider as a Frenchman, since he had been acknowledged king of Spain; and they often contradicted him, and sought to disgust him that they might be sent back into Germany. They would have been happy, at any price, to have quitted an irregular war, unpopular even in the army. Nor was this war even pleasing to the army, as the officers and soldiers wished only to fight under the eye of the Emperor.

King Joseph, moreover, wanted both military talent and authority to have confidence in himself. He dared not issue any new orders without consulting his brother; and the plans sent from Paris or from Germany frequently arrived too late. They could never be otherwise than imperfectly executed by one who did not understand them; and the French troops in Spain wanted that unity in action, without which even the simplest operations of war cannot succeed.

In the month of April, Marshal Victor's corps, of which we now formed a part, quitted the cantonment on the Guadiana between Merida and Medellin for a short time, and went to the neighbourhood of the Tagus and Alcantara in order to join Lapisse's division. That corps had summoned Ciudad Rodrigo without effect. On the 14th of May part of Marshal Victor's corps went again towards Alcantara, and crossed the river after a slight engagement with some of the Portuguese militia; the next day they reconnoitred in the direction of Castel Blanco, but learning that 8000 English and Portuguese were in Abrantes, they conjectured that Marshal Soult's expedition against Lisbon had not succeeded, and cousequently returned. Marshal Victor then collected his forces in the neighbourhood of Truxillo, between the Guadiana and the Tagus, in order to ensure his communications by the bridge of Almarez, to cover Madrid, and to observe Cuesta's army. The fourth corps commanded by General Sebastiani remained in La Mancha after the affair of Ciudad Real.

On the 20th of May the officers and subalterns of the fourth squadron of every cavalry regiment received orders from the war-minister to repair to the general depôts of their regiments in order to recruit. I

quitted Spain in consequence of that order, and on my arrival in France I was sent against the English on the coasts of Flanders. They had undertaken an expedition against the fleet and dockyards of Antwerp, but it failed in consequence of the slowness and indecision of their commander-in-chief. In the beginning of the following year, I returned to Spain.

After Marshal Soult had been forced to abandon Oporto and to evacuate Portugal, the English army had re-crossed the Douro, and occupied the towns of Thomar and Abrantes, near the Tagus, preparing to fall upon Spanish Estremadura by Coria and Placentia. Marshal Victor, whose corps occupied the neighbourhood of Truxillo and Caceres, fearing lest the English should get behind him, along the right bank of the Tagus, crossed that river in the beginning of June, and retired to Calzada, and afterwards on the 26th to Talavera de la Reyna.

On the 20th July, the English army under Sir General Sir Arthur Wellesley joined Cuesta's Spanish army at Oropeza. The British force consisted of 20,000 English and 4000 or 5000 Portuguese; that of the Spanish General Cuesta amounted to 38,000 men. Another army of 18,000 or 20,000 Spaniards under the command of General Venegas, was preparing in La Mancha to co-operate with Generals Wellesley and Cuesta.

An advanced corps of Portuguese and Spaniards, commanded by Sir Robert Wilson, went through the mountains towards Escalona, where it arrived on the 23d, to communicate with General Venegas, whose force was advancing from Tembleque by Ocana, towards Aranjuez and Valdemoro. Generals Wilson and Venegas were to approach Madrid, and by the assistance of the inhabitants they hoped to get possession of it. The end of this combined movement appeared to be, to force King Joseph to occupy himself about the safety of his capital, and to prevent him from concentrating his scattered forces. The Anglo-Spanish armies were in hopes of beating the French shortly, or at least, of driving them out of Madrid.

On the 22d July (1809), Generals Wellesley and Cuesta marched towards Talavera, and Cuesta's cavalry gained a slight advantage near the town, over the cavalry of the French rear-guard. Marshal Victor, having retired towards Toledo, was joined on the 25th by General Sebastiani's corps, and by the troops brought by King Joseph from Madrid. The whole French army of the centre of Spain was thus collected, and amounted to 47,000 men. On the 26th it set out for Talavera under the command of King Joseph. The dragoon regiment of Villa Viciosa was nearly cut to pieces in the pass of Alcabon near Torrijos, upon which the whole Spanish army retired precipitately behind the Alberche. The next day, in the afternoon, our army crossed that river, drove in the advanced posts, and arrived (about five o'clock) in the evening within cannon-shot of the enemy.

The Spanish army was placed in a position which it was not deemed possible to attack, behind old walls, and garden hedges which surround

Talavera: the right was supported by the Tagus, and the left by the right of the English. The ground in front of the combined Anglo-Spanish army was unequal, and cut up in various parts by ravines formed by the winter-rains; and the whole length of their position was covered by a pretty steep ravine, or bed of a torrent then dry. The left of the English was supported by a high round hillock, which commanded the greater part of the field of battle, and which was separated from the chains connected with the mountains of Castile by a pretty wide and deep valley.

This hillock was in fact the key of the whole position, and a skilful general would have seen this in the instant. But king Joseph, without talent, and therefore without confidence, was uncertain and hesitating; he tried only half measures, and lost every thing whilst he was searching out means. Marshal Jourdan was second in command, but he no longer possessed the spirit which animated him in the plains of Fleurus.

The French began by a cannonade straight forward from their right, accompanied by a fire from the rifle corps, and then sent a single battalion with some riflemen by the valley to gain the hillock by which the English left was supported. They fancied, truly, that the English were only thinking of retiring. This battalion, however, met with numerous troops, and was soon repulsed with loss, and forced to fall back. A division of dragoons was then sent to reconnoitre towards Talavera, but found all the avenues of the town strongly intrenched with artillery, and was prevented from advancing.

Night now came on, and the French, sensible of the value of the hillock, attempted anew to possess themselves of it. A regiment of infantry, followed at some distance by two more, attacked with great gallantry the extremity of the English right, reached the summit of the hillock, and took possession of it. It was soon, however, forced to retire; having been fiercely attacked by a whole English division at the very moment when it was exhausted by the vigorous effort it had just made. One of the regiments destined to support this attack mistook the direction through the woods in the dark, and the other had been impeded on its march by the difficulty of finding the path in the ravine which covered the enemy's position. These two successive attacks therefore failed, because they were attempted by inefficient numbers. We had first sent a battalion, and then a division, where a good part of the whole army ought to have gone. It was the worst effect of these attempts that they indicated to the English the projects of the French, and made them doubly sensible of the importance and strength of the position they occupied, and which (knowing what we should attempt next day) they spent the night in fortifying with artillery.

The sun rose on the following day on the two armies ranged in battle array, and the cannonade began anew. This battle was, in fact, to decide the fate of Portugal, which the English army had taken upon itself to defend, and indeed that of the whole Peninsula depended upon it. The old soldiers of the first and fourth corps of the French army.

accustomed for years to conquest in every part of Europe, and to see their courage seconded by the skill of their leaders, waited with impatience for orders to engage, and depended on overthrowing all before them by a single well combined effort.

A division of three regiments of foot was again sent by the valley to assault the hillock. This division reached the height, and was just preparing to take possession, when the enemy's artillery repelling one of our regiments, compelled our whole division to fall back. The English, judging by this new attack that the French meant to turn their left by the valley, sent thither some of their cavalry, and placed a Spanish division on the declivities of the skirts of the Castilian mountains. The French returned to their first position, when the cannonade continued for another hour, and then gradually ceased. The burning heat of the middle of the day forced the combatants on both sides to suspend the fight, during which suspension they carried off their wounded.

In this interval, King Joseph himself reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and ordered a general attack upon the English army at four o'clock in the afternoon. General Sebastiani prepared to commence by posting himself against the English right, while Marshal Victor's three-divisions of infantry, seconded by great bodies of cavalry, took up a station upon their left in order to attack the hillock by way of the valley. King Joseph and Marshal Jourdan placed themselves with the reserve behind the fourth division. Another division of dragoons was left in Talayera.

Sir A. Wellesley, placed on the height which commanded the whole field of battle, surveyed it at his case. With a single glance he took in the various corps of his army, and distinguished below him the slightest movements of the French. He saw them form their columns for attack, judged of their projects by their dispositions, and thus had time to prevent and to baffle them by contrary manœuvres. His position, moreover, however difficult of access, both in front and on its flanks, had a good country on its rear, and permitted him to move at pleasure towards any point which might be threatened.

The French had a ravine to cross before they could join their enemies. They had likewise to advance over ground which was rough and muddy, and which thus forced them to break their line. They had moreover to fight against positions fortified beforehand. The inequality of the ground was likewise greatly against us. The left, hidden by the rising ground, could not know what the right was doing; every division of the army fought with unequalled bravery, but there was no concert in their efforts. The French wanted a general, whose genius might make up for the disadvantages of the ground.

Lapisse's division was the first to pass the ravine: it attacked the interaction trenched hillock, and scaled it in spite of the grape-shot which thinned its ranks at every step. It was soon, however, repulsed, with the loss of its general and many officers and soldiers. In retiring it left the right

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of the fourth division exposed, which was in consequence taken in flank by the British artillery, and forced for the moment to fall back.

The left of General Sebastiani's corps fought its way to the foot of a redoubt, which was on the right of the English, and in the centre of the combined army. It had advanced too far and too soon, and was borne down and repulsed by the English right united with the Spanish left. That wing was, however, soon succoured, and returned to the fight. In the centre Marshal Victor rallied Lapisse's division at the foot of the hillock, and gave up the attempt to gain it. The French then sought to turn it either by the right or left. Vilatte's division advanced into the valley, and Ruffin's, keeping on its right, followed the line at the foot of the Castilian mountains; the cavalry of the second line had prepared to overrun the plain as soon as the infantry should have forced a passage for them.

Two English regiments of cavalry then charged the French masses at the moment they put themselves in motion: the same regiments got into the valley and passed, regardless of the fire of several battalions of infantry, between Vilatte's and Ruffin's divisions, and fell with irresistible impetuosity on the 10th and 26th regiments of French mounted chasseurs. The tenth could not stand the charge, it opened its ranks, but rallied soon afterwards, and the 23d light dragoons which was at the head of the English cavalry was almost entirely destroyed or taken.

A division of the King of England's guards, which formed the first line of the centre and left of the British army, having been charged, repulsed the French vigorously at first; but one of the brigades having advanced too far, was in its turn taken in flank by the French artillery and infantry, and after suffering a severe loss, had some difficulty in retiring behind the second line. The French seized the momentary advantages and advanced again; one more effort only was required to gain the plain and fight the enemy on even ground; but King Joseph thought it too late to advance with the reserve, and the attack was put off till the next day. Night however, came on, and the fight ceased from weariness without either party having gained sufficient advantage over the other to have any right to claim a victory.

Marshal Victor and Sebastiani's corps retired successively during the night upon the reserve, leaving an advanced post of cavalry upon the field of battle to carry off the wounded. The English, who expected a fresh attack the next morning, were much astonished, when day-light came, to see that their enemies had retired to their old position of the Alberche, and had abandoned twenty pieces of cannon. The French lost nearly 10,000 men; the English and Spaniards, according to their own acrecounts, 6616.

King Joseph left the first division of the army upon the Alberche, and went with the fourth and the reserve to the assistance of Toledo; the garrison of that city consisted of only 1500 men; it had been briskly attacked by a division of the Spaniards under General Venegas, who, on the 27th, had seized Aranjuez and Valdemoro. A few days before,

Madrid had been upon the point of being occupied by Sir R. Wilson's advanced post which had advanced form Escalona, to Naval-Carnero. The inhabitants of the capital had opened their gates to him, and had come in crowds to meet him dressed in their holiday clothes, after having forced three French battalions who composed the garrison to shut themselves up in the fort of the Retiro. King Joseph threw a whole division into Totedo, and came on the 1st of August to Illescas, that he might be equally at hand to check the army of Venegas, to support the first division of his own army at Alberche, and to overawe the inhabitants of Madrid.

The English did not attempt to attack Marshal Victor; they retired on the 3d August to Oropeza, leaving the Spaniards at Talavera, and Sir R. Wilson's corps at Escalona; and in the night between the 4th and 5th, the combined English and Spanish armies precipitately recrossed the Tagus by the bridge of Arzobispo, on the approach of the corps of Marshals Soult, Ney, and Mortier, who were advancing from Salamanca, by Puerto de Banos, Placentia, and Naval Moral, placing themselves between the English army and the bridge of Almaraz.

On the 8th August Marshal Mortier's advanced corps crossed the Tagus at a ford above the bridge of Aarzobispo, at one o'clock in the afternoon, during the time of the siesta; it surprised a part of Cuesta's army, and seized his guns as well as those placed by the Spaniards to defend the bridge. On the 11th the army of Venegas was defeated at Almonacid in La Mancha by General Sebastiani. The Spanish and Portuguese troops of Sir R. Wilson were completely beaten on the 12th, among the mountains of Banos, by a part of Marshal Ney's force which was falling back on Salamanca.

The expedition of General Sir Arthur Wellesley into Estremadura was at least as hazardous as that attempted by General Moore against Marshal Soult at Saldanas, the year before. Had the corps of Marshals Soult, Ney, and Mortier arrived a single day sooner, the English and Spanish armies must have fallen into the power of the French: but King Joseph did not dare to dispose of these troops without first receiving the authority of the Emperor Napoleon. On the 22d he had sent orders to Marshal Soult to concentrate the troops at Salamanca, and to march against the English army. The Marshal only received the orders on the 27th; he set off on the 28th, and notwithstanding all his expedition he did not arrive at Placentia till the 3d August.

The English and Spanish forces remained behind the Tagus till the 20th August, occupying Messa de Ibor, Deleytosa, and Jaraicejo, opposite to Almaraz, where the bridge of boats had been destroyed by the Spaniards. They then fell back upon the Guadiana, and Sir Arthur Wellesley's troops returned into Portugal.

The invasion of Estremadura by the English forced the French to call up the three corps destined to guard and observe the provinces of the north of Spain, to the assistance of their central army, and from their union they had become very strong. After the departure of the English,

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the Spanish government still persisted in acting in large masses; an army of 55,000 men had been collected in La Mancha, and that army was completely beaten and dispersed at Ocana, on the 10th November, by Marshal Mortier, with scarcely 24,000 men. It was not difficult for the French to defeat troops raised in haste, undisciplined, and ignorant of military manœuvres, in a pitched battle where the numbers which might have given them strength served only to embarrass them.

After the battle of Ocana the French ought to have collected their disposable troops anew, and to have marched directly upon Lisbon; but they passed the Sierra Morena, and, without striking a blow they overan almost all Andalusia, excepting the isle of Leon and Cadiz. By extending themselves towards the south of Spain they gave the English time to fortify Portugal, and to form the military forces of that kingdom. The French became weak because they dispersed their troops, in order to occupy and organize a great extent of country; and the Spaniards seized the opportunity of carrying on that sort of national warfare, from which the French had suffered so much in the Asturias, Galicia, and the north of Portugal.

BOOK THE SECOND.

AS the Spanish armies had gradually been destroyed, the communications between the provincial juntas and the supreme central junta had been cut off; each, therefore, applied all its resources to the local defence of the district under its jurisdiction. Such of the inhabitants as had till then suffered with patience, daily expecting their deliverance after every pitched battle, now began to think of seeking from themselves individually the means of shaking off the yoke which oppressed them. Every province, every town, every individual felt more strongly every day the necessity of resisting the common enemy. The national hatred which existed against the French had produced a sort of unity in the undirected efforts of the people, and to regular warfare had succeeded a system of war in detail, a species of organised disorder which suited the fierce spirit of the Spanish nation exactly, as well as the unhappy circumstances in which it was placed.

That part of Spain occupied by the French was soon filled with partisans and guerrillas, some of them regular soldiers from the broken armies, and others the inhabitants both of mountain and valley; clergy, husbandmen, students, shepherds even had become active and enterprising leaders. These leaders, without military authority, and without permanent troops, were at first, as it were, only standards round which the inhabitants of the country rallied and fought. News of any little advantages gained by these numerous parties were early received by the people, and repeated with exaggeration, and they raised those hopes, which the defeat of their armies had for a moment depressed. That very hyeliness of imagination and excessive spirit of independence, which had interfered with the slow and uncertain operations of the

regular armies of the junta, secured the continuance of the national war. And one might say of the Spaniards, that if at first they had been easily overcome, it was almost impossible to subdue them.

When we marched from one province to another, the partisans immediately re-organised the country we had abandoned in the name of Ferdinand VII, as if we were never to go back, and punished very severely every one who had shown any kind of zeal for the French. Thus the terror of our arms gave us no influence around us. As the enemy was spread over the whole country, the different points that the French occupied were all more or less threatened; their victorious troops, dispersed in order to maintain their conquests, found themselves, from Irun to Cadiz, in a state of continual blockade; and they were not in reality masters of more ground than they actually trod upon.

The garrisons which they had left on the military roads to keep the country in check, were continually attacked; they were obliged to construct little citadels for their safety, by repairing old ruined castles which they found on the heights, and these castles were frequently Ros man or Moorish remains, which, many centuries before, had served the same purpose. In the plains, the posts of communication fortified one or two of the houses at the entrance of each village, for safety during the night, or as a place of retreat when attacked. The sentinels dared not remain without the fortified enclosures, for fear of being carried off; they therefore stationed themselves on a tower, or on a wooden scaffolding built on the roof near the chimney, to observe what passed in the surrounding country. The French soldiers thus shut up in their little fortresses, frequently heard the gay sounds of the guitars of their enemies, who came to pass their nights in the neighbouring villages, where they were always well received, and feasted by the inhabitants. The French armies could only obtain provisions and ammunition under convoy of very strong detachments, which were for ever harassed and free quently intercepted. These detachments met with but slight resistance in the plains, but the moment they approached the mountains, they were obliged to cut their way forward by force of arms; and the daily losses of the French, in many parts of Spain, in their attempts to procure victuals, and to keep up their communications, were at least equal to any they could have sustained if they had had to struggle with an enemy who could have met them in open battle.

The people of Spain did not allow themselves to be cast down by the length of the war. In some provinces the peasants were always armed; the husbandman guided his plough with one hand, while he held in the other a sword always unsheathed, and which was only buried on the apt proach of the French, if they were too numerous to be fought. Their animosity increased by the vexations which the French made them suffer. The evils to which other nations submit, because they look on them as the inevitable consequences of war, only furnished the Spaniards with new subjects for hatred and irritation. In order to satisfy their the veterate resentment, they employed, by turns, the greatest energy or the

deepest dissimulation and cunning where they were the weakest. Like avenging vultures eager for prey, they followed the French columns at a distance, to murder such of the soldiers as, fatigued or wounded, remained behind on a march. Sometimes they invited the French to a feast on their arrival, and would endeavour to intoxicate the soldiers that they might plunge them into that security which is an hundred times more dangerous than all the chances of battle. They then called upon the partisans, and indicated, during the night, the houses in which their enemies had imprudently trusted themselves. When new Frenchmen sought to revenge the death of their comrades, the inhabitants fled, and they found nothing in the villages but deserted dwellings, on which they could only wreak vengeance at their own expence, for they could not destroy a house, even an empty one, without cutting off their own resources for the future.

When our detachments arrived in any force at the insurgent towns of Biscay or Navarre, the Alcades, with the women and children, came out to meet us, as if all had been at peace, and no noise was heard but that of smiths' hammers; but at the moment of our departure all labour ceased, and the inhabitants seized their arms to harass our detachments among the rocks, and to attack our rear-guards. This sort of warfare, where there was no fixed object upon which the imagination could dwell, damped the ardour of the soldier, and wore out his patience.

The French could only maintain themselves in Spain by terror; they were constantly under the necessity of punishing the innocent with the guilty, and of taking revenge on the weak for the offences of the powerful. Plunder had become necessary for existence, and such atrocities as were occasioned by the enmity of the people, and the injustice of the cause for which the French were fighting, injured the moral feeling of the army, and sapped the very foundations of military discipline, without which regular troops have neither strength nor power.

Towards the end of the year 1809 I returned to Spain, with a reinforcement of eighty hussars, to my regiment. In the interior of France it was believed, according to the gazettes, that the English, who had retreated to Portugal after the battle of Talavera, were only waiting for the first fair wind to take them home; that the conquered country had long been quietly subjected to King Joseph, and that the French armies, safe in good cantonments, had now nothing to do but to destroy a few banditti, who plundered the peaceable inhabitants, and laid them under contribution.

At Bayonne we joined several other detachments of light horse, and we crossed the Bidassoa in order to sleep at Irun. A great number of the inhabitants of all ages had assembled at the gates of that town to see us enter, and then followed us with evident curiosity for some time; we thought, at first, that this mark of attention was intended to show that they were glad to see as in their country; but we afterwards learned, that the inhabitants of Irun, as well as those of other frontier towns, kept an exact account of all the French who entered Spain, as

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well as of the wounded who quitted it, and that it was according to

All the detachments which, like us, were going to reinforce the divers corps of the army of Spain, received orders to assemble in the towns of Miranda and Vittoria, to be in readiness for an expedition against the Spanish partisans of Navarre and La Rioca. General Simon set out from Vittoria on the 23d December, with 1200 men, to occupy Salvatierra and Allegria. The commandants of the garrisons left in the towns of Navarre had formed moveable columns, and they were to join General Simon's corps, after having dispersed such parties as they might meet on their march; the intention of this kind of military chase was to destroy Mina's guerrilla bands, which held Pampeluna in a state of all most perpetual blockade, and were continually attacking the detachments and convoys on their way to the French army in Arragon.

Generals Loison and Solignac marched from Vittoria and Miranda on the 16th, and threw themselves at once, by both banks of the Ebro, upon Logronio, in hopes of surprising the Marquis de Porliere in that city. The numerous guerrillas of that chief intercepted our communications between Bayonne and Madrid, and made incursions almost daily, even to the gates of Burgos, Bribiesca, Pancorvo, Miranda and Vittoria. My detachment of hussars formed part of a corps of four or five thousand men, commanded by General Loison. The foot soldiers had left their baggage and even their knapsacks behind them, that they might be light for running in the mountains. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 17th we came in sight of Logronio; General Solignac's troops arrived before the town at the same time; they immediately took possession of all the gates and outlets on the right bank of the Ebro, while we seized the bridge leading to the left of that river. We flattered ourselves for a moment that we had surrounded the partisans in Logronio, but, to our great astonishment, we soon afterwards entered the town, without having to fire a single gun.

The Marquis Porliere had been warned of our combined march early in the morning, and had made his escape, by cross roads, to the high mountains of Castile. The inhabitants of the town, men and women, appeared at the windows to see us come in; and an air of satisfaction and content shone generally on their countenances, but it was satisfaction at the escape of the Marquis Porliere, and certainly not at the arrival of the French, who, they well knew by experience, were come to exact the arrears of their contributions.

Najera he met a small Spanish party which he pursued as far as La Calpada di San Domingo, fancying that he was to come up with the main body of the gnerrillas; but it was a stratagem of the Marquis Porliere to draw us online an opposite direction to that which he had taken with his little army. General Loison followed General Soliguac to Najera on the 19th, where we were forced to remain two whole days, in order to obtain information concerning the enemy, all traces of whom we had entirely lost. At length on the 21st we learned that the Marquis Porliere had taken the road towards Soto; that town, situated among the mountains, was the residence of a provincial junta, and contained magazines of arms, ammunition, and clothing. We set out again in pursuit of the partisans going up the Najerillo. General Loison's division went to pass a few hours of the night in a village situated at the foot of the high mountains ten leagues south of the Soto: a detached corps composed of my party of hussars, a hundred and fifty Polish lancers, and two hundred voltigeurs, continued to pursue the enemy; I cleared the way with an advanced guard of twenty-five hussars. We went through narrow and difficult roads, through deep snows, and at sun-rise we reached the enemy's rear-guard, from which we took a few prisoners. We stopped several hours to feed our horses, and to give General Loison time to come up with us. At noon we set off again, on the left bank of a little river which runs down towards Soto.

On the summits of the highest mountains on our right we saw peasants making their escape with their cattle, and small parties of Spanish horsemen, acting as watches on the heights, successively galloped off as soon as they perceived us. The clergy and alcades of the villages we had to go through, with feigued zeal, brought us refreshments in order to delay our march. Of fifty or sixty peasants of different ages, of whom I made inquiries in different places, there was not one who did not endeavour to deceive us by saying that they had seen none of their partisans, and that they were not at Soto. Nevertheless, horses dying of fatigue, abandoned on the roads with their furniture, proved to us, almost at every step, that we were approaching the enemy.

When we came within about a quarter of a league of Soto, we were received by a discharge of thirty or forty muskets, and we saw some armed peasants suddenly appear from behind the rocks, where they had lain in ambush, and run down the hill towards Soto as fast as they were able. We halted to wait for the infantry and our major commandant. There was no room to form in line on the height, so we remained in file

in the uarrow path by which we had come up the hill.

Sotó is situated at the bottom of a narrow valley crossed by a torrent; beyond the town is a very steep mountain, on the side of which a winding road, has been made. It was by that road that we saw the partisans retreat before our faces. The magistrates of the junta of Soto, and a number of priests in long black cloaks, marched first; they were near the summit of the mountain; they were followed by the treasure and baggage upon mules tied behind one another in files; then came the soldiers in uniform, and a number of peasants armed with fowling pieces, marching without any order, and a crowd of inbabitants of all ages and sexes, hastening out of the town pell-mell with the guerrillas. The agitation of so great a number of men pressing by different paths towards the tops of the heights, offered the most picturesque appearance to the eye.

Disorder took place among the Spaniards the moment they saw us, and they at first quickened their march, but seeing afterwards that we

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formed only a scanty outpost, they recovered, and the whole side of the mountain echoed with long guttural shouts. Those who were nearest to us stopped, and placed themselves in the rocks, whence they pointed their guns at us from every side, and we heard these words, mixed with a thousand curses, "Come, if you dare, and look at the robbers a little closer." It was by this name that our soldiers called them on account of their manner of fighting in disorder. They were separated from us by a ravine three or four hundred feet deep, at the bottom of which was the river.

To cover his retreat the Marquis Porliere had left a company of cavalry before the gate by which we had to enter Soto, and at a little distance on the other side of the river he had placed four or five hundred infantry on the rocks and terraces which commanded the town. Whatever happened, these men had it in their power to retire at our approach, without running the smallest risk, after having done us a great deal of mischief.

The major of the 26th regiment of the line, who commanded us, judged that the position of the enemy was not assailable in front, and he therefore resolved to turn it. A hundred and fifty of our riflemen went down into the ravine, and forded the river below us: they then, with much difficulty, climbed the opposite mountain, and fired at the enemy for some time without gaining ground. Their ammunition being nearly exhausted, they retired round a little chapel on the top of the mountain, and sent two men to inform us of their situation. The shouts, the curses, and the fire of the Spaniards then redoubled; they had seen our riflemen send for assistance, and also that we could not afford them any.

The captain of the enemy's cavalry advanced about half a musket shot before the troop he commanded, near the entrance of the town, and tried by abuse to provoke the officer who commanded the advanced party of the French hussars. He curvetted his horse, and flourished his sabre to shew he knew the use of it. The hussar officer looked at him at first with tolerable coolness; but, out of patience at last with the bravadoes and shouts of the Spaniards who were opposite, and whose boldness was increasing, he went down the narrow and abrupt path leading to Soto alone. The enemy's captain turned his horse when he came within a few paces of him, and quietly returned to his own party.

Meantime the uneasiness of the major of the 26th increased every moment. General Loison did not make his appearance; day was closing in; no more firing was heard from the opposite mountain; and we had no farther tidings of our riflemen.

When night came, we heard the Spanish drum beat a kind of rally, and shortly after we saw a pretty brisk fire of musketry beyond the valley, between two parties disputing the passage of the river. A deep silence succeeded to the noise of the fire.

Night and toneliness augmented our uncertainty; we fancied that our riflemen had come down from the mountain to force their way through the enemy and join us, and we feared lest being overpowered by trun-

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bers, they might be in imminent danger; our major commandant sent my detachment to their assistance. On entering the town, instead of the Spaniards we met General Loison's division filing in: that corps, misled by their guides, had taken a very long road, completely different from that we had followed. The engagement which had appeared so bloody to us from a distance, had taken place between our riflemen and the grenadiers of General Loison's advanced-guard; these friendly troops arriving at the same time in opposite directions, fortunately recognised each other after the second volley. The darkness had prevented them from taking aim, and they lost but one man between them.

The town of Soto had been deserted by its inhabitants; it soon resounded with the hollow shouts of the soldiers as they ran about the narrow streets, breaking open the doors to procure provisions and lodging. In the midst of these confused sounds, which were infinitely multiplied by the mountain echoes, were heard the cries of a woman in delirium, who with a more than human voice called for help during the whole night: she had been left in the hospital of the town when the inhabitants departed, and had been forcibly struck with the commotion which was new to her, and which she saw through the grated windows of the room in which she was shut up. That voice raised in the midst of the tumula seemed like the organ of the whole population which had fled from the town. A fire shortly broke out on the height, we heard walls falling with a great crash, and soon after there was an explosion, and we saw the flaming beams of a building thrown up into the air. Some cases of cartridges which the enemy had concealed among some straw, because they could not carry them off, had exploded.

We quitted Soto at sunrise, and for two days and a night we continued to follow the track of the guerrillas towards Munilla and Cervera. Despairing at length of coming up with them to give them battle, we took up quarters at the small town of Arnedo, and afterwards returned to Logronio.

General Simon succeeded no better in his expedition into Navarre against Mina; that chief, attacked on the 19th at Estella and the 20th at Puenta de la Reyna, disbanded his force, and thus escaped the troops that were marching against him from all quarters. Mina reassembled his bands immediately after the departure of General Simon. The Marquis Porliere, driven from the mountains of Castile, returned afterwards, and stationed himself in those of Asturia. He had not lost thirty men in his retreat, during which he had been been pursued by troops at least four times more numerous than those he commanded.

We see by the reports of the French commanders, that bands similar to those of Porliere and Mina existed in all the other provinces of Spain occupied by the French. These bands did incalculable mischief to our troops, and it was impossible to destroy them. Always pursued and often dispersed, they rallied, and recommenced their incursions immediately.

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We remained nearly a month in the province of La Rioca, while General Loison was collecting the arrears of the contributions, and we afterwards went towards Burgos, in order to join our regiment in Andalusia. We arrived at Madrid on the 25th January, and we remained five days in a village near that capital, to wait for a detachment of our regiment which was coming direct from France with baggage, money, and a number of fresh horses. This new detachment having joined us, an adjutant, to whose care it had been trusted, took the command of our column of hussars; we crossed La Mancha, and soon arrived at Santa-Cruz, a small town situated at the foot of the Sierra Morena. These mountains which separate La Mancha from Andalusia, are inhabited by some colonists brought by Count Olivades from different parts of Germany in 1781. The oldest of those colonists followed us on foot for whole hours to enjoy, for the last time before their death, the happiness of speaking their native tongue with such of our hussars as were their countrymen.

The moment one passes the mountains one enters Andalusia. The difference of heat in the atmosphere is instantly perceptible, and the magnificence of the landscape that presents itself forms a striking contrast with the sterility of the Black Mountains, or Sierra Morena, one leaves behind. The husbandmen were occupied in gathering the olives, and the country presented, towards the end of winter, that smiling and animated appearance which is only seen in more northern cli-

mates at vintage or at harvest time.

On our left were the mountains of the kingdom of Jaen, and in the distance, the snowy summits of the Sierra Nevada of Grenada reared their perpetually white tops, the last retreats of the Moors before their

final expulsion from Spain.

The road lay between long plantations of olives, under whose protecting shade vines and corn were alternately springing. The fields are surrounded by hedges of aloes, whose leaves are as pointed as lances, and whose straight slender stems shoot up to the height of trees. Here and there we saw tutted orchards planted with orange trees behind the dwelling-houses; and on the waste lands on the banks of the rivulets, the white laurel and the oleander were then in flower. A few old palm trees are still seen here and there in the gardens of the clergy, who preserve them for the sake of distributing the branches on Palm Sunday.

We marched upon both banks of the Guadalquivir, following the different turns of that river between Andujar and Cordova. The country is less picturesque on approaching Seville. We crossed plains of corn of several leagues in extent, without seeing either habitations or trees, and there are extensive tracts laid waste, which furnish pasture

for immense flocks of sheep.

Andalusia is undoubtedly by nature the most fertile and opulent part of Spain. There is a proverb current in the Castiles and La Mancha, that the water of the Guadalquivir fattens more horses than the barley of other countries. The bread of Andalusia is considered as the whitest

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and most exquisite in the world, and the olives are of most extraordinary size: the air is so serene and pure, that one may sleep in it during the greater part of the year; and one frequently sees men lying all night in the virandas in summer, and sometimes even in winter. A number of individuals who are not very rich, travel without troubling themselves to seek a nightly lodging; they carry their provisions with them, or buy such food as is prepared by women on stoves at the gates or in the great squares of large cities, for passengers. The poor never ask each other whether they have a house to lie in, as in other countries, but they inquire if they have a cloak sufficient to preserve them from the immediate influence of the sun's rays in summer, and to throw off the winter rains.

In Andalusia, still more than in any other province in the Peninsula, one meets with traces and monuments of the Arabs at every step; and it is the singular mixture of the customs and usages of the east, with christian manners, which distinguishes the Spaniards from the other nations of Europe.

The town houses are almost all built on the Moorish plan; they have a large court paved with flag stones, in the centre of which is a basin and fountain. The basin is shaded by the cypress and the lemon tree. Trelice work, supporting orange trees, whose leaves, flowers, and fruit last all the year, frequently covers the walls. The rooms open on the court, and there is generally an inner gate on the same side with the door opening to the street. In the ancient palaces of the Moorish kings and nobles, such as the Alhambra of Grenada, the courts are surrounded with colonades or porticos, whose narrow and numerous arches are supported by very tall slender columns. The court of the ordinary houses is generally plain, and a cistern shaded by a large citron tree is usually in one corner. A sort of pitcher or jar, in which water is put to cool, usually hangs near the door, or wherever there is a current of air. The Arabic name of these jars proves that they were brought into Spain by the Moors. There is one of these open courts within the walls of the cathedral of Cordova, which was an ancient mosque. This court, like those of private houses, is shaded by citrons and cypresses, and contains basins in which the water is kept continually pure and full by fountains.

The Andalusians feed their vast flocks in the plains during winter, and send them in summer to graze on the tops of the mountains. The Andalusian horses are descended from the generous breed brought over in former times by the Arabs; and the same distinctions, paid in Arabia to pure and noble blood in these animals, are also still regarded in Spain. The Andalusian horse is proud, spirited, and gentle; the sound of the trumpet pleases and animates him; and the noise and smoke of powder do not frighten him; he is sensible of caresses, and docile to the voice of his master: so when he is overcome with fatigue, his master, instead of beating him, flatters and encourages him; the horse then seems to recover his strength, and sometimes does from mere emulation what blows could never have extorted from him. We were often followed by the

Spanish peasants, who led the baggage, victuals, and ammunition, upon their own horses and mules. I heard one of them make a long speech to his horse, who could scarcely walk, and then whisper closely in his ear, as if he wished to spare him an affront in the eyes of his fellows, Take care that nobody sees you.

The general method of travelling is on horseback, but the carriage of goods is usually on the backs of mules. The fine roads which cross Spain are very modern. The streets of the old towns are narrow and winding, and the stories of the houses jut out. These streets, of Moorish building, are not made for carriages. With the exception of a few hotels founded by Italians in the large cities, the inns of Andalusia, and indeed of all Spain, are large caravanseras with nothing but lodging. and room for horses and mules. Travellers are obliged to carry provisions with them, and to sleep upon their horsecloths. The natives of the country travel in small caravans, whenever they go off the most pubhe roads, and they carry guns slung to their saddle bows, for fear of being robbed by the smugglers, who are very numerous in the mountains of Grenada, and on the southern coasts between Malaga and Cadiz. In some parts of Spain, the country people, and particularly the farm-servants, sleep stretched out upon mats which they roll up and carry about with them. This eastern custom explains the words of our Saviour. " Take up thy bed and walk."

The country women sit in the Moorish manner on circular mats of reeds. In some convents of Spain, where the ancient manners are transmitted without alteration, the nuns still sit like the Turks. The mantilla, a sort of large woollen veil commonly worn by the lower class of women in Andalusia, and which sometimes hides their whole face except their eyes, is nothing but the large scarf of the eastern women. The Spanish dances are likewise the loose dances of the east. The custom of playing the castanets in dancing, and of singing seguedillas, still exists among the Arabs of Egypt as well as in Spain, and the burning wind which blows from the east, still receives the name of the Medina wind.

The Spanish national and local troops, or the levies in mass, equally resemble the Moors in their mode of fighting. They rush on with loud shouts. They begin with the same impetuosity and fury which distinguishes the Arabs. Like them, too, they are apt to despair too soon of the event, and yield the battle in the very moment they might claim the victory. When they fight behind walls and entrenchments, their firmness is truly unconquerable. The Spaniards, like the Arabs, often treated their prisoners with the excess of barbarity; but they also sometimes exercised towards them the noblest and most generous hospitality.

After having passed Andujar, Cordova, Epica, and Carmona, we reached Seville, where we received orders from Marshal Soult to join our regiment at Ronda, a town situated about ten leagues from Gibraltar. We were at first struck with the profound tranquillity which reigned over the plains of Andalusia; the greater number of the large towns had

sent deputations to King Joseph; but the tranquillity was but apparent, and only existed in such parts as were filled with numerous French troops. The inhabitants of the kingdoms of Murcia and Grenada, the province of Ronda, with all those of the mountains which intersect or surround Andalusia, as well as those which separate it from Estremadura and Portugal, had taken arms simultaneously.

We quitted Seville on the 18th March, and slept at Outrera, and on the 19th went on to Moron, a small town situated at the foot of the mountains of Ronda. The inhabitants of this town were on the point of joining their neighbours in the mountains, who had long been in a state of general insurrection. The greatest part of the population of Moron assembled in the principal square the moment we arrived; the men looked at us with an expression of constrained fury, and appeared to watch our least motions. Some of the women were dressed in English stuffs, on which were painted the pictures of Ferdinand VII. and the Spanish generals most distinguished in the war. We now deemed it prudent to take up our lodgings close together in three neighbouring inns. If we had dispersed to lodge in the different houses of the inhabitants, as we might safely have done in the plains, we should, probably, all have been murdered in the night.

We left Moron the next day and entered the mountains of Ronda to proceed to Olbera. I set off a little before the detachment to prepare quarters, accompanied by a hussar and a young trooper. At two leagues from Moron I knocked at the door of a farm-house on the mountain; an elderly man tremblingly opened it, and gave me some wine for which I asked with extraordinary zeal. I afterwards learned that there was a little band of five armed smugglers in the house who were afraid of being discovered.

I now hastened forwards to prepare provisions and quarters before the arrival of the detachment. I could only proceed very slowly because the road was hilly and difficult, and our horses had been continually on the march for several months. I gave mine to the hussar to lead, and mounted that of a guide whom we had taken at Moron. I then galloped off before my companions, and arrived alone within sight of Olbera. A deep valley, bare of trees, into which the road descends abruptly, separated me from the town, which is placed among rocks on the summit of a high hill which commands the whole country. As I advanced, the peasants, who were at work in the neighbouring fields in bands of eight or ten together, according to the custom of the country, became inquisitive concerning the cause of my coming, and quitted their labours immediately to follow me down the path. The inhabitants of the village had long perceived me, and they came out in crowds upon the rocks to watch me. I began to fear lest there should be no French in Olbera, and I stopped at the bottom of the valley surprised at the increasing agitation I perceived. I hesitated a moment whether I should turn back, but I thought it hest to go on at any risk. The horse I rode was tired with the journey he had come, and the road I must have gone over again was very steep; I was besides closely followed by a troop of peasants armed with mattocks. They soon reached and surrounded me, and asked what province I came from, and what news I brought. I saw immediately by their gestures that they thought I was in the Spanish service. My dark brown uniform was the cause of their mistake, and I took care not to undeceive them, not being sure whether I could do so without risking my life. I hoped to gain time till the arrival of my friends, and let the peasants think that I was a Swiss officer in the service of the Junta, and that I was on my way to Gibralter; I added, to put them in good humour, that the Marquis de la Romana had just gained a great victory near Badajos. The peasants received this news with eagerness, and as they repeated it to each other, they loaded the French with a thousand imprecations which gave me but a melancholy notion of the fate which awaited me, if any chance should discover me.

I now demanded in my turn of those who surrounded me, if their village contained any of those abominable Frenchmen? They repiled that King Joseph and his Guards had been repulsed from Gaucin, that they had quitted Ronda some days before, and that that town must by that time be occupied by 10,000 mountaineers. It was at Ronda that we were to join our regiment, and if it were really in the hands of the enemy, our detachment had nothing to expect. The peasants stopped to drink at a spring on the road, and I continued to climb the hill alone.

I soon saw five men armed and equipped as soldiers, hastening on to get before me by a cross road, and they entered Olbera before I reached it. Hearing loud shouting, I had no doubt that the five men had brought the news of the approach of our detachment, and that they had discovered that I was a Frenchmen. I stopped once more doubting whether I should go on. The inhabitants, who were watching me from the rocks, saw my hesitation, and their shouts increased. A number of women had stationed themselves on a height which overlooked the entrance of the village, and their shrill voices, mingled with the tones of the men, sounded like the wind whistling in a storm. I determined on advancing, and I believe I should have been lost if I had then attempted to go book

A corregidor, an alcade, two priests, and six or seven other persons, now came up, and amongst them a facetious young man, who addressed me with an air of mockery, "Certainly," said he, "the ladies of Olbera will receive you well, they are very fond of the French;" and sneeringly made many other similar jests. Another demanded of me in a strong voice how many Frenchmen were following me. I told him there were two hundred more or less. He answered rudely enough, "Tis false, there are not a hundred, counting yourself. The five men who are just come to the village saw them from the farm-house on the road from Moron." I saw clearly that they knew who I was. The priests and the corregidor now approached, and seemed from their awful faces to be about to propose to administer extreme unction. "You must hang him," exclaimed some voices, "he is a Frenchman, he is the devil him.

self." The noise however suddenly ceased, and the Spaniards, to my astonishment, dispersed. The trooper, the hussar, and the guide whom I had left behind, had just appeared on the opposite height, and being taken for the detachment by those stationed to watch on the highest rocks, their shouts and gestures gave notice to the mob which surrounded me.

The corregidor and the alcade now changed their tone, and told me, bowing very low, that they were the magistrates of the place, that they paid me their respects in consequence of the decree of King Joseph, which ordered all constituted authorities to go out and meet the French troops and to receive them well. I received these assurances with a courtly satisfaction, and ordered them to prepare victuals for the troops which were coming up.

I now asked who were the five armed men who had entered the village a few moments before. One of the priests replied rather ironically, that they were shooting small birds, and that the bags they had over their shoulders were full of game. I was obliged to be satisfied with such excuses, and got off my horse, and walked with the priests and alcades to the town-house. It was in the great square at the top of the village, and we began to make out billets for the soldiers' quarters. My trooper. leaving the hussar with my horse at the entrance of the village, now galloped straight up to the house where I was. He had hardly alighted, when the Spaniards crowded from the neighbouring streets with terrible shouts. They had expected a large body of troops, but when they saw single man ride through their village, they recovered from their error, and ran furiously out of their houses. I immediately went out to the balcony, and called my trooper to come up, which he did, and we shut and barricadoed ourselves into the council-room. The people stopped a moment to seize the trooper's horse, portmanteau, and pistols; the ringleaders of the riot then seized the staircase and got to the door of the room where we had just shut ourselves. We had taken with us the corregidor and the two priests.

The people now began to attempt the door. I made the corregidor call out to them that my detachment was at hand, and that a signal punishment would be taken upon them if they should persist. My trooper and myself now drew our swords, and threatened the priest and the corregidor. "Pardon me," said I, "reverend father; you see that I cannot resist the people, and therefore we shall soon die together." The corregidor, frightened at the danger of the priest, and also at that which threatened himself, now went out upon the balcony, and cried aloud to the inhabitants that their priest would infallibly perish, if they did not instantly retire. The women screamed at these words, and the mob unanimously and instantly fell back, so deep and so real is the veneration of this noble people for their religion.

Shortly afterwards, our detachment arrived, and we joined them, along with the corregidor and the priest, whom we still kept with us as a safeguard. I told my comrades what had happened, and advised them.

to go, on the same day, to Ronda, after feeding our horses. The adjutant, however, who commanded us, insisted on passing the night at Olbera, adding, that troops of the line should not derange themselves for The adjutant, truly, having passed his service in France at the depôt of the regiment, had not yet learned to know the Spaniards. Accordingly, we formed a bivouac in a meadow surrounded by walls, belonging to an inn upon the road at the bottom of the village. During the remainder of the day the inhabitants were apparently quiet enough, and furnished us with provisions; but, instead of a young ox which I had asked for, they brought us an ass cut up in quarters. The hussars thought that this yeal, as they called it, tasted very flat; but it was not till long afterwards that we learned from the mountaineers themselves what they had done. They frequently afterwards used to cry out as they fired upon us, "Who eat asses flesh at Olbera!"

Not daring to attack us in the enclosure in which we were entrenched. they prepared for the moment of our departure, and gave notice to the inhabitants of the different towns and villages in the neighbourhood to place ambuscades and expect us the next day on the road to Ronda. Towards night they assumed a threatening attitude; they posted themselves in great numbers on the rocks, and formed a kind of close hedge around the entrance of our bivouac. There they remained immovable, watching our slightest motions. A few voices, quickly suppressed by the alcades, broke upon the silence from time to time, in order to insult

our sentinels.

Rather late at night, the priest presented himself at the bivouac begging to speak to me. He told me that he had prepared excellent lodgings for the officers of our troop, and pressed me very much to prevail on my comrades to accept them. His design, as we afterwards learned, was, to make prisoners of us, hoping that disorder would take place among the soldiers next day, when they should find themselves

without their officers.

I immediately refused the offer. The priest asked me if I harboured any resentment for what had passed in the morning, and if we mistrusted the intentions of the inhabitants? I answered that we felt neither resentment nor distrust. He then begged me to go alone to his house at least, saying he would treat me well. I went to consult my comrades, and we agreed that I should go to the village alone to shew the inhabitants that we had no scheme of revenge, and thus to prevent them from thinking of attacking us in the night. My comrades were in hopes that I should be able to send them some supper. I returned to the priest; I asked him to give me his sacred word that no harm should be done to me; he gave it readily, and to prove how entirely I trusted him, I left my sword with the sentry, and followed him unarmed.

We crossed the middle of the little town together; all the inhabitants whom we passed saluted my guide respectfully, and then looked at me with a threatening air; when they came too near so as to make me fear a surprise, the priest instantly repulsed them with a single look and frown, such was the authority which the sacred character, with which he was invested, gave him.

We soon arrived at his house, and were received by the minister's housekeeper: she was a tall woman of thirty-five or forty years of age; she first presented us with chocolate and biscuits, and then served up our meal on a table near the kitchen chimney. I sent some supper to my comrades, and sat down to table; the priest placed himself opposite, and the housekeeper sat at his right hand almost under the chimney-piece, which was very high. After a moment's silence, the priest asked me if I was not going to mass the next day before I set out; I answered that I was not a Roman Catholic. At these words his features contracted; and the housekeeper, who had never seen a heretic, shuddered on her chair, made an involuntary exclamation, and heaved a profound sigh. The house-keeper did not recover from her agitation till she saw the minister quietly resume the conversation.

After supper the priest invited me to sleep at his house, telling me that I must be tired, and that he would give me a bed at least as good as the bivouac. Seeing that I hesitated in my answer, he added, that it would be as well to let the crowd disperse, and that I must wait some hours. I then began to fear that he intended to keep me in his house in order to give me up to the inhabitants. I was afterwards told that such had really been his intention, and that he was the leader of the insurrection. Some reasons have since induced me to believe that by detaining me as his own prisoner, he wished to save me from the fate destined by the inhabitants of the village for our whole detachment.

As he had it in his power to betray me if he pleased, I took care not to shew him any distrust. I told him that I accepted his offers, believing myself in perfect safety, since I was under the fafeguard of his sacred word, and that I would sleep; but I begged him to call me in two hours at farthest, because if my comrades did not see me return before midnight, they might come from their quarters and set fire to the whole village. The priest shewed me into the next room; I went to bed, a thing which rarely happened to us in Spain, and he carried away the lamp as he bade me good night.

The excessive darkness did not contribute to make me look upon the best side of the situation in which I found myself: I reproached myself for having quitted my sabre, and regretted it as a faithful companion which might have inspired me with good counsel. I heard the murmurs of the inhabitants in the street passing and repassing the windows. The priest opened my door from time to time, put in his grey head, and the lamp in his right hand to see if I were asleep; I pretended to be soundly sleeping, and he went out gently.

Several men entered the next room; they at first talked calmly enough, and then confusedly all at once; then they became suddenly silent, as if they were afraid of waking me, and of my listening to what they were saying; they then began again in an under voice, with great rehemence. I passed two hours in this uncertain situation, reflecting on

the part I was to act. I at length determined to call the priest, and he immediately came. I told him that I wished to join my detachment immediately: he left his lamp without answering, and quitted me, doubtless in order to consult the Spaniards who were in his house upon what was to be done with me.

Just at this time I experienced the most lively pleasure on seeing our quarter-master, who spoke Spanish, enter my room, accompanied by the corregidor. He told me that my companions were in the greatest anxiety about me, and that they had sent him to learn what had become of me; that the town's-people looked upon me as their prisoner; that they were to attack us the next day, and said that not one should escape. I dressed myself hastily, and called upon the priest again to keep his word, telling him that my comrades threatened to take up arms if I did not soon go back. Happily for me the preparations for the insurrection in the village were not completed; the priest dared not detain me any longer, and he called the corregidor and an alcade, with a few men, who placed us in the midst of them, and conducted us through the crowd to our bivouac.

The quarter-master whom my comrades had sent to me was a Norman, and brave as his sword. Under the appearance of the most perfect frankness, he concealed all the address commonly imputed to his countrymen. He had ingratiated himself with the inhabitants, by telling them that he was the son of a Walloon officer kept prisoner in France along with King Charles IV.; that he had been forced to serve with us, and that he had long sought an opportunity of deserting. The Spaniards of the mountains were by turns cunning and credulous as savages. They believed the quarter-master, pitied him, gave him money, and requealed to him a part of their projects. By his means it was that we learned that the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages were to unite the next day in considerable numbers to attack us in a dangerous pass on the road to Ronda. This happy discovery saved us from total destruction.

The priest and the corregidor came to us, just as we were setting off the next day, to ask for an attestation, to prove to any French troops who might come to Olbera, that they had behaved well to us. They were in hopes that the threatening aspect of the town's-people would make us comply with their wishes. We answered that we could not give them such an attestation, till they should have returned the arms taken from the horse belonging to the trooper who had shut himself up with me in the town-house the day before. We had already claimed them several times in vain.

The priest and the corregidor walked silently, back towards the upper part of the village, and a few moments after their departure, we heard cries of alarm. The town's-people had just murdered six hussars and two farriers, who had imprudently gone to a smithy to shoe their horses; the musquetry then was heard. We mounted hastily, and the body of the detachment followed the adjutant who commanded us to the place of

rendezvous, about a musket-shot from the village. I remained at the bivouac, and kept with me ten hussars to cover the retreat, and to protect the baggage which we had not yet got upon the backs of the mules, because the Spanish muleteers had fled in the night.

One of my comrades soon came back to tell me that our rear-guard was on the point of being surrounded, and that the Spaniards kept up a brisk fire of musketry upon the detachment from the rocks and from the windows of the houses at that end of the village which we must pass. Having no hope of succour we resolved to cut our way through the enemy. My horse received a ball through his neck and fell; I succeeded in raising him immediately and reached the detachment. Shortly afterwards my comrade had his arm broken; we saw almost all the hussars fall successively round us. Women, or rather furies let loose, threw themselves with horrible shrieks upon the wounded, and disputed who should kill them by the most cruel tortures; they stabbed their eyes with knives and scissars, and seemed to exult with ferocious joy at the sight of their blood. The excess of their just rage against the invaders of their country seemed to have entirely changed their nature. Meantime the detachment had remained motionless facing the enemy, to wait for us. The natives dared not quit the rocks and houses, and we could not go with our horses to them to revenge the death of our companions. We called over our people before them; we placed the wounded in the centre of the troop and began our march slowly.

Not having been able to procure a guide, we took the first path which led off the beaten road where we knew the mountaineers had placed ambuscades, and we wandered for some time in the fields without knowing where we were. We then saw a man on a mule riding from a farm, I rode after him, reached him, and placing him between two of the advanced-guard, ordered him, under pain of being put to the sword, to guide us to Ronda. Without this peasant, whom we met by chance, we should never have found our way in these unknown countries.

We had hardly entered a pretty long valley, when we perceived on the heights towards our left a troop of a thousand or fifteen hundred persons watching our march. There were amongst them a number of women and even children. They were the inhabitants of Setenil and the neighbouring villages, who had learned that we had changed our route in order to avoid their ambuscades, and had set off in pursuit of us. They were running very fast in hopes of cutting off our march at a pass in front of us.

By pushing on our horses, we fortunately passed the defile, but were soon after surrounded by a cloud of peasants, who gathered on our flanks. They followed us along the rocks, and fired upon us on both flanks. If any of us had the misfortune to fall off our horses, we were stabled without mercy.

When we had reached a narrow path, we stopped a few minutes to breathe our horses; while some rocks sheltered us from the fire of the enemy above us. At length we perceived Ronda; but just as we were

rejoicing at being at length near the end of our journey, we were very much astonished to see new enemies firing from an ambush in the woods near the town. We then felt the greatest uneasiness lest it should have been abandoned by the French; but we soon saw, with the most lively joy, a party of hussars from our own regiment coming to meet us. We entered the town and stopped in the great square. The city of Ronda is situated in the midst of the high mountains on the road from Madrid to Gibraltar, and which are generally comprehended under the name of Sierra de Ronda. At the bottom of the valleys, and on the banks of the rivers, are some verdant orchards and meadows, and near the sea the vine spreads itself along the ground, and flourishes almost without culture. The inhabitants, like all mountaineers, are sober, persevering, and unconquerable; religion is their only bond of social union, and almost the only motive which restrains them. The inhabitants of each village elect their own alcades for two years; but these magistrates dare not use their authority. If the king's judge were to pretend to use force to put an end to a quarrel, he would instantly see the poniard turned against himself. The more usual way is for a spectator to begin a prayer, upon which the combatants join in it. In the most violent quarrels the arrival of the holy sacrament always re-establishes good order. No great feast is ever given in the Sierra without two or three persons being stabbed. The men are almost universally smugglers: they sometimes unite in pretty large troops from different villages, under the most famous of their chiefs, and they go down into the plains where they disperse to sell their goods, when they often resist troops sent in pursuit of them. While the men are thus occupied, their wives remain at home among the mountains, and perform the most laborious employments. They carry heavy burdens with ease; and wrestle and fight like men. When they come down to Ronda, they are easily distinguished by their gigantic size, their robust limbs, and their looks which are at once full of wonder and boldness. In these visits to the town they appear in the finest stuffs and veils, which they obtain by smuggling, and which form a curious contrast with their dark sun-burnt complexions and the coarseness of their features.

These mountaineers had all taken up arms against the French, and when King Joseph with his guards came to Ronda about three weeks before us, he had in vain tried, to make them submit to his authority. He remained but a few days at Ronda; when he left 250 of our regiment, and 300 of his own foot-guards to garrison the place. On leaving it, he gave unlimited power over the neighbouring provinces, with the title of civil and military governor, to our colonel. But this title was as empty as it was pompous; for the smugglers of the mountains shut our power within the narrow limits of the walls of Ronda, Nor could we even there sleep in peace, for we could not trust the inhabitants of the suburbs.

On the night after we arrived we saw a multitude of fires lighted successively on the neighbouring mountains; the illusion produced by the

darkness brought even the most distant of the fires near us, and we appeared to be hedged in by a circle of flames. These fires were those of our enemy, who had just posted themselves round the whole town in order to attack us the next day.

For about half an hour we heard the sound of a goat's horn several times repeated, and which seemed to come from an olive grove below us, in a little valley without the old town. Whilst we were jesting at these rude sounds, without being able to guess their meaning, a hussar from one of our advanced posts galloped up to tell the colonel that a deputy from the enemy demanded entrance. The colonel gave orders to introduce him, and the trooper soon brought him with a bandage over his eyes. The deputy told us that he came to invite us to surrender; that the general of the mountain troops with 15,000 men occupied every outlet by which we might hope to escape; that a few days before he had taken a convoy of 50,000 cartridges which were designed for us, and that he knew we could not long keep the place because we had very little ammunition left. This was true; the infantry in the garrison had only three rounds a man, the hussars could make no use of their sabres among rocks, and their horses were more frequently an embarrassment than an assistance. The colonel replied that we would first sit down to table, and made a sign to me to take our new guest into the room where our mess was prepared,. He was a young man and rather good looking, he were the round Andalusian hat, and a short vest of brown cloth edged with a sky-blue chain lace; his only mark of distinction was a scarf in the fashon of the country, having a few silver threads at the end. Instead of a sabre he wore a long straight sword like the antients.

He was for a moment surprised to find himself in this modest dress among a set of officers covered with embroidery, and when we all put our hands to our swords at the same time to take them off in order to sit down to table, he showed some uneasiness, not being aware of the cause of so sudden a motion. The inhabitants of a neighbouring village had murdered an attorney belonging to Ronda whom we had sent as a deputy a few days before, and the Andalusian. I believe, now feared a reprisal. We re-assured him and persuaded him to sit down with us. Entering into conversation I asked him if he had long been in the service of Ferdinand VII. He told me only a year, and that he entered as lieutenant in the Cantabrian hussars. "We are then doubly comrades," said I, " being so both by rank and by using the same weapon." He was much flattered by being considered as an officer in a regular troop. We then talked of the leaders of the insurgent army; he spoke much of the merits of General Gonzales, and said that he was a man of rare talents in the art of war. I had never heard of him, but afterwards learned that he was a serjeant of the line to whom the Patriots had lately given the rank of brigadier-general. I at length learned of him the only thing it was of any importance for us to learn, which was, that no English troops from Gibraltar had joined the mountaineers. Our situation would have been truly perilous had this been the case.

When supper was over, the colonel sent the Spanish deputy back without an answer, and I was commissioned to see him as far as the enemy's advanced post. I told him to tie the bandage over his eyes himself: a hussar on his right hand led his horse, I was on his left, and we went along the Gibraltar road by which he had come in. At our main-guard we were joined by our deputy's trumpeter, and by an old royal carabineer who was his orderly. This was the only carabineer they had in the insurgent army, and they had sent him as a mark of honour with the deputy on account of his new uniform. I was a good deal surprised at hearing him ask his officer in an authoritative tone, why he had kept him so long waiting. The deputy's trumpeter was a young shepherd whom they had dressed in a green cassock, which formed a singular contrast with his sandals, his bonnet, and the rest of his rustic habiliments. They had given him a lesson before they sent him to us, but he seemed to forget it. When the hussars asked him what he had done with his trumpet, he answered that he had lost it; he had in reality, from a sense of pride, thrown away the modest shepherd's horn which he had blown. The shepherd's horse was as little military, for it kicked and stopped at every step. I called to him in Spanish to go on; but he answered sorrowfully, "This is the first time I ever was on horseback, and they have given me a cursed brute which will not stir." The carabineer, who was a few paces behind, came up, told the shepherd roughly to hold his tongue, and put an end to his perplexity by taking his horse's bridle.

A council of war was held upon my return, and it was agreed that we should quit the place, and go to wait for ammunition at Campillos. This was a small town situated seven leagues from Ronda, at the skirts of the mountains, and in a plain where our cavalry would give us a certain advantage over the mountaineers, however numerous. We had but little confidence in King Joseph's 300 guards, for they were for the most part Spanish deserters.

The colonel ordered the garrison to be ready to march within an hour without beat of drum or sound of trumpet, that the enemy might have no notice of our departure; I immediately gave orders to the quarter-masters who were under my command, and we went from house to house to awaken the conscripts of the detachment which had arrived with me. These youths had trusted to staying some time at Ronda to rest after the fatigues of their journey, and when we went at midnight to awaken them they were dead asleep, and not hearing the trumpet as usual, they would not believe what we said.

For two hours we marched, in the deepest silence, by the light of the olive wood fires which the mountaineers had kindled on the neighbouring hills. At day-break we stopped for a quarter of an hour on a small plain where we could have made use of our sabres. The peasants from the villages near the road fired at us, and when we moved on the women placed themselves upon the rocks to see us pass below them, and to rejoice in our retreat. They sung patriotic songs, in which they wished destruction to all the French, the Grand Duke of Berg, and to Napo-

leon. The burden of the song was always the crowing of a cock, which they considered as the emblem of France.

We at length arrived at Campillos, and perceived, by our reception, that our difficulties were known. When I entered my lodging, my servant having asked for a room for me, the host showed him a damp black kind of hole looking into a back court. My orderly asked the master of the house by signs to give him something to eat; upon which he brought, with an air of mockery, a very small table, on which was a little bread and a few cloves of garlic. "This is good enough," said he to his wife, 66 for those dogs of Frenchmen : they have been beaten, and are running away, and please God and the holy mother, not a man of them should be alive in two days." I pretended not to understand Spanish. Going out, and coming back in an hour afterwards to my lodgings, I found five men belonging to the village sitting round and smoking segars. My hussar, who was at some distance from them, arose on my entrance, and offered me his chair, which I accepted, and drew it near the fire. The Spaniards at first became silent, but one of them asked me if I was tired, in order to discover whether I understood Spanish; and although I appeared not to comprehend him, he added with a sneer, "you have made good use of your spurs these two days past." As I did not answer, they thought that I did not know a word of Spanish, and resumed their conversation.

They spoke with ardour of the brave mountaineers who had driven us from Ronda. They boasted that we had lost at least six hundred men. They affirmed that the mountaineers and their general were coming to attack us in two days at farthest; that the inhabitants of the village would take up arms, and would annihilate these heretics, who were worse than the Moors. A single Spaniard was worth three Frenchmen, and one of them said he would kill half a dozen with his own hand.

I then rose and said to them twice over, poco a poco, (softly, softly). They were petrified at finding that I had understood their whole conversation. I left them to go and give the colonel notice of what I had heard; he immediately ordered the alcade to disarm the village. The inhabitants kept their serviceable arms, and, as always happens in these cases, gave us up their rubbish.

Upon my return, I found they had all fled, and the man's wife was endeavouring to coax my hussar. Upon putting down my sabre, she took it up, and officiously carried it to the best room in the house. She hoped I would think no more of what was said: I replied that she had nothing to fear, as long as her husband kept the village in quiet; in any other case, he should be hanged in the instant.

The next day, March the 15th, we learned that the Serranos had entered Ronda an hour after we left it, and that they were preparing to attack us at Campillos.

On the 16th our colonel sent a detachment of a hundred hussars and forty foot soldiers, to reconneitre the enemy. I went on the expedition, and we began our march two hours before sun-rise, and met the moun-

taineers four leagues from Campillos. They had passed the night at a bivouac on the declivity of a hill near a village. We stopped two musket shots from them to examine their position, and to ascertain their number, which we reckoned to be about four thousand; and when we had finished our examination, we quietly turned back by the road by which we came.

The mountaineers, seeing us turning our back, began shouting aloud, and running down the hill, followed us for an hour in a difficult country. The ground then became favourable for cavalry, and they stopped on the heights to re-assemble. They then sent some peasants to fire upon the skirmishers of our rear-guard, who had faced about while the infantry and the body of the detachment crossed a wooden bridge thrown over a torrent which runs at the foot of a barren mountain, on the summit of which the village of Teba is perched like an eagle's nest.

The women of the village, dressed, according to the custom of the country, in pale blue and red clothes, had seated themselves on their heels, on the tops of the rocks, in order to see from a near and safe place the battle which they expected to take place. Our rear-guard soon assembled its riflemen and began to cross the bridge; the women then rose. all at once, and sung the hymn to the Virgin Mary. At this signal the fire began, and the Spaniards, hidden by the shoulder of the hill, poured upon us a shower of balls of every description; we continued to cross the bridge quietly under the fire of the enemy without returning it; we saw the women come down the rocks, tear the guns from their husbands' hands, and place themselves before them to force them to advance to pursue us beyond the bridge. Our rear-guard feeling itself too close pressed faced about, and directed a fierce fire against the nearest of the mountaineers. Their discharge killed two, which checked the impetuosity of the crowd. The women precipitately returned to the top of the hill. but a hundred of the insurgents followed us at a little distance to within half a league of Campillos.

The next morning, the 17th, we sent a detachment of fifty hussars to reconnoitre; they proceeded to the wooden bridge at the foot of the mountain and found the mountaineers on the opposite side. Our hussars retired, endeavouring to tempt them across. At ten o'clock in the morning I saw my host arrive in great haste; a smile was on his lips, but he was endeavouring to assume a melancholy face. He lold me that all was now lost for us; that fifteen hundred mountaineers were coming furiously down to the plain in order to surround us, whilst the villagers were to attack us in the centre of the town. His report was in fact confirmed by the noise of the muskets, drums, and trumpets which I heard at the same instant; the people were in truth running from all sides to arms; and one of our posts close to my own quarters was forced to retire to the entrance of the village. I immediately mounted my horse and collected my detachment. The colonel appeared at the same moment, and ordered me to hasten to the support of the repulsed guards. Upon

coming into the plain we made a charge in various directions; it succeeded, and forty of our hussars cut a hundred of the mountaineers to pieces. Those who were on the neighbouring heights fled in the greatest consternation; and the plain which had before echoed to the shouts of a cloud of these irregulars, now remained silent and strewed with the scattered enemy who had just been cut down.

While we were on horseback repelling the enemy, the inhabitants, persuaded that we were to be annihilated, had murdered all our soldiers who had neglected to repair to the place appointed for rendezvous in case of danger. On returning to the village the hussars cut down every native whom they found armed, and there was some difficulty in preventing plunder. The mountaineers did not thereafter dare to shew themselves in the plain. They marched the rest of the day, and part of the night, without stopping, and regained their high mountains in the neighbourhood of Ronda. On the 19th March, General Peremont came from Malaga to join us at Campillos with three battalions of infantry, a regiment of lancers from the Vistula, and two pieces of cannon. We received the ammunition we were in need of, and on the 20th, at six o'clock in the morning, we set off all together to take possession of Ronda once more.

We went a little out of our road to punish the inhabitants of Teba for having taken up arms against us, when they had sent in their submissions to King Joseph. We left our regiment at the foot of the hill on the top of which Teba stands, and proceeded to the village with only fifty hussars. The inhabitants, who had heard of our approach, and of the contribution we meant to claim, had fled into their rocky fastnesses with their most precious effects. Clothes scattered up and down marked the traces of their precipitate flight. We broke open the doors of some of the houses. Only one old man was found, who, far from being afraid, shouted for joy as he saw the hussars enter his house. We were about to have taken advantage of his good-will, but we soon discovered that he was mad, which had probably prevented his friends from carrying him with them to the mountains.

We passed near two hours in the village without finding a single individual. We at last employed the following expedient to draw them from their retreats. The hussars burned some wet straw in the chimnies of some of the houses; the thick smoke of which being driven by the wind towards the mountain, persuaded the inhabitants that we were going to set fire to the village. The alcade, followed by four of the richest natives, now arrived in great alarm. He wore a red cloak and a laced cloak. He had doubtless put on all the marks of his dignity, in the expectation that this was the last day of his life. He promised that the inhabitants would pay the contribution we demanded. We carried him with us as a hostage, and he returned home two days afterwards. The same night we slept at a little village only four leagues from Campillos. On the 21st we set out at sun-set for Ronda, which we entered without resistance. The mountaineers abandoned the town precipi-

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tately at our approach, and threw down their guns and cloaks in the streets, that they might the more readily gain the mountain through bypaths. The hussars of our advanced guard cut down the last of the fugitives.

Some of the inhabitants of Ronda had reason to bless our arrival. The mountaineers had erected a gallows in the principal square, in order to punish such of the town's-people as had favoured the French; and if we had come a day later, several individuals would have been led to execution. A magistrate was one of those ordered to be hanged; and a poor tailor was thrown upon the rocks and dashed to pieces the night preceding our return, because he had served as interpreter to our soldiers.

The mountaineers had entered Ronda by day-break of the day we had left it, shouting with joy and discharging their pieces exultingly in the streets. They were accompanied by their wives, who seized upon every thing as the spoil of war. Stopping proudly before the doors of the best houses, " This house is mine," said they. " Here is room enough for my goats and children." In the mean time they loaded their asses with whatever they could find, and did not cease plundering till the poor beasts were ready to sink under the weight of the booty. The commander-in-chief of the Serranos did not reach Ronda till six hours after our departure from it. He endeavoured to establish some kind of order in the town, and made use of the following stratagem; he caused the public crier to proclaim that the French were coming back. The mountaineers instantly assembled, and the inhabitants had time to barricade their houses. This leader was a man of the name of Cura, a native of Valencia, where he had been professor of mathematics. Having killed a man in a fit of jealous phrenzy, he was forced to become an exile from his country, and to take refuge among the mountain smugglers in order to escape the search of justice. He had contrived to have it whispered that he was a person of the most exalted birth, but that for reasons of state he was forced to keep himself unknown. The mountaineers had surnamed him the stranger with the wide bonnet, because he affected to wear the cap of the country of an extraordinary size. He attempted afterwards to make his escape with some public money, but was taken and punished.

General Peremont had led his brigade to Ronda for the purpose of making an expedition from thence into the heart of the mountains, but he was forced to return to Malaga. He learned that the last mentioned city had been attacked during his absence by other insurgent troops, and therefore left our regiment of hussars to garrison Ronda a second time, and instead of the battalion of King Joseph's guards which served with us before, he gave us two hundred of the bravest Polish infantry.

The town of Ronda is situated on a crag which is very easy of access, and only steep on the north side. It is separated from the mountains which command it towards the south and west, by a fertile and well-cultivated valley. The Guadiaro descends from the highest of these

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mountains, and runs through Ronda; one would imagine that a violent earthquake had cleft the high crag on which the town is built, in order to form the deep dark bed of this little river. The old town, situated on the left bank of the river, communicates with the new town on the opposite bank by a superb stone bridge of a single arch. Iron balconies project beyond the parapet on each side; and the mind is struck with a kind of terror, when suddenly, through the thin iron bars, you discover the river, two hundred and seventy-six feet below. A sort of mist is always rising from the abyss, and the eye can hardly perceive at that immense distance the men and asses who are continually climbing up and down the winding pathway to carry burdens to the different mills constructed at the foot of the immense rocky terrace which supports the town. From the tops of these rocks we often saw, during these times of war and trouble, the gardeners of the valley quitting their peaceful labours to join the mountaineers when they came to attack us; or perceiving them bury their guns on the approach of a Frenchman.

That part of Ronda which is called the old town is almost entirely of Moorish construction, the streets being narrow and winding; but the new town is, on the contrary, regularly built; the squares are large, and the streets wide and straight. The mountaineers had encamped on the neighbouring heights, and watched day and night what was doing in the town. When our trumpets sounded the reveillée at sun-rise, the shepherd's horn was soon heard rousing the mountaineers on the tops of the neighbouring hills. They passed whole days in annoying our outposts in different ways, but the moment we made a sally they retired.

Whenever the mountaineers prepared for an attack, they shouted aloud to animate each other for the fight, and fired on us long before their balls could reach us. On hearing this firing and the shouts, the peasants in the rear fancied that their companions in front had gained an advantage, and pressed forward to join in the action, and partake the honour of the success. Thus they got before those who at first had held the foremost ranks, and when they discovered their error, it was too late to go back. As soon as they came as far as the little plain round the new town, they gave us an opportunity of charging and cutting them down, but they always retreated upon the smallest loss.

Their most popular pastime was to sit on the rocks among the olive-groves at the end of the suburb, and tranquilly smoke their segars while they fired upon our videttes. In the morning they would go out of the town with their tools, as if they were going to work in the fields, but there or at the farm-houses they found their guns, and returning them at night, they would come back to the town, and sleep in the midst of us. It not unfrequently happened that our hussars recognised their hosts among their enemies, but it was impossible to make very vigorous searches, for if Marshal Soult's decree against insurgents had been carried into execution, we must have punished nearly the whole population with death. The mountaineers hung their French prisoners

or burned them alive; and in return, our soldiers rarely gave quarter to a Spaniard found under arms. The women, the old men, and even the children, were against us, and served as spies for the enemy. I saw a young boy of eight years old playing about among our horses' feet; he offered himself as a guide, and led a small party of hussars straight to an ambuscade. When he reached it he suddenly ran off towards the rocks, throwing up his bonnet in the air, and crying with all his might, "Long live our King, Ferdinand VII.!" and the firing instantly began.

The mountaineers supplied the want of discipline by their strength and perseverance. They were, indeed, no match for us in the plain, but they fought admirably among rocks and behind the walls of their homes. They were invincible, in short, wherever we could not bring cavalry against them. We were never able to subdue the inhabitants of Montejaque, a little hamlet half a league from Ronda, and containing only fifty or sixty houses. On the approach of the French, they sent their old men, their women and their children, to inaccessible fastnesses, and hid their most valuable property in caverns. The men alone remained.

The little town of Grazalema was the arsenal of the mountaineers. Marshal Soult sent a column of 3000 men against that small place. The inhabitants defended themselves from house to house, and only abandoned the place for want of ammunition; they then escaped into the mountains, after having destroyed a considerable number of our soldiers, and the moment the army left the town they took possession again. Three regiments of the line were sent a month afterwards on the same service. They repulsed the mountaineers with ease from every point in the open country, but they could not succeed in gaining possession of Grazalema. The inhabitants had entrenched themselves in the market-place, which is in the centre of the town; and had placed mattrasses before the windows of the houses in which they had shut themselves up. Twelve hussars of the tenth regiment, and forty riflemen who formed the advanced-guard of the French division, arrived in the square without meeting with any resistance; but they never returned, every one of them was struck by the fire which poured from the windows on all sides; and all who were sent to the same spot perished immediately in like manner, without having done the smallest damage to the enemy. The expeditions which the French frequently sent against the highest part of the mountains almost always dispersed the enemy's troops without subduing them, and our parties returned to Ronda with great loss. Even when our troops were superior in number, the mountaineers baffled all their efforts by their manner of fighting in the mountains. On the approach of our compact bodies, they retreated from rock to rock, and from position to position, without intermitting their fire. They destroyed whole columns as they fled, without giving us an opportunity of taking revenge. This manner of fighting had procured them, even from the Spaniards themselves, the name of mountain flies.

Upon leaving Ronda, our detachments were surrounded from the moment of their departure to that of their return to the town by a cloud of skirmishers. Every convoy of provisions cost us the lives of several men killed by ambuscades. In good truth might we employ the language of scripture, that we eat our own flesh, and drank our own blood in this inglorious war, and thus expiated in the very act the injustice of the cause for which we were fighting. The mountains of Grenada and Murcia were not more submissive than those of Ronda; and the French throughout the peninsula found themselves in the same situation with our regiment.

The weakness of our garrison did not permit us to send detachments of infantry to support our foragers. As our horsemen, therefore, were not always strong enough to meet the enemy, we sought to elude their vigilance either by taking a different road every day, or by going a great way about to avoid the dangerous hill-passes. The insurgents frequently collected around us, and we were obliged to cut our way through them.

I had hitherto been always fortunate; I succeeded in all enterprizes without the town, and when it was my turn to do duty at the main guard none of our people were ever killed. The hussars (who are in great measure fatalists) began to think me invulnerable : I was, nevertheless, almost mortally wounded on the 1st of May. I have been since, however, told, that I had marched in the place of one of my comrades who had an unlucky star, and thus had deceived my own destiny into an error. The occasion was this: -on the first of May I was with a detachment of forty-five hussars, commanded by a captain; we were going to seek cut straw, a few leagues from Ronda, and were accompanied by about a hundred peasants and muleteers from the town to lead the mules and asses. We had set out at five o'clock in the morning, and the captain and I marched at the head of the troops. As we passed through a defile half a league from the town, we expressed our surprise that the enemy had not placed an ambuscade in that place before that hour; by which they might have done us a great deal of harm. without running any risk themselves. On going up a steep hill I saw at a distance what at first appeared to be a cloud of dust, but afterwards, distinctly on our right, four or five hundred armed men advancing in the valley towards the village of Ariate. I told the captain that I saw the enemy, and that I was sure of it by the haste and disorder of the march. A quarter-master, however, said that they were muleteers returning to Ossuna. I was persuaded that they were the enemy's troops, and added that if I commanded the detachment, I would immediately charge them while they remained in the flat country; for if we were repulsed, our retreat was now secure, whereas if we should continue our march, we might be attacked in some defile: but the captain was not of my opinion, and we therefore went on. When we had done foraging, we set out again by the same road, sending on the mules before us, between an advanced guard of twelve hussars and the main

body of the detachment, at the head of which I was with the captain. When we were about two musket-shots from the pass which we dreaded the most. I saw a peasant sitting in an olive-tree cutting the branches very busily with a hatchet. I galloped on before the detachment, and demanded of the peasant if he had not seen the Serranos. He was in fact one of them, and was cutting those branches to bar up the pass. He replied that he had enough to do with his own work, without attending to what passed around him. During the same time the captain was questioning a child of five or six years old, whose answers were low and hesitating, as if he was afraid of being heard. But we had no time to pay attention to his confused tale, for we saw our advanced guard, at the head of the mules, come out of the other side of the pass, and go up the opposite hill. We had now, therefore, to follow them along a narrow and slippery path, where we were obliged to march one by one. and which was five or six hundred paces long, and bounded on each side by very thick garden hedges. The captain, by whose side I was marching, repeated what he had said in the morning, that it was lucky that the enemy had not placed any ambuscade in the pass. He had scarcely spoken the words when four or five shots from behind the hedge killed the three last mules of the convoy and the trumpeter's horse, which was before us. Our horses now instantly stopped. It belonged to the captain to proceed first, but the horse he rode had belonged to an officer who had been killed a few days before on a similar expedition, and the animal hesitated. Seeing this I spurred my horse. and got before the captain; I leaped over the trumpeter's horse, and the mules who had just fallen with their burthens, and passed the defile alone. The mountaineers, who were placed behind the hedges, thought that the whole detachment was close behind me, and discharged all their pieces as I passed. Two balls only reached me, the first passed through my left thigh; the other entered my body. The captain followed me at some distance, and arrived safe at the other side of the pass. Indeed. of the whole detachment only the four last men were killed, because the enemy stopped their fire for a few minutes, while they loaded their guns a second time. The quarter-master, who brought up the rear of the detachment, had his horse shot under him, and he counterfeited death himself, slipped into the brushwood, and came back in the middle of the night to Ronda without any wound.

When we had rallied, and formed our detachment in line, on the other side of the pass, I told the captain that I was wounded, that I felt my strength failing me, and that I was going to return to Ronda by a pretty steep cross-road, which was very short. He advised me to remain with the detachment, which, to clude the enemy, was going to take a road half a mile longer round the plain. I felt that I could not support so long a march, and I entered the steep path preceded by a hussar who led my horse by the bridle. As I was losing blood, I was obliged to summon up all my strength that I might not faint; if I had fallen off my horse I should probably have been stabbed. I held by both hands

by spurring it with the only leg I had to use. The poor animal went no faster, and staggered at every step, for a ball had passed through him. When I was within a quarter of a league of the town my horse could scarcely move. The hussar who accompanied me galloped off to give notice to the out-posts on the top of the hill, and I managed to get on a few paces alone, though scarcely able to see, or hear the peasant's guns, who were firing at me from a distance, while they were cutting wood. I was at length relieved by the arrival of some soldiers, who conveyed me to my lodgings in my horsecloth.

I had now a strong proof of the generosity of the Spanish character in the conduct of my hosts. They had hitherto regarded and treated me as an enemy; but no sooner did they see me wounded, than they told me, that since I could now do no harm to their country, they considered me as one of their family, and without a single moment's intermission, they nursed and watched over me for fifty days.

At day-break on the 4th May the insurgents came with a stronger force than they had ever yet assembled, to attack Ronda. Balls passed so very near my windows that they were obliged to move my bed intothe next room. My host and hostess came to tell me that the mountaineers were at the end of the street, and that the old town was on the point of being carried by storm; but that they were going to take precautions to shelter me from the fury of the Serranos, till the arrival of General Lerrana Valdenebro, who was their relation. They accordingly carefully hid my arms and my military dress, and carried me to the top of the house behind a little chapel dedicated to the Virgin. noon the firing retreated, and at length ceased entirely; the enemy was repulsed from every point, and my comrades came to relate the particulars of the battle the moment they got off their horses. A few days. afterwards the second hussars received orders to go to Santa Maria; it was replaced by the 43d regiment of the line, and I was the only one of my own corps left at Ronda; I did not know any of the officers of the new garrison, and I received no visits from the French, excepting indeed that a subaltern, the adjutant of a foot regiment, who was impatient for my quarters, came now and then to inquire of my host whether I was dead, or well enough to set off yet.

After the departure of my comrades my hosts redoubled their kindness and attention; they passed several hours every day in my room; and when I began to get a little better, they invited a few of their neighbours every evening to come and talk, or sometimes to perform a little concert by my bedside, to make me forget my sufferings. They sung their national songs and accompanied themselves with the guitar. The mother of my hostess had conceived a great friendship for me, ever since the day she had remained in my room to pray fervently for my safety during the assault. Her second daughter was a nun in a convent of nobile ladies, who sent to ask after my health from time to time, and

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accompanied her enquiries with little baskets of perfumed lint, covered with rose leaves.

On the 18th June, I rose for the first time since my wound. I was obliged to begin my melancholy apprenticeship of walking with crutches; I had totally lost the use of one of my legs. I went to visit the horse who was wounded with me, he had got quite well, but he did not know me at first, which showed me how much I was changed. On the 22d I left Ronda on an ammunition cart, which was going to Ossuna to fetch cartridges, under a strong escort. I parted from my hosts with the same kind of regret that one feels on leaving the home of one's fathers for the first time. They also were sorry at my leaving them; they had become attached to me by the kindnesses with which they themselves had loaded me.

I went from Ossuna to Essica, and from Essica to Cordova. Bodies of Spanish partisans, three or four hundred strong, scoured the country on all sides: when pursued, they retreated either to the mountains which separate Andalusia from Estremadura and La Mancha, or to those of the sea coast. These troops of partisans or guerrillas served to keep alive the spirit of the country, and kept up the communications between Cadiz and the interior of Spain. The people were led to believe that the Marquis de la Romana had beaten the French at Truxillo, and that the English in a sortic from Gibraltar had completely defeated them near the sea. These reports, however improbable, being skilfully spread, were received with transport; hope thus continually renewed, excited partial insurrections in various parts, and the news of the imaginary success, spread at a fortunate moment, often procured real advantages.

At some distance from Cordova there was a long established band of robbers; thieves by profession, they ceased not to strip Spanish travellers; but that they might acquit themselves of the obligation that every citizen contracts at his birth to shed his blood for his country when invaded, they made war on the French, and attacked their detachments, even though certain of obtaining no booty.

On leaving Andalusia I crossed La Mancha; I was obliged to stop several days at every station to await the return of the escorts who convoyed ammunition regularly to the siege of Cadiz. Sometimes wearied with staying so long in bad quarters, I abandoned myself to fate, and took the chance of going alone from one halting place to another. The commandants at the posts of communication could only give escorts for the indispensible service of the army, for they often lost several men in attempting to escort a single courier for a few leagues.

King Joseph had no regular means of levying his taxes; it was in vain that he sent his moveable columns to scour the country; the inhabitants fled to the mountains or defended themselves in their dwellings; the soldiers sacked the villages, but the contributions were not raised; peaceable individuals sometimes paid for all the rest, but they were afterwards grievously punished by the guerilla chiefs, for not having fled also at the approach of the French. The inhabitants of La

Mancha, as well as those of the neighbouring provinces, were exasperated by such violent measures, and the number of our enemies daily increased. New Castile, which I likewise passed through in my journey, was not more tranquil than La Mancha. Some Spanish partisans had been on the point of taking King Joseph prisoner in one of his country houses near Madrid.

I arrived at last in that capital, and there staid, waiting a favourable opportunity of returning to France.

King Joseph gave bull-fights several times a week, to please the people, attach them to his new government, and divert their attention from the presence of our armies. With this artful design he spared neither pains nor expense; and procured from Andalusia the most expert and renowned practitioners. The inhabitants of Madrid and the neighbourhood thronged to the spectacle, and even enjoyed it, notwithstanding their habitual sadness and the calamities of the times.

The bull-fights at Madrid are given in an amphitheatre open at the top; the spectators are seated in rows, and separated from the arena, which is in the centre, by a strong wooden fence. Boxes are constructed in the upper part of the edifice; places in the shade pay double the price of those that are exposed to the heat of the sun. The spectacle opens with a sort of parade executed by the horse and foot combatants, all richly dressed according to the old Spanish costume. The Picadores fight on horseback, armed with lances; their horses are saddled in the Moorish fashion; the lances are furnished with a sharp four-cornered head, made so as to wound the bull, without entering deep into his body. The Chulos fight on foot, armed with darts; their arm of defence is a piece of red cloth, which, attracting by its glare the bull's eyes, enables the skilful to avoid his attacks, and baffle his fury by favour of his illusory buckler.

I remained near a month at Madrid, waiting for an opportunity of going on. This opportunity at length arrived, and a body of officers, and myself amongst the number, then departed for France, under escort of about seventy-five foot soldiers. We had two madmen amongst us. The first was a hussar officer, who had lost his senses in consequence of a bad wound on the head. He did not forget the dignity of his rank, nor the name of his regiment. One day that our escort was attacked during our march, he eluded the vigilance of his guards, and fell upon the enemy with a small switch, which he called the magic wand of his predecessor the King of Morocco. The second of our madmen was a Flemish musician of the light infantry, in whose brain the warmth of the Spanish wines had fixed imperturbable gaiety. He had changed his clarinet for a fiddle, which he had been accustomed to play (while a boy), at village feasts, and he marched in the midst of our melancholy troops dancing and playing incessantly. We had the good fortune to regain France without accident, though we were in hourly danger of being carried off by the enemy's parties.

Here would be the natural termination of my personal narrative, but as I have since visited England, and there learned some important facts relative to the following campaign, I shall here put them together. The peace with Austria in 1809 enabled Napoleon to turn his whole attention and his whole force upon Spain and Portugal, and he accordingly menaced that he would drive the English into the sea. Marshal Massena, with an army of 80,000 men, distributed into three corps under Ney, Junot, and Regnier, was instantly ordered to march upon that service; Ney and Junot had already united in the neighbourhood of Salamanca, and Regnier was in Estremadura, communicating by Alcantara with the left of Ney's corps. A fourth body of reserve under the orders of General Drouet, was to assemble at Valladolid.

To oppose this army, Lord Wellington was in the field with an army composed of 30,000 English and the same number of Portuguese regulars. The Regency of Portugal had two further forces, the one an army of about 20,000 regulars under General Beresford, and the other the whole male population of Portugal under the name of the Ordenanza.

This irregular force was eminently useful to the English General as irregulars; but Lord Wellington too well understood their character to reckon them as effectives. He accordingly retreated before the French; and when Regnier had united with the other French corps at Almeida, Lord Wellington, calling in the English corps opposed to that General, retired by the left bank of the Mondego, and took up his position on the Sierra de Murcella, behind the Alva.

On the 15th of September, (1810), the French army quitting the neighbourhood of Almeida, entered the valley of the Mondego, crossed that river by Celorico and afterwards recrossed it by the bridge of Fornos; thus directing his murch along the right bank with the purpose of seizing Coimbra, which he imagined that the English had left unprotected.

But Lord Wellington, with the purpose of covering this city had suddenly crossed over his army, and taken a position in the top of the Sierra de Busaco, a mountain which commanded the road by which the French were advancing. The French had reached Vizeu by the 21st, and were delayed there two days in waiting for their artillery. They then continued their march, and on the 25th and 26th arrived at the foot of the Sierra de Busaco, the summit of which was occupied by the Anglo-Portuguese army. On the 27th, at six o'clock in the morning, they marched in column against that army by the two roads leading to Coimbra, by the village of San Antonio de Cantaro, and by the convent of Busaco. These roads, having been well broken up in different places, were defended by artillery; the hill by which they passed is likewise thick set with steep rocks, and it is extremely difficult of access. The French, nevertheless, attacked the English right with great intrepidity, and notwithstanding the fire of their artillery, and their light infantry, it reached the top of the hill with cou-

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siderable loss. It then formed in line with great coolness and the most perfect regularity, when it was attacked anew by a superior force and obliged to retire. It rallied however soon after, made a second attack, and was again repulsed. The French battalions which were advancing against the convent of Busaco, where the left and centre of the English met, were likewise repulsed just before they reached that point, leaving General Simon, who had been struck by two balls during the charge. and a good number of wounded officers and soldiers, on the height, The English and Portuguese occupied a position on the summit of the hills, which formed part of a circle whose two extremities embraced the ground over which the French were advancing. The allied army, therefore, seeing their least movements from above, had time to unite its forces in proper points, a circumstance which principally contributed to the advantage it gained. The French lost 1800 men in their attack, and they had nearly 3000 wounded; the English and Portuguese had only 1235 men disabled from fighting.

Marshal Massena repaired his error with great skill. Seeing it impossible to attack Lord Wellington's position in front, he resolved to turnit. He kept up the battle till night by his riflemen, and then sent a body of troops along the road between Mortagao and Oporto; in consequence of which movement the English and Portuguese abandoned their positions on the mountains of Busaco. The French entered Coimbra on the 1st October, continued their road, and on the 12th, after eleven days of forced marches, in the midst of rains, they reached Alenquer, nine leagues from Lisbon. They now looked upon that country as a certain conquest: and imagined that the English were preparing to reembark. But some reconnoitring parties, sent out in different directions, found Lord Wellington's army entrenched in a position which it was impossible either to attack or to turn, between the sea and the Tagus, on the chain of mountains which extend from Alhandra to Torres Vedras, and the mouth of the Sisandro, and run back in the direction of Mafra.

The French army almost saw its fate when they came in front of this position. Before them was a wall of brass; behind them the region of famine. In their rapid march between Almeida and Torres Vedras, the French had found only deserted towns and villages. The mills were destroyed, the wine casks stove in the streets, and the corn burned. They had seen neither horse nor mule, nor cow, nor ass, nor goat. They already fed upon the beasts of burthen which carried their baggage and and biscuit. Every thing was now worse. The French communications were cut off on all sides. Generals Silveira and Baccellar occupied all the roads by which Massena could receive his convoys. Colonels Trant, and Wilson had taken Coimbra and all the stores and commissariats. The garrisons of Peniché, Ourem, and Obidos, harassed the right flank. On the other hand the English enjoyed plenty and tranquillity. The broad ocean behind them supplied Lord Wellington with all he wanted. His videttes never fired upon our out-posts, and there was no attempt

MENT.] ROCCA'S HISTORY OF THE WAR IN SPAIN.

made by either party to harass each other by feigned attacks. The privations of the French soon became intolerable, and it became necessary to think of retreat in order to avoid absolute famine. Accordingly in the night between the 14th and 15th November, they broke up their camp, and began to retreat in order to take up their position at Santarem behind Rio Major. Lord Wellington immediately followed this movement and took up his station at Cartaxo on the Rio Major immediately opposite to Santarem. He at the same time strengthened his forces on the opposite bank of the Tagus to prevent Massena from crossing into the Alentejo. The position of the French was an excellent one. The town of Santarem is situated on the summit of a chain of very lofty hills, before which there is another chain of hills a little lower, on which the first line of the French was extended. At the foot of these second hills runs the Rio Major, and a little farther on the Tagus. The English had to cross a kind of wide morass by two causeways, which as well as the bridge were completely commanded by the artillery. Massena. therefore, hoped to be thus able to keep the English in check, and to extend his cantonments to the river Zezere, over which he had thrown A second object was to maintain a communication with Spain through Thomar, and a third was either to await the arrival of Soult in the Alentejo, or to effect the passage of his own army into that unconsumed province.

In the meantime the French made every effort to bring up their reinforcements. Generals Drouet and Gardanne joined Massena whilst in this position of Santarem, and Marshals Soult and Mortier hastened into the Alentejo, in the hopes of raising the sieges of Elvas and Badajos, and forcing Lord Wellington to divide his troops. Massena in the meantime spared no efforts to collect boats at Punhete in order to throw a bridge over the Tagus, whilst the English on their part were equally assiduous to prevent him. It was indeed important to them to prevent the French from crossing the river, as three consequences would immediately follow. In the first place, Massena would effect his escape; secondly, he would effect his junction with Soult and Mortier, and thirdly, Lord Wellington must then either have divided his army or incurred the most extreme peril. If he divided his army, he thereby necessarily weakened the defences of his lines of Torres Vedras, and a French corps advancing from Leyria upon Lisbon might have carried them. On the other hand, if he kept his force in his lines, the united French armies would have become masters of the peninsula in which Setuval is situated; they would thus have been masters of the course of the Tagus, and might both have starved Lisbon or from the heights of Almada have bombarded it.

By the beginning of March Marshal Massena had succeeded in constructing two hundred boats, and all his preparations were finished; but still he could not attempt to cross the Tagus without fresh reinforcements; and he had now waited so long for Marshals Soult and Mortier,

that he could remain no longer. A total want of food compelled him to an instant retreat, and accordingly on the 5th of March he commenced it. He was followed on the 10th by the whole English army, but the skill of Marshal Ney, who commanded the rear-guard, continually repulsed their efforts, and enabled the French contrary to all calculation to regain the frontier without any further serious loss.

FINIS.

THE ROYAL

MILITARY CHRONICLE;

OR.

BRITISH OFFICER'S

MONTHLY REGISTER, CHRONICLE, AND MILITARY MENTOR.

FOR AUGUST, 1815,

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FOR THE PROPRIETORS, MILITARY CHRONICLE AND MILITARY CLASSICS OFFICE, 14. CHARLOTTE-STREET, BLOOMSBURY, AND TO BE HAD OF ALL THE BOOKSELLERS .- 1815.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We waited to the last moment for a very fine Engraving, but which was only brought to us whilst we were writing this, and therefore much too late to be printed. It will be given next month. It is incredible what inconvenience we sustain under this double difficulty,—in the first place, that of procuring pictures for our engravers, and secondly, that of procuring the Engravings to be finished in due time.

A circumstantial Narrative of the BATTLE of WATERLOO, with Maps and Plans, price Two Shillings and Sixpence, will be ready for delivery on the 21st of August.

ROYAL MILITARY CHRONICLE.

No. 16.1

New Series, August, 1815.

[Vol. III,

FIRST OF SEVEN ORIGINAL JOURNALS OF THE CAM-PAIGNS IN THE PENINSULA OF FIELD-MARSHAL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

To the Publisher of the Military Chronicle.

SIR.

BE pleased to inform the subscribers of the Military Chronicle, that the First Journal, being the Journal of the Campaign in Portugal in 1808, is now ready for delivery. The Second Journal, being the Campaign in Spain of 1809, will be ready on the first of next month.

The proof-sheets of these Journals are submitted to the family of the Duke of Wellington before publication.—Epitor.

MEMOIR OF

LIEUT.-COL. GEORGE JAMES BRUERE TUCKER.

Lieutenant-Colonel George James Bruere Tucker, late of the 97th regiment, who was unfortunately drowned on board His Majesty's late sloop of war Primrose, with the whole of that ship's officers and crew, and with his younger brother, Captain Nathaniel Butterfield Tucker. 32d regiment, aide-de-camp to Major-General Nightingale, being on their return to the Peninsula to rejoin the army under Sirs John Moore and David Baird, was the second son of the late President of his Maiesty's Council of the island of Bermuda, and of Crayford in Kent, and brother of Henry St. George Tucker, Esquire, Chief Secretary to the Financial and Judicial Departments of the Government of Bengal; Captain Thomas Tudor Tucker, R. N. of his Majesty's ship Cherab, who bore a distinguished part in the capture of the late American frig gate Essex; Colonel John G. P. Tucker, 41st regiment, the officer who was the bearer of Sir Samuel Auchmuty's dispatches from Montevideo, and who was major of the grenadier battalion in the memorable assault of that fortress; Captain W. Pendock Tucker, aid-de-camp to Major-General Sir Miles Nightingale, and Deputy Paymaster-General at Java; Lieutenant C. B. Tucker, 24th Light Dragoons, Brigade, Major to Sir Miles Nightingale in Java; and Richard A. Tucker, Esq. Deputy Paymaster-General at Halifax, North America.

We have given the preceding list of the brothers of the late Lieut.-Col. Tucker, which will shew the military spirit by which so large a family has been actuated in the choice of a profession.

Lieut.-Col. Tucker entered his Majesty's service in the year 1789, as an ensign in his Majesty's 77th regiment, in which corps he served in all the campaigns of the late Marquis Cornwallis, until he obtained a lieutenancy in the 76th regiment, which corps he joined, and never quitted on any leave of absence until 1798, when extreme ill health compelled him to return to Europe. From his military talents and correct conduct. the officer commanding the 76th regiment wished him to accept the Adjutancy of that corps, which he declined, but, from his friendship for his superior officer, was induced to do the duties of adjutant for near two years, much to the satisfaction of all with whom he had any conceru. On his return to Europe in 1798, he had the gratification of being recommended to the Commander in Chief by the Marquis Cornwallis, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and Colonel Robert Craufurd, for promotion, which however was not granted; and he accordingly purchased a company in the 22d regiment, which corps he immediately joined, and accompanied to the Cape of Good Hope, although his constitution had been very greatly impaired and injured by the climate of India. On the arrival of Sir Samuel Auchmuty at the Cape, on his way to the Red Sea, he selected Captain Tucker to be his brigade-major, and when Sir David Baird's force formed a junction with that under Sir Samuel, the former took Captain Tucker upon his own staff, with whom he continued as major of brigade, until the expedition to the Cape of Good Hope took place, in 1805, when Sir David applied to the Commander in Chief, to appoint Captain Tucker the Deputy Adjutant-General to the expedition, with the rank of major. The former part of the request was immediately complied with, but Captain Tucker was not gazetted to the rank of major for several months after the departure of the expedition (his younger brother, John, having obtained the majority of the 22d regiment, by purchase, which he accompanied on that expedition.). Captain Tucker accompanied Sir David Baird to the Cape in the double capacity of Military Secretary and Adjutant-General. Upon the recal of Sir David, he seturned to England with him, and landed at Portsmouth within half an hour after the landing of his brother from Montevideo, with Sir Samuel Auchmuty's dispatches. The friendship and esteem which Sir David Baird entertained for Major George J. B. Tucker was unequivocally manifested by his successful and zealous efforts to procure him the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and to obtain, for him, a day's priority of rank to his younger brother, who obtained the step on this occasion. They were both gazetted at the same time, and, according to the understood rules of the service, the elder would become the inferior officer. To obviate this, the commission of Major Geo. J. B. Tucker was, by his Majesty's command, antedated one day, and the same notified to the junior brother by the Secretary at War, alledging the reason which induced this exercise of royal prerogative in favour of Major G. Tucker. Soon after this Lieut,-Col. Tucker was selected as Assistant Adjutant-General to the division of the army which Sir David Baird commanded under Lord

Cathcart, at Copenhagen. In this capacity he attracted, as he had ever done whenever employed, the good-will and esteem of those with whom he served, and, among others, added to the list of his valued friends the name of the Honourable Major-General Grosvenor, then colonel of the 97th regiment, who obtained for Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel George Tucker, then captain in the 50th regiment, the majority of his own regiment, the 97th, and on his return from the Baltic presented to him a very costly and elegant snuff-box, accompanied by a letter containing the warmest expressions of a lasting friendship.

Many weeks did not expire before an expedition was formed for the coast of Spain, under Brigadier-General Sir Brent Spencer; and and Lieut-Colonel Tucker was called upon to serve as the head of the staff of that force, in the capacity of Assistant Adjutant-General and Military Secretary to the Brigadier, there being no staff officer of superior appointment to that which Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker held. In this situation he was, when the immortal Wellesley, the hero of Europe, was appointed to supersede the Brigadier, and upon this occasion Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. obtained for Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker the superior staff appointment of Deputy Adjutant-General to the forces under his command, in which high and responsible situation he served with that transplendent character at the glorious battles of Roleia and Vimeira, and for which his family have obtained the medal due to his services and rank. Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker's letters, from his first acquaintance with Sir Arthur Wellesley, breathe throughout the strongest and most prophetic predictions of the glorious career of that great and admired hero. At the moment they were received, his correspondents ascribed to a warm and zealous disposition and temper, those animated predictions of the future triumphs of his patron, which have been so fully realized. He has often declared, that "Sir Arthur Wellesley would, one day or other, surpass in heroic achievements every warrior that has ever preceded him."-When his General returned, he accompanied him to England, and, as soon as the investigation of the Cintra convention was finished, again embarked to rejoin his gallant and distinguished friend and general Sir David Baird, as Assistant Adjutant-General, having been superseded in his appointment as Deputy Adjutant-General by the present Sir George Murray, K. G. C. who accompanied Sir Harry Burrard to the Peninsula.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker was thirty years of age when he lost his life. He was extremely active; of a lively disposition; animated, and ardently attached to his friends. Towards Sir David Baird he felt all the affection and attachment of a son. The highest panegyric upon his merits was expressed by Sir Arthur Wellesley, in the course of a debate in the House of Commons. Upon his death, and that of his brother, Sir Arthur applied to the Commander in Chief for a troop of dragoons, to be given to his younger brother, now brigade-major to Sir Miles Nightingale. This was a tribute of esteem and regard towards a deceased friend and follower, which does the highest credit to the noble

and benevolent feelings of the greatest general the world ever yet produced. It is a pleasure to record, that Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker's memory has not been forgotten by those noble and gallant friends, by whom he was noticed and patronized. Their friendship has been displayed, since his death, by their attention to his brothers. He lives after death in their recollection, and in their esteem. Posthumous kindness is the strongest proof of sincerity. As a son he was idolized; as a brother and friend he deservedly attracted the warmest affection and attachment of all his family. Not less beloved was the brother, who shared the same fate, and who had strongly recommended himself to the friendship and esteem of distinguished generals. At his death he was about twenty-four years of age, and had served at Seringapatam, at Copenhagen, and as aid-de-camp to General Nightingale, at the battles of Vimeira and Roleia. These officers were the grandsons of the late Governor Bruere, formerly of the 14th infantry. Two of their uncles, then captains in the British army, distinguished themselves at the battle of Bunker's Hill. One was killed in that action, and the other so severely wounded as to occasion his death some time after. A third uncle, a lieutenant in the royal navy, was killed in Rodney's action.

LIEUT.-GENERAL PICTON,

To the Editor of the Military Chronicle.

Sir,

The following particulars of the Life of the late Lieutenant-General Picton may not be uninteresting to your Readers.

LIEUT.-GENERAL Picton entered the army, in the year 1771, as an ensign in the 12th regiment of foot: he served in Gibraltar under Generals Sir Robert Boyd and Lord Heathfield, from the year 1778 to 1778. He got his company in the 75th regiment, and remained a captain for the long period of sixteen years, from 1778 to 1794. In 1783 he commanded the 75th regiment, then quartered in Bristol, and, by an intrepidity of conduct, and a daring resolution of mind, which, on every perilous emergency, mark the character and features of superior men, quelled a mutiny which broke out in that regiment, and which, from the complexion that it had assumed, promised the most disastrous consequences. For this example of a true military spirit, he received the royal approbation through the then Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal Conway.

From the year 1783, when his regiment was reduced, he remained on half-pay until the year 1794, and resided chiefly in Pembrokeshire, where his ancestors, an ancient and most respectable family, had long lived in the estrem and affection of a numerous circle of relations and friends.

In 1794, tired of inaction, and zealous for service, while yet a halfpay captain, he embarked for the West Indies, trusting to his fortune and his conduct for that promotion, to which a period of sixteen years, with the rank only of captain, certainly entitled him. Here he was soon distinguished by a great natural superiority of mind and information, and Sir John Vaughan, who then commanded in chief in the West Indies, gave him a majority in the 68th regiment. He also made him his aid-de-camp, and having now a closer opportunity of discerning his activity of mind, and talents for public business, he appointed him deputy quarter-master-general (by which situation he obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel), in which department he acquitted himself with the greatest credit and honour. On the appointment of General Knox to the head of the quarter-master-general department, he intended to return to Europe, but was requested by Sir Ralph Abercromby, who arrived in the West Indies in the year 1796, to remain, hoping, as that distinguished officer very graciously expressed, " to give him an opportunity of returning in a way more agreeable to him," if he would remain the campaign. This invitation was too flattering not to be accepted, and he embarked with him on the expedition against St. Lucia, where the General signified in public orders, "that all orders coming through Lieut.-Col, Picton should be considered as the orders of the Commanderin-Chief." On the capture of this island, the General, without any solicitation whatever, recommended him for the lieut.-colonelcy of the 68th regiment. From St. Lucia, Colonel Picton sailed with Sir Ralph on the expedition to St. Vincents, which was taken by storm; and upon the conclusion of this short but brilliant campaign, he went with Sir Ralph to Martinique, and from thence to England.

Sir Ralph Abercromby again sailed for the West Indies, attended by Colonel Picton, and arrived in Martinique in January 1797. The expedition against Trinidad being at this time determined on, the armament sailed for that island in the following month, and the conquest of the colony being completed, Colonel Picton was, without any recommendation, or even the least previous notification, appointed Governor; and when he waited on Sir Ralph to return his acknowledgments, the answer of that great man is worthy of being recorded: it was, "Colonel Picton, if I knew any officer, who, in my opinion, could discharge the duties annexed to this situation better than you, to him would I have given it: there are no thanks due to me for it."

From the period of capitulation to the year 1802, when the government of the island of Trinidad was unhappily put in commission, Colonel Picton discharged the duties of Governor and Captain-General, and received the thanks of the different Commanders-iu-Chief on the station, and the approbation of His Majesty's ministers.

The subsequent transactions, in consequence of the appointment of the ill-fated commission, are sufficiently known to the public: the characters of his accusers have also been recorded; and the tone of public feeling on the occasion cannot be more accurately conveyed than by adopting the words of the Anti-Jacobin Review of that period, illustrative of the conduct of this gallant officer .- " In the important operations of the siege of Badajos, and its subsequent capture by storm, the whole of the officers and men employed conducted themselves with such consummate skill and bravery, that it would be highly presumptuous in a public writer, to raise any distinction between them. But the readers of this Review will readily pardon us for indulging a feeling of self-gratulation, in contemplating the conduct of an officer, whom we, from a pure regard for justice and for truth, contributed to rescue from the impetuous current of public prejudice which was let loose against him; and from the destructive effects of popular clamour, to which he had been most unjustly consigned. We opposed, to the polluted but furious torrent, a firm rampart of truth; we met the senseless, but outrageous clamour, with the commanding voice of justice. The law, at length, in tardy reparation of his injuries, proclaimed the innocence, and vindicated the honour, which, from the beginning of the contest, we had plainly descried, and boldly defended. We had descried, even in the representations of his enemies, and in the conduct which formed the ground of their charges against him, indisputable proofs of that manly, honourable, and resolute spirit, which has since been unequivocally displayed, in the field of glory, to his own honour, and to the advantage of his country."

In 1809, General Picton commanded a brigade employed at the siege of Flushing, in which fortress he was afterwards appointed Governor, where, by every humane exertion, he contributed to the wants of the sick soldiers, and alleviated, as much as possible, the miseries of the inhabitants. From that desolating scene of sickness and calamity he returned home, alarmingly ill with fever and ague; and his health was scarcely re-established before he was placed on the staff of the army in the Peninsula. In this army he was soon appointed by the Marquis of Wellington (meriti tanti non immemor unquâm), to the command of the 3d division, which has been particularly selected upon every occasion of active service; "not (to use the words of a distinguished officer) because the troops of the 3d division, were better, but because the General was so good."

On the colonelcy of the 12th regiment becoming vacant by the death of the late General Picton (14th Oct. 1811,) His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, with that Royal graciousness and recollection of public desert, for which he is so distinguished and beloved, recommended Major-General Picton to the Regent's attention, and he was gazetted Colonel of the 77th foot, vice Sir Charles Hastings, appointed to the 12th regiment.

A JOURNAL

1815.]

OF THE THREE LAST MONTHS OF LOUIS XVI.

(Concluded from our last.)

ON the 26th of December, the King was conducted the second time to the bar of the assembly; I had taken care to have the Queen apprised of it, that she might not be alarmed by the drums, and the movements of the troops. His Majesty set out at ten o'clock in the morning, and returned at five in the evening, still in the custody of Chambon and Santerre. In the evening, just as the King got up from supper, M. de Malesherbes, M. de Sèze, and M. Tronchet, arrived: he requested them to take some refreshment, which was accepted only by M. de Seze; to whom his Majesty expressed his acknowledgments for the trouble he had taken in his speech of that day: the gentlemen then withdrew to the cabinet.

The next day, his Majesty condescended to give me his defence, which had been printed, after asking the municipal Officers if he might do it without impropriety. The commissioner, Vincent, a builder, who had rendered every service in his power to the royal family, undertook to convey a copy of it secretly to the Queen. When the King was thanking him for executing this little commission, he availed himself of the opportunity to ask his Majesty for something which he might keep as having belonged to him. The king untied his cravat, and made him a present of it. Another time, he gave his gloves to one who asked them from the same motive. Even in the eyes of many who guarded him, these spoils had already become sacred.

On the first of January, I went to the King's bed-side, and in a low voice begged his permission to present him with my most ardent wishes for the termination of his misfortunes. "I accept your good wishes," said he, in an affectionate manner, giving me one of his hands, which I kissed and bathed with my tears. As soon as he was up, he requested a municipal Officer to go and ask how his family were, and to present them with his best wishes for the new year. The municipal officers were softened at the manner in which these affecting words, as they referred to the situation of the King, were spoken. "Why," said one of them to me, when his Majesty had returned to his chamber, "Why does not he ask to see his family? Now that the proceedings are gone through, there could be no difficulty in the way: but he must apply to the convention." The municipal Officer who had gone with the message to the Queen's apartments, now returned, and informed his Majesty that his family thanked him for his good wishes, and sent him theirs. "What a new-year's day !" said the King.

The same evening, I took the liberty of remarking to him, that I was almost sure of the consent of the convention, if his Majesty would ask to be allowed to see his family. "In a few days," said the King, "they will not refuse me that consolation: I must wait."

Vol. III. No. 16, N. S.

The nearer the hour of pronouncing judgment approached, if the proceeding against the King can be so called, the more were my fears and anguish increased: I put a thousand questions to the municipal Officers, and all their answers added to my terrors. My wife still came every week to see me, and gave me an exact account of what was passing in Paris. The public opinion appeared always favourable to the King, and even burst out loudly at the theatres Francois and Vaudeville. representation of the piece called l'Ami des Loix at the former, every allusion to his Majesty's trial was caught and received with the most unbounded applause. At the latter, one of the characters in la Chaste Suzanne, says to the two old men: "How can you be accusers and judges at the same time?"—The audience forced the player to repeat this passage several times over. I gave the King a copy of l'Ami des Loix. I often told him, and indeed had almost persuaded myself, that the members of the convention, divided against one another, would only sentence him to confinement or banishment. "May they," replied his Majesty, "act with that moderation to my family! I have no fear but for them."

Some persons gave me to understand, by means of my wife, that a considerable sum, lodged with M. Parisot, the editor of the daily paper, was at the King's disposal, concerning which I was desired to apply to him for orders, and that the sum should be paid into the hands of M. de Malesherbes, which he promised me to do.

The correspondence between their Majesties was still kept up; and the King being informed that Madame Royale was ill, continued very uneasy for some days; till the Queen, after much entreaty, obtained the attendance of M. Brunier, physician of the children of France, on which his mind seemed to be relieved.

On Tuesday, the 15th of January, the day before the King was to receive judgment, his counsel came to him as usual: when M. de Seze and M. Tronchet apprised his Majesty of their absence the next day.

On Wednesday morning, the 16th, M. de Malesherbes staid a considerable time with the King, and told his Majesty as he went away that he would come and give him an account of the votes as soon as he knew the result of them; but the sitting being prolonged at night to a very late hour, the decree was not pronounced till the morning of the 17th.

In the evening of the 16th, at six o'clock, four municipal Officers entered the room and read a decree of the commune to the King, importing in substance,—"that he should be kept in sight, night and day, by the said four municipal Officers, and that two of them should stay all night by his bed side."—The King asked if the judgment had been pronounced: one of them (du Roure) having first seated himself in the armed-chair that belonged to his Majesty, who was standing, answered that he did not trouble himself about what was passing at the convention, but, however, he had heard say, that they were still voting. A few moments after, M. de Malesherbes came in, and informed the King that the votes were not all yet taken.

At this time, the chimney of a chamber, where the wood-carrier of the Temple Palace lodged, took fire. A considerable crowd got into the Court. A Municipal Officer in great alarm ran in to desire M. de Malesherbes to retire immediatly; he went away after assuring the King that he would return to let him know the judgment. I then asked the Municipal Officer what it was that frightened him? "The Temple is set on fire," said he; "it has been done on purpose to save Capet in the tumult; but I have had the walls surrounded by a strong guard." We soon heard that the fire was extinguished, and that it had arisen from a mere accident.

On Thursday, January 17th, M. de Malesherbes came about nine o'clock in the morning: I ran to meet him: "All is lost," said he; "the King is condemned." The King, who saw him coming, rose to receive him. The Minister threw himself at his feet; his voice was stifled with sobs, and, for several moments, he could not utter a word. The King raised him, and pressed him to his bosom with warmth. M. de Malesherbes then made known to him the decree sentencing him to death. The King shewed no mark of surprise or agitation: he seemed affected only at the grief of that venerable old man, and even endeavoured to console him.

M. de Malesherbes gave His Majesty an account of the result of the votes. Informers, relations, personal enemies, laity, clergy, absent members, had indiscriminately given their opinions; yet, notwithstanding this violation of all forms, those who were for death, some as a political necessity, others pretending to believe the King really guilty, amounted to a majority of five only. Several members had voted for death conditionally to be suspended. A new call of votes upon this question had been resolved; and it was to be presumed that the voices of those who were for postponing the perpetration of the regicide, joined to the suffrages against the sentence being capital, would have formed the majority. But at the gates of the Assembly, assassins, devoted to the Duke of Orleans, and to the Deputies of Paris, by their cries terrified, and their poignards menaced, whoever should refuse to become an accomplice; and thus, whether from stupefaction or indifference, the capital did not chuse to make a single attempt to save their King.

M. de Malesherbes was preparing to go: the King desired, and was permitted, to speak with him in private. He took him into his closet, shut the door, and remained about an hour alone with him. His Majesty then conducted him to the outer door, desired he would return early in the evening, and not forsake him in his last moraents. "The grief of this good old man has deeply affected me," said the King to me, as he came back to his chamber, where I was waiting for him.

From the arrival of M. de Malesherbes I had been seized with a trembling through my whole frame: however, I got every thing ready for the King to shave. He put on the soap himself, standing up and facing me while I held his bason. Forced to stifle my feelings, I had not yet had resolution to look at the face of my unfortunate Master; but my

eyes now catching his accidentally, my tears ran over in spite of me. I know not whether seeing me in that state put the King in mind of his own situation or not, but he suddenly turned very pale; at the sight my knees trembled and my strength forsook me; the King, perceiving me ready to fall, caught me by both hands, and pressing them warmly, said, in a gentle voice, "Come, more courage." He was observed; the depth of my affliction was manifested by my silence, of which he seemed sensible. His countenance was reanimated, he shaved himself with composure, and I then dressed him.

His Majesty remained in his chamber till dinner-time, employed in reading or walking. In the evening, seeing him, under pretence that he might want my attendance, "You have heard," said the King to me, "the account of the sentence pronounced against me?"-Ah! Sire," I answered, "hope that it will be superseded; M. de Malesherbes believes that it will."--"I seek no hope," replied the King, "but I grieve exceedingly to think that Monsieur d'Orleans, my relation, should have voted for my death: read that list." He then gave me the list of voters, which he had in his hand. "The public." I observed, "murmurs. greatly; Dumourier is in Paris; it is said that he entertains favourable intentions, and that he brings with him the sentiments of his army against the proceedings on your Majesty's trial. The people is shocked at the infamous conduct of Monsieur d'Orleans. It is also reported that the foreign Ambassadors will meet and go to the Assembly. Indeed, it is confidently asserted, that the Members of the Convention are afraid of a popular insurrection." -- "I should be very sorry to have it take place," replied the King; "for then there would be new victims. I do not fear death," added His Majesty; "but I cannot, without shuddering, contemplate the cruel lot which I leave behind me, to my Family, to the Queen, to our unfortunate children, and those faithful servants, who have never abandoned me, and those old men, whose subsistence depended upon the little pensions I allowed them! who will succour and protect them? I see the people delivered over a prey to anarchy, become the victims of every faction, crimes succeed crimes, long dissensions tear France in pieces." Then, after a moment's pause: "Oh! my God!" he exclaimed, " is this the reward which I must receive for all my sacrifices? Have I not tried every thing to ensure the happiness of the French people?" In pronouncing these words, he seized and pressed both my hands: penetrated with a holy respect, I bathed his with my tears; and in that state was under the necessity of breaking from him. The King expected M. de Malesherbes, but in vain. At night he asked me if he had been at the Temple: I had put the same question to the Commissioners, who had all answered, no.

On Friday, the 18th, the King was exceedingly measy at hearing no news of M. de Malesherbes. He happened to take up an old Mercure de France, where he found a riddle*, which he gave me to guess; but

^{*} Logogriphe, a particular sort of riddle, where the word meant is described by words and names which may be made out of some or all the letters.

not being able to do it—What, can't you find it out?" said he, "and yet it is at this moment very applicable to me: Sacrifice is the word." He then ordered me to look in the library for the volume of Hume's History of England that contained the death of Charles I. which he read the following days. I found, on this occasion, that His Majesty had perused, since his coming to the Temple, two hundred and fifty volumes. At night, I took the liberty of observing to him, that he could not be deprived of his Counsel without a decree of the Convention, and that he might demand their admission to the Tower. "Let us wait till tomorrow," was his reply.

On Saturday the 19th, at nine in the morning, a Municipal Officer named Gobeau, came in, holding a paper in his hand: he was accompanied by the Warden of the Tower, one Mathey, who brought a standish. The Municipal Officer told the King, that he had orders to take an inventory of the furniture and other effects. His Majesty left me with him, and retired to the turret. The Municipal Officer then, under pretence of taking the inventory, began a very minute search, to be certain, as he said, that no arms or sharp instruments had been secreted in His Majesty's chamber. A small desk remained to be examined. which contained papers: the King was compelled to open every drawer in it, and to remove and show every paper, one after the other. There were three rouleaus at the bottom of one of the drawers, the contents of which they desired to see. "It is," said the King, "money which does not belong to me, but to M. de Malesherbes: I had put it up for the purpose of giving it to him." The three rouleaus contained three thousand livres in gold; on each was written, in the King's hand, for M. de Malesherbes.

While the same search was making in the turret, His Majesty went into his chamber, and wanted to warm himself. Mathey, the Warden, was standing before the fire, with his back to it, and his coat-flaps tucked up under his arms. As he scarcely left room on either side for the King to warm himself, and continued insolently standing in the same place, His Majesty, with some quickness, told him to leave a little more room: on which he withdrew, and was soon after followed by the Municipal Officers, having concluded their scrutiny.

In the evening the King desired the Municipal Officers to enquire of the Commune upon what grounds they objected to his Counsel's coming to the Tower, requesting to have at least some conversation with M. de Malesherbes. They promised to mention it; but one of them confessed that they had been forbidden to lay before the Council General any application from Louis XVI. but what should be written and signed by himself. "Why," replied the King, have I been left two whole days ignorant of this alteration?" He then wrote a note, and gave it to the Municipal Officers; who, however, did not carry it to the Commune till the next morning. The King desired to have a free communication with his Counsel, and complained of the resolution ordering him to be kept in sight both night and day. "It must be supposed," said he, in his note to the Commune, "that, in the situation I

now am, it is very painful for me not to have it in my power to be alone, and not to be allowed the tranquillity necessary to collect myself."

On Sunday, the 20th of January, the King, the moment he was up, enquired of the Municipal Officers if they had laid his request before the Council of the Commune, which they assured him they had done immediately. About 10 o'clock, on my going into the King's chamber, he said: "I do not see that M. de Malesherbes comes."—" Sire," said I, "I have just learnt that he came several times, but was always refused admission into the Tower."——" I shall soon know the grounds of this refusal," replied the King, "as the Commune have, no doubt before this time, considered my letter." He employed himself the rest of the morning in walking about his chamber, and in reading and writing.

Just as the clock had struck two, the door was suddenly thrown open, for the Executive Council. About a dozen or fifteen persons came forward at once. Garat, the Minister of Justice, le Brun, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Grouvelle, Secretary to the Council, the President, and the Procurator-General-Syndic of the Department, the Mayor, and Solicitor to the Commune, the President and Public Accuser of the Criminal Tribunal. Santerre, stepping before the others, told me to announce the Executive Council. The King who had heard the noise they made in coming in, had got up, and advanced some steps, but at sight of this train he stopt between his chamber door and that of the antichamber in a most noble and commanding attitude. I was close by him. Garat, with his hat upon his head, addressed him thus: "Louis, the National Convention has charged the Provisionary Executive Council to make known to you its decrees of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th and 20th of January. The Secretary of the Council will read them to you." On which Grouvelle, the Secretary, unrolled the decree, and read it with a weak and tremulous voice.

Decrees of the National Convention of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th and 20th of January.

Art. I. The National Convention declares Louis Capet, the last King of the French, guilty of a conspiracy against the liberty of the Nation, and of an attempt against the general safety of the State.

Art. II. The National Convention decrees that Louis Capet shall suffer the punishment of death.

Art. III. The National Convention declares null and void the instrument of Louis Capet, brought to the Bar by his Counsel, entitled, "An Appeal to the Nation against the Judgment passed upon him by the Convention;" and prohibits every one whosoever to pay any attention to it, on pain of being prosecuted and punished as guilty of an attempt against the general safety of the Republic.

Art. IV. The Provisionary Executive Council shall give notice of the present decree in the course of the day to Louis Capet, and shall take proper measures to carry the same into execution within twenty-four hours after such notice given, and shall give a full account thereof to the National Convention immediately after it is executed.

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While this was reading, no alteration took place in the King's countenance; I observed only in the first article, at the word conspiracy, a smile of indignation appear upon his lips; but at the words shall suffer the punishment of death, the heavenly expression of his face, when he looked on those around him, showed them that death had no terrors for innocence. The King stept forward, and took the decree from the hands of the Secretary Grouvelle, folded it up, and put it into his pocket-book, from which he took out another paper, and presenting it to the Minister Garat, desired he would deliver that letter immediately to the National Convention. The Minister appearing to hesitate, the King added, "I will read it to you:" and without the least change of countenance, read what follows.

"I demand a delay of three days that I may be able to prepare myself for appearing before God. I also for that purpose demand that I may freely see the person whom I shall point out to the Commissioners of the Commune; and that that person may be ensured from all fear and all uneasiness on account of the act of charity he will bestow upon me."

"I demand to be freed from the incessant inspection which the Council General have for some days past established."

"I demand, in that interval, to be empowered to see my family at the time I shall appoint, and without a witness. I earnestly wish that the National Convention would immediately take into their consideration the state of my family, and that they may be permitted freely to go wherever they think proper."

"I recommend to the bounty of the nation at large those persons who were dependant upon me: there are very many of them who had sunk their whole fortune in their places, from the loss of which they must now be in great want; and others who never had any thing to live upon but their appointments: among the pensioners, there are many old men, women and children, who have also no other support."

"Done at the Tower of the Temple, the 20th of January, 1793. (Signed) LOUIS."

Garat took the King's letter, and said he was going with it to the convention. As he was leaving the room, his Majesty felt again in his pocket, took out his pocket-book, and, presenting a paper from it, said: "Sir, if the convention agrees to my demand of the person I desire, here is his address." He then gave it to a municipal Officer. This address, written in a different hand from the King's was: Monsieur Edgeworth de Firmont, No. 483, Rue du Bacq. The King went back a few steps, and the Minister, who those who accompanied him, went away.

His Majesty walked about his chamber for an instant. I remained standing against the door, my arms crossed, and as one deprived of all feeling. The King came up to me, and bade me order his dinner. Shortly after, two municipal Officers called me into the eating-room, where they read me a resolution, importing, "that Louis should use neither knife nor fork at his meals, but that his valet-de-chambre should

be trusted with a knife to cut his bread and meat, in the presence of two municipal Officers, and that afterward the knife should be taken away." The two municipal officers charged me to inform the King of this, which I refused to do.

On entering the eating-room, the King saw the tray in which was the Queen's dinner: he asked why his family had been made to wait an hour beyond their time, and said the delay would alarm them. He then sat down to table. "I have no knife," said he. The municipal Officer, Minier, then mentioned the resolution of the commune. "Do they think me such a coward," said the King, "as to make an attempt on my own life? They have imputed crimes to me, but I am innocent of them, and shall die without fear. Would to God my death might be productive of happiness to the French, or could avert the miseries I foresee." A profound silence ensued. The King ate a little: he helped himself to some stewed beef with a spoon, and broke his bread. He was at dinner but a few minutes.

I was sitting in my chamber, a prey to the deepest affliction, when about six in the evening, Garat returned to the Tower. I went to announce him to the king, but Santerre, who was before him, walked up to his Majesty, and in a low voice, with a smile upon his face, said: "Here is the executive council." The minister coming forward, told the King that he had carried his letter to the convention, which had charged him to deliver the following answer: "That Louis should be at liberty to send for any Minister of worship he should think proper, and to see his family freely and without witness; that the nation, ever great and ever just, would take into consideration the state of his Family; that proper indemnifications would be granted to the creditors of his household; and that respecting the delay of three days, the national convention had passed to the order of the day.

On this reply the King made no observation, but returned to his chamber, where he said to me: I thought, from Santerre's air and manner that he came to inform me of the delay being granted." A young municipal Officer whose name was Botson, seeing the King speak to me, approached us; and the King said to him: "You seem concerned at my fate; accept my thanks for it." The municipal Officer, surprised, knew not what to answer; and I was myself astonished at his Majesty's expressions; for this municipal officer, who was scarcely two-and-twenty, and of a mild and engaging figure, had said only a few minutes before: "I desired to be on duty at the temple to see the grimaces he will make to-morrow."—It was of the King that he spoke.—"And I too,"—subjoined Merceraut, the stone-cutter, whom I mentioned before:—"every body refused to take the duty; I would not give up this day for a good deal of money." Such were the vile and ferocious men whom the commune purposely named to guard the King in his last moments.

For the last four days the King had not seen his counsel. Such of the Commissioners as had shown themselves concerned for his misfortunes avoided coming near the place. Among so many subjects to whom he

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had been a father, among so many Frenchmen whom he had loaded with his bounties, there was but a single servant left with him to participate in his sorrows.

After the answer from the convention was read, the commissioners took the minister of justice aside, and asked him how the King was to see his family. "In private," replied Garat, "it is so intended by the convention." Upon which the municipal Officers communicated to him the resolution of the commune, which enjoined them not to lose sight of the King, night or day. It was then agreed between the Municipal Officers and the ministers, in order to reconcile these two opposite resolutions, that the King should receive his family in the eating-room, so as to be seen through the glazed partition, but that the door should be shut that they might not be heard.

His Majesty called the minister of justice back, to ask if he had sent to M. de Firmont. Garat said he had brought him with him in his carriage, that he was with the council, and was coming up. His majesty gave 3000 livres in gold to a Municipal Officer, named Baudrais, who was talking with the minister, which he begged him to deliver to M. de Malesherbes, to whom they belonged. The Municipal Officer promised he would, but immediately carried them to the council, and this money never was paid to M. de Malesherbes. M. de Firmont now made his appearance; the King took him to the turret and shut himself in with him. Garat being gone, there remained in his Majesty's apartment only three Municipal Officers.

At eight o'clock, the King came out of his closet, and desired the municipal Officers to conduct him to his family: they replied, that could not be, but his family should be brought down, if he desired it. "Be it so," said the King; "but I may at least see them alone in my chamber."——"No," rejoined one of them, "we have settled with the minister of justice, that it shall be in the eating-room."——"You have heard, said his Majesty, that the decree of the convention permits me to see them without witnesses."——"True," replied the Officers, "you will be in private: the door shall be shut, but we shall have our eyes upon you through the glass."——"Let my family come," said the King.

In the interval, his Majesty went into the eating-room: I followed him, placed the table aside, and set chairs at the top to make room. The king desired me to bring some water and a glass. There being a decanter of iced water standing on a table, I brought only a glass, which I placed by it: on which he told me to bring some water that was not iced, for if the Queen drank that it might make her ill. "Go," added his Majesty, "and tell M. de Firmont not to leave the closet, lest my family should be shocked on seeing him." The commissioner who had gone for them, staid a quarter of an hour; during which time, the King returned to his closet, but from time to time came to the entry-door in extreme agitation.

At half past eight, the door opened. The Queen came first, leading her son by the hand; Madame Royale and Madame Elizabeth followed. They all threw themselves into the arms of the King. A melancholv silence prevailed for some minutes; and it was only broken by sighs and sobs. The Queen made an inclination towards His Majesty's chamber. " No," said the King, "let us go into this room, I can see you only there." They went in, and I shut the glass-door. The King sat down: the Queen was on his left hand, Madame Elizabeth on his right, Madame Royale nearly opposite, and the young Prince stood between his legs: all were leaning on the King, and often pressed him in their embraces. This scene of sorrow lasted an hour and three quarters, during which it was impossible to hear any thing. It could, however, be seen, that, after every sentence attered by the King, the agitation of the Queen and Princesses increased, lasted some minutes, and then the King began to speak agaiu. It was plain, from their gestures, that they received from himself the first intelligence of his condemnation,

At a quarter past ten, the King rose first; they all followed. I opened the door. The Queen held the King by his right arm: Their Majesties gave each a hand to the Dauphin. Madame Royale, on the King's left, had her soms round his body; and, behind her, Madame Elizabeth, on the same side, had taken his arm. They advanced some steps towards the entry-door, breaking out into the most agonizing lamentations. "I assure you," said the King, "that I will see you again to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock,"--- "You promise?" said they all together .-- "Yes, I promise." --- "Why not at seven o'clock?" said the Queen, ---"Well! yes, at seven," replied the King; "farewell!" He pronounced "Farewell" in so impressive a manner, that their sobs were renewed, and Madame Royal fainted at the feet of the King, round whom she had clung. I raised her, and assisted Madame Elizabeth to support her. The King, willing to put an end to this agonizing scene, once more embraced them all most tenderly, and had resolution to tear himself from their arms. " Farewell! farewell!" said he, and went into his chamber.

The Queen, Princesses and Dauphin, returned to their own apartments. I attempted to continue supporting Madame Royale, but the Municipal Officers stopt me before I had gone up two steps, and compelled me to go in. Though both the doors were shut, the screams and lamentations of the Queen and Princesses were heard for some time on the stairs. The King retuned to his Confessor in the turret closet.

He came out in half an hour, and I put supper upon the table: the King eat little, but heartily.

After supper, His Majesty returning to the closet, his Confessor came out in a few minutes, and desired the Municipal Officers to conduct him to the Council Chamber. It was to request that he might be furnished with the garments and whatever else was necessary for performing Mass early the next morning. M. de Firmont did not prevail without great difficulty in having his request granted. The articles wanted for the service were brought from the church of the Capuchins of the Marais,

near the Hotel de Soubise, which had been formed into a parish. On returning from the Council Chamber, M. de Firmont went directly to the King, who accompanied him to the turret, where they remained together till half past twelve. I then undressed the King, and, as I was going to roll his hair, he said; "It does not signify." Afterwards, when he was in bed, as I was drawing his curtains: "Clèry, you will call me at five o'clock."

He was scarcely in bed before he fell into a profound sleep, which lasted, without interruption, till five. M. de Firmont, whom His Majesty had persuaded to take some rest, threw himself upon my bed; and I passed the night on a chair in the King's chamber, praying God to support his strength and his courage,

On hearing five o'clock strike I began to light the fire. The noise I made awoke the King, who, drawing his curtains, asked if it had struck five. I said it had by several clocks, but not yet by that in the apartment. Having finished with the fire, I went to his bed-side. "I have slept soundly," said his Majesty; "I stood in need of it; yesterday was a fatiguing day to me. Where is M. de Firmont?" I answered, on my bed.—"And where were you all night?"—"On this chair."—
"I am sorry for it," said the King.—"Oh! Sire," replied I, "can I think of myself at this moment?" He gave me his hand, and tenderly pressed mine.

I then dressed His Majesty; during which time, he took a seal from his watch and put it into his waistcoat pocket; the watch he placed on the chimney-piece: then taking off his ring from his finger, after looking at it again and again, he put it into the pocket with the seal. He changed his shirt, put on a white waistcoat, which he wore the evening before, and I helped him on with his coat. He then emptied his pockets of his pocket-book, his glass, his snuff-box, and some other things, which, with his purse also, he deposited on the chimney-piece: this was all done without a word, and before several Municipal Officers. As soon as he was dressed, the King bade me go and inform M. de Firmont of it, whom I found already risen, and he immediately attended His Majesty to the turret.

Meanwhile, I placed a chest of drawers in the middle of the chamber, and arranged it in the form of an altar for saying Mass. The necessary articles had been brought at two o'clock in the morning. The Priest's garments I carried into my chamber, and, when every thing was ready, I went and informed His Majesty. He asked me if I was acquainted with the service. I told him I was, but that I did not know the responses by heart. He had a book in his hand, which he opened, and, finding the place of the Mass, gave it me: he then took another book for himself. The Priest was then dressing. Before the altar, I had placed an armedchair for His Majesty, with a large cushion on the ground: the cushion he desired me to take away, and went himself to his closet for a smaller one, made of hair, which he commonly made use of at his prayers. When the Priest came in, the Municipal Officers retired into the antichamber,

and I shut one fold of the door. The Mass began at six o'clock. There was a profound silence during the awful ceremony. The King, all the time on his knees, heard Mass with the most devout attention; and received the Communion. After the service His Majesty withdrew to his closet, and the Priest went into my chamber, to put off his official attire.

I seized this moment of going to the King. He took both my hands into his, and said, with a tone of tenderness, "Clery, I am satisfied with your attentions." --- "Ah! Sire," said I, throwing myself at his feet, "why cannot I, by my death, satisfy these butchers, and preserve a life of so much value to every good Frenchman. Hope, Sire! they will not dare to strike the blow." --- "Death," said he, "does not alarm me; I am quite prepared for it; but do not expose yourself. I mean to request that you should remain with my son. Take every care of him in this horrid abode: bring to his mind-tell him all the pangs I suffered for the misfortunes entailed upon him. The day perhaps may come when he will have it in his power to reward your zeal."---" Oh! my master! Oh! my King!" cried I, "if the most absolute devotion, if my zeal, if my attentions have been agreeable to you, the only reward I desire of your majesty is to receive your blessing: do not refuse it to the last Frenchman remaining with you." I was still at his feet, holding one of his hands: in that state he granted my request, and blessed me; then raising me, pressed me to his bosom, saying, "give it to all who are in my service: and tell Turgi I am pleased with his conduct. Now go," added he, "and give no room for suspicion against you." Then calling me back, and taking up a paper which he had put upon a table : "Here," said he, "is a letter I received from Petion, on your coming to the temple; it may be of use to you in staying here." I again seized his hand, which I kissed and retired. "Farewell!" he again said to me, "farewell!"

I went to my chamber, where I found M. de Firmont on his knees, praying by my bed-side, "What a Monarch!" said he, rising; "with what resignation and fortitude does he go to meet death! He is as calm, as composed as if he had been hearing Mass in his own palace, and surrounded with his court."——"I have this moment," said I, "been taking the most affecting leave of him: he deigned to promise me that he would request my being permitted to continue at the Tower, in the service of his son. I beg you, Sir, when he goes out to put him in mind of it, for I shall never more have the happiness of seeing him alone."—Be composed, said M. de Firmont, and rejoined the King.

At seven o'clock, the King, coming out of his closet, called to me, and taking me within the recess of the window, said: "You will give this Seal to my Son—this Ring to the Queen, and assure her that it is with pain I part with it—this little packet contains the hair of all my Family, you will give her that too.—Tell the Queen, my dear Children, and my Sister, that although I promised to see them this morning I have resolved to spare them the pangs of so cruel a separation:

tell them how much it costs me to go without receiving their embraces once more!" He wiped away some tears; then added, in the most mournful accent: "I charge you to bear them my last farewell!" He returned to the turret.

The Municipal Officers, who had come up, heard His Majesty, and saw him give me the things, which I still held in my hands. At first they desired to have them given up; but one of them proposing to let them remain in my possession, till the Council should decide what was to be done, it was so agreed.

In a quarter of an hour after, the King again came out: "Enquire," said he to me, "if I can have a pair of scissars." I made the request known to the Commissioners. "Do you know what he wants to do?"—"I know nothing about it."——"We must know." I knocked at the door of the closet, and the King came out. The Municipal Officer, who had followed me, said to him, "You have desired to have a pair of scissars; but, before the request is made to the Council, we must know what you want to do with them." His Majesty answered: "It is that Clery may cut my hair." The Municipal Officers retired: one of them went down to the Council Chamber, where, after half an hour's deliberation, the scissars were refused. The Officer came up, and acquainted the King with the decision. I did not mean to touch the scissars," said His Majesty; "I should have desired Clery to cut my hair before you: try once more, Sir; I beg you to represent to the Council, who persisted in their refusal.

It was at this time that I was told to prepare myself to accompany the King, in order to undress him on the scaffold. At this intelligence I was seized with terror; but collecting all my strength, I was getting myself ready to discharge this last duty to my Master, who felt a repugnance to its being performed by the executioner, when another Municipal Officer came and told me that I was not to go out, adding, "The common executioner is good enough for him."

All the troops in Paris had been under arms from five o'clock in the morning. The beat of drums, the clash of arms, the trampling of horses, the removal of cannon, which were incessantly carried from one place to another, all resounded at the Tower.

At half after eight o'clock the noise increased, the doors were thrown open with a great clatter, when Santerre, accompanied by seven or eight Municipal Officers, entered at the head of ten soldiers, and drew them up in two lines. At this movement, the King came out of his closet, and said to Santerre: "You are come for me?"——"Yes," was the answer.——"A moment," said the King, and went to his closet, from which he instantly returned, followed by his Confessor. His Majesty had his Will in his hand, and addressing a Municipal Officer, (named Jaques Roux, a priest,) who happened to stand before the other, said: I beg you to give this paper to the Queen—to my wife."——"It is no business of mine," replied he, refusing to take it; "I am come here to conduct you to the scaffold." His Majesty then turned to Gobeau, ano-

and I shut one fold of the door. The Mass began at six o'clock. There was a profound silence during the awful ceremony. The King, all the time on his knees, heard Mass with the most devout attention; and received the Communion. After the service His Majesty withdrew to his closet, and the Priest went into my chamber, to put off his official attire.

I seized this moment of going to the King. He took both my hands into his, and said, with a tone of tenderness, "Clery, I am satisfied with your attentions." --- "Ah! Sire," said I, throwing myself at his feet, "why cannot I, by my death, satisfy these butchers, and preserve a life of so much value to every good Frenchman. Hope, Sire! they will not date to strike the blow."---" Death," said he, "does not alarm me; I am quite prepared for it; but do not expose yourself. I mean to request that you should remain with my son. Take every care of him in this horrid abode: bring to his mind-tell him all the pangs I suffered for the misfortunes entailed upon him. The day perhaps may come when he will have it in his power to reward your zeal."---" Oh! my master! Oh! my King!" cried I, "if the most absolute devotion, if my zeal, if my attentions have been agreeable to you, the only reward I desire of your majesty is to receive your blessing: do not refuse it to the last Frenchman remaining with you." I was still at his feet, holding one of his hands: in that state he granted my request, and blessed me; then raising me, pressed me to his bosom, saying, "give it to all who are in my service: and tell Turgi I am pleased with his conduct. Now go," added he, "and give no room for suspicion against you." Then calling me back, and taking up a paper which he had put upon a table : "Here," said he, "is a letter I received from Petion, on your coming to the temple; it may be of use to you in staying here." I again seized his hand, which I kissed and retired. "Farewell!" he again said to me, "farewell!"

I went to my chamber, where I found M. de Firmont on his knees, praying by my bed-side, "What a Monarch!" said he, rising; "with what resignation and fortitude does he go to meet death! He is as calm, as composed as if he had been hearing Mass in his own palace, and surrounded with his court."——"I have this moment," said I, "been taking the most affecting leave of him: he deigned to promise me that he would request my being permitted to continue at the Tower, in the service of his son. I beg you, Sir, when he goes out to put him in mind of it, for I shall never more have the happiness of seeing him alone."—Be composed, said M. de Firmont, and rejoined the King.

At seven o'clock, the King, coming out of his closet, called to me, and taking me within the recess of the window, said: "You will give this Seal to my Son—this Ring to the Queen, and assure her that it is with pain I part with it—this little packet contains the hair of all my Family, you will give her that too.—Tell the Queen, my dear Children, and my Sister, that although I promised to see them this morning I have resolved to spare them the pangs of so cruel a separation:

tell them how much it costs me to go without receiving their embraces once more!" He wiped away some tears; then added, in the most mournful accent: "I charge you to bear them my last farewell!" He returned to the turret.

The Municipal Officers, who had come up, heard His Majesty, and saw him give me the things, which I still held in my hands. At first they desired to have them given up; but one of them proposing to let them remain in my possession, till the Council should decide what was to be done, it was so agreed.

In a quarter of an hour after, the King again came out: "Enquire," said he to me, "if I can have a pair of scissars." I made the request known to the Commissioners. "Do you know what he wants to do?"—"I know nothing about it."——"We must know." I knocked at the door of the closet, and the King came out. The Municipal Officer, who had followed me, said to him, "You have desired to have a pair of scissars; but, before the request is made to the Council, we must know what you want to do with them." His Majesty answered: "It is that Clery may cut my hair." The Municipal Officers retired: one of them went down to the Council Chamber, where, after half an hour's deliberation, the scissars were refused. The Officer came up, and acquainted the King with the decision. I did not mean to touch the scissars," said His Majesty; "I should have desired Cléry to cut my hair before you: try once more, Sir; I beg you to represent to the Council, who persisted in their refusal.

It was at this time that I was told to prepare myself to accompany the King, in order to undress him on the scaffold. At this intelligence I was seized with terror; but collecting all my strength, I was getting myself ready to discharge this last duty to my Master, who felt a repugnance to its being performed by the executioner, when another Municipal Officer came and told me that I was not to go out, adding, "The common executioner is good enough for him."

All the troops in Paris had been under arms from five o'clock in the morning. The beat of drums, the clash of arms, the trampling of horses, the removal of cannon, which were incessantly carried from one place to another, all resounded at the Tower.

At half after eight o'clock the noise increased, the doors were thrown open with a great clatter, when Santerre, accompanied by seven or eight Municipal Officers, entered at the head of ten soldiers, and drew them up in two lines. At this movement, the King came out of his closet, and said to Santerre: "You are come for me?"——"Yes," was the answer.——"A moment," said the King, and went to his closet, from which he instantly returned, followed by his Confessor. His Majesty had his Will in his hand, and addressing a Municipal Officer, (named Jaques Roux, a priest,) who happened to stand before the other, said: I beg you to give this paper to the Queen—to my wife."——"It is no business of mine," replied he, refusing to take it; "I am come here to conduct you to the scaffold." His Majesty then turned to Gobeau, ano-

ther Municipal Officer. "I beg," said he, "that you will give this paper to my wife; you may read it; there are some particulars in it I wish to be made known to the Commune."

I was standing behind the King, near the fire-place, he turned round to me, and I offered him his great coat. "I don't want it," said he, "give me only my hat." I presented it to him—his hand met mine, which he pressed once more for the last time. "Gentlemen," said he, addressing the Municipal Officers, "I should be glad that Cléry might stay with my son, as he has been accustomed to be attended by him; I trust that the Commune will grant this request." His Majesty then looked at Santerre, and said: "Lead on."

These were the last words he spoke in his apartments. On the top of the stairs he met Mathey, the Warden of the Tower, to whom he said: "I spoke with some little quickness to you the day before yesterday, do not take it ill." Mathey made no answer, and even affected to turn from the King while he was speaking.

I remained alone in the chamber, overwhelmed with sorrow, and almost without sense of feeling. The drums and trumpets proclaimed His Majesty's departure from the Tower.... An hour after, discharges of artillery, and cries of Vive la Nation! Vive République! were heard.... The best of Kings was no more!

THE LIFE OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM WINDHAM,

LATE SECRETARY OF WAR, MINISTER OF COLONIES, &c. (Continued from our last.)

" Felbrigg, September 20, 1809.

trembling in my hole, waiting what shall befal me. The habits of life here are not a good preparation for a return to office, though the health is;—but even that has a little failed in the present instance; for, though I am considerably above my rate of London health, I am, from accident, not quite up to that which residence here ought to have given me."

" Felbrigg, October 2, 1809.

Lord Grey and Lord Grenville. I should think that the ministers will contrive to go on, and I cannot but hope it; for, in the other event, I am sure I don't know what is to be done. I was enumerating, in my answer to Lord Grey, all that I thought could be looked to in that case, and the amount was very limited, and frightfully difficult.***

"I feel but little stomach to return to office, unless I can have carte blanche as to my military plans; and even then the whole is so be-devilled, that there is no restoring things to their original state."

The administration did go on, as Mr. Windham expected and hoped. Mr. Perceval became First Lord of the Treasury upon the death of the

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Duke of Portland; the Marquis Wellesley succeeded Mr. Canning in the foreign department; and the Earl of Liverpool accepted the seals of the war colonial office, which had been resigned by Lord Castlereagh.

During one of his frequent visits to Mrs. Burke at Beaconsfield, Mr. Windham wrote a letter to me, which may be inserted, for the sake of a whimsical but forcible and characteristic comment on an event seemingly in itself of very slight importance.

" Beaconsfield, December 18, 1809.

I have been here for some days, and have just been joined by Mrs. Windham, who left London to-day. We are on our way to Bristol, and must lose no time, as Mr. , who is here, insists on my being in London during the second week of next month. I shall come very reluctantly, having during this recess indulged myself so much in other pursuits, and contracted, by one means or another, so strong a dislike to the politics of the times, that I am by no means in a frame of mind favourable for the commencement of a parliamentary session. The air of the country, however, will do something, if not to dispose me more to business, at least to render me more capable of it. One of the events, that tend to create a great impatience of all public concerns, is this disgraceful and mischievous triumph of the O. P.'s, and the humiliation of the managers. Their conduct is quite unaccountable, unless they have secret information that the juries at the sessions would follow the example of Mr. Clifford's jury; and even then the sacrifice of Brandon is something so scandalous, that no consideration of interest can excuse it. I am the more alive, I suppose, to this defeat of the managers, because I see it as a rehearsal of what is meant for higher performers; the managers being the government; the new prices, the taxes; Brandon, myself perhaps; and the O. P.'s exactly the same description of persons as at present. There is one difference I hope; - that I shall never come on like poor Brandon with an apology. In all other respects, it seems to me to present but too sure a presage of the fate of the country, contemptible as the thing is in itself."

"W. WINDHAM."

This was one of the last letters which I received from him. He returned to town soon after Christmes, and at the commencement of the session of 1810 was at his post. He took an early occasion to express in very strong terms his disapprobation of the object and conduct of the expedition to the Scheldt. The vote for an enquiry upon the subject of that armament, ought, he contended, to be "carried by acclamation;" the British army he described as having been "marched to its grave;—to be extinguished amidst the pestilential air of Walcheren;—to go out like a candle in a vault." But the Battle of Talavera, on the other hand, called from him a warm panegyric, both on the skill of Lord Wellington, and the gallantry of the troops. In this speech, which did honour to his feelings as an Englishman, he dated the military renown of our later days

from our achievements in Egypt;—the Battle of Maida confirmed it;—and those of Vimeira, Corunna, and Talavera, he declared he would not exchange for a "whole archipelago of sugar-islands." This decided preference of national glory to mere acquisition of wealth or territory, may be considered as the key-stone which supported the whole fabric of his political opinious.

The part which he took on a subsequent question exposed him to much temporary unpopularity. In the prosecution of the enquiry which the House of Commons instituted on the subject of the Scheldt Expedition. Mr. Yorke thought it necessary to move daily the standing order for excluding strangers. This measure was reprobated by Mr. Sheridan. who proposed that the standing order should be referred to a committee of privileges. Mr. Windham, who had always professed to dislike the custom of reporting debates in the newspapers, not only warmly opposed Mr. Sheridan's motion, but used some expressions by which the reporters in the gallery considered themselves to be personally calumniated. Their resentment, as might be expected, broke forth in daily attacks on him in the public prints; and they soon came to a formal agreement that his speeches should no longer be reported. For these marks of vengeance, Mr. Windham had fully prepared himself, and he imputed no blame to those who inflicted them. To the honour of the conductors of the daily press, it should be remembered that a few months afterwards, they buried their resentments in the grave of their illustrious adversary, and joined in the public voice in lamenting the loss of his talents and virtues,

By the temporary exclusion of Mr. Windham's speeches from the newspapers, some valuable ones have been wholly lost, while of others there have been preserved only a few slight and unsatisfactory fragments. Only one, and that a very short one, remains entire, namely, his eulogium on the character and conduct of the Roman Catholics of England. From that body (whose claims, it will be remembered, received his warm support in 1790) he now presented two petitions, praying, in loyal and respectful language, for the removal of the pains and disabilities to which they were liable by law, on account of their religious principles. Mr. Windham's speech on this occasion was preserved by Mr. Butler of Lincoln's inn, in a late valuable publication, and has been obligingly communicated by him to the author of this narrative.

Another speech, which he made in support of Lord Porchester's mostion, censuring the expedition against the Scheldt, is represented by those who heard it to have been one of the most eloquent ever delivered in parliament. It arrested and fully recompensed the attention of the house for nearly two hours. He was urged by some of his friends to prepare it for publication in the form of a pamphlet, but his answer was, that as the subject was temporary, so was the speech, and he felt no anxiety to preserve it. A short and imperfect report of it was given some time afterwards in one of the newspapers. On the result of the enquiry, the ministers were successful by a majority of forty votes.

In the proceedings of the House of Commons against Sir Francis Burdett, for a breach of their privileges, Mr. Windham stood forward in maintaining what he conceived to be the rights of Parliament, and concurred in the vote which was finally agreed upon, for committing Sir Francis to the Tower. His speech on this occasion is said to have been a highly animated one, but no part of it has been preserved.

The practice of mutilating the printed reports of parliamentary proceedings continued but for little more than two months; after which Mr. Windham's speeches were again suffered to appear, as well as Mr. Tierney's which had shared in the proscription made by the reporters. On the 1st of May 1810, we find Mr. Windham opposing the second reading of a bill which had been brought in by Sir Samuel Romilly, as part of his plan for reducing the number of capital punishments. This Mr. Windham considered as a measure of dangerous innovation, and in resisting it, he took occasion to avow his belief that the mischievous effects of the French Revolution had not yet ceased. That Revolution, he said, had still an existence,—" it was above us, and beneath us;—it was without us and within us;—it was every where round about us." The bill was lost by a majority of two.

He spoke for the last time in the House of Commons, on the 11th of May 1810. The question before the house was, the course which it would be expedient to take in relation to the actions which had been brought against the Speaker and the Serjeant at Arms by Sir Francis Burdett. Mr. Windham, as it will be readily conceived, asserted the

dignity of parliament, and the sacredness of its privileges.

A painful narrative remains to be related. The calamitous event which caused Mr. Windham's last illness took place a few months previous to the period down to which the circumstances of his political life have just been carried. It was about midnight on the 8th of July, 1809, that in walking home from an evening party, he observed a house in Conduit-street to be on fire. He hastened to the spot, to render his assistance, and found that the house in flames was so near to that of his friend, the honourable Frederick North, as to threaten its destruction. Knowing that Mr. North (who was then on a voyage in the Mediterranean) possessed a most valuable library, Mr. Windham determined, with the assistance of some persons belonging to a volunteer corps, whom he selected from the crowd, to make an effort for the preservation of it. After four hours' labour, four-fifths of the books were saved. He did not quit the house till the flames, which finally consumed it, had spread so extensively as to gender his further exertions highly dangerous.

(To be continued.)

THE LIVES OF THE GREAT CAPTAINS OF MODERN HISTORY.

IT is our purpose under this head to execute a task very much wanted, that of giving a complete collection of The Laves of the Great Captains of Modern History. As far as respects France this has been already executed by Brantome, but we have no English Writer who has attempted it. The materials of these Lives will be as follows: 1. Where the subjects themselves have left their own Memoirs, they shall be given in full. 2. Where these Lives have been written by any author of authority, they will likewise be given in full,—such work being translated or reprinted. 3. In want of such materials, the best will be selected rom the annals and memoirs of the age in which they lived.

THE LIFE OF JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

BOOK III.

To the Battle of Ramilies, and the Reduction of Brabant and Flanders.
(Continued from our last.)

On the 16th of November his grace had a conference with the prince of Salms, and other public ministers, at which the emperor was present; and the same evening was a long while in conversation with his imperial majesty, and the empress-consort. His grace was afterwards seized with a fit of the gout, which confined him three days to his chamber; and, during that time, was visited by all persons of the greatest distinction in that city. The 19th, the earl of Sunderland, envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary from her majesty of Great Britain, had his audience of leave of the emperor and empress, and the next day of the empress-dowager and the archduchess. His lordship was presented by his imperial majesty with his picture set with diamonds. The 22d, the duke of Marlborough went to see the famous chamber of rarities, where the emperor was pleased to meet him, and in a very obliging manner presented him with a ring of considerable value. The same evening his grace had his audiences of leave of all the imperial family, and the 23d began his journey back, accompanied by the earl of Sunderland.

His imperial majesty, in consideration of the signal services done by his grace to the Austrian family, and to the empire, was pleased to make him an actual grant of the territory of Mindelheim in Suabia, not far from Augsburg, lately possesed by duke Maximilian, nucle to the then elector of Bavaria; and a patent was ordered to pass the seal for erecting this fief into a principality agreeable to the title conferred on him the year before by the emperor Leopold. In consequence of this, his grace was distinguished for the future, throughout the empire, by the stile and title of prince of Mindelheim. His grace, during his stay at Vienna, received the greatest marks of honour and esteem. The court would have defrayed his expences, and the prince of Dietrichstein's palace had been fitted up for his reception; but his grace was pleased to decline it.

Our hero returned with so much honour, and the manner of his reception every where was so magnificent, that I cannot forbear continuing this journal. His imperial majesty had ordered horses to be ready at every stage at his own charges, and several officers of his court were sent before, to get all things in a readiness, that nothing might retard the journey of my lord duke and the earl of Sunderland. They took the route of Berlin, with three coaches and two waggons; and, as they found six fresh horses for each at every stage, they travelled with an extraordinary speed, notwithstanding the season of the year. The first day they came to Sclowitz, a castle belonging to count Zinzendorf, who came thus far with them from Vienna, and treated his grace and his lordship with great magnificence. The 24th they dined at Wishaw a place belonging to the bishop of Olmutz and Osnabrug, brother to the duke of Lorrain; and the officers of his highness had prepared a noble dinner in the palace. After this, they continued their journey to Ohmutz, and lay that night in a noble palace of the said prince, which is very richly furnished. The envoy of his highness was come post from Vienna, to receive his grace and his lordship to a splendid entertainment at supper; during which, the room was crowded with people of the best quality, and others, every body pressing in to see the Preserver and Deliverer of the Empire, as they stiled his grace. The 25th they lay at New Staddle, lodging in a house belonging to colonel Schmettan, whose servants had prepared a handsome supper, by order of their master. In all the towns and cities their lordships went through, the burghers and garrisons were drawn up in arms, and beat their drums as his grace went by, at the emperor's special order.

The 26th they lay at Breslau, the capital of Silesia, and one of the noblest towns in Germany. Their lordships were lodged at colonel Schmettau's own house, who was come on purpose from Vienna to receive them, and gave them a magnificent entertainment. The magistrates came in their formalities to compliment his grace, and made him the usual presents of the place; as they did likewise to lord Sunderland, The 28th they lay at a small town called Granberg, which is the last place in the imperial territories. The officers of the emperor were ordered to take their leave here; but his grace desired them to go to Crossen, the next stage, from whence they were dismissed with handsome presents, The 29th bis grace arrived in the dominions of the king of Prussia, and met there with horses appointed by order of his majesty, and a commissary to wait upon him as far as Berlin. They arrived that day at Frankfort on the Oder, where the magistrates complimented his grace, and made him the usual present of wine. The 30th they arrived at Berlin, having been met by twelve of the king's own horses, for the coaches of my lord duke and the earl of Sunderland. These horses were changed twice the same day. His grace came to Berlin in very good health, notwithstanding the fatigue of a journey of 532 miles in eight days, in a very hard season.

My lord duke went the same night to court, and had a conference with the king of Prussia. The next day he presented the earl of Sunderland to his majesty, the prince royal, and the king's two brothers, who all received his lordship with all imaginable marks of esteem. They saw the king at dinner, with the royal family, and after a short stay there, their lordships went to dine with lord Raby, ambassador from her majesty of Great Britain. The same day his grace supped with his majesty, the prince royal, and the margraves, and dined with them the next day at the great chamberlain's. He had the next day a long conference with his majesty, and renewed for one year longer the treaty for 8000 men to be employed in Italy, which his majesty promised to recruit, and to send three battalions in the room of the horse he had recalled.

Having settled that affair, and adjusted some other difficulties, his grace set out from Berlin the 3d of December in the evening, very well satisfied with the success of his negociations, and the honours that had been paid him at the court of Berlin, where he was complimented by the imperial resident with the title of prince of Mindelheim, by order of his master. His grace and the earl of Sunderland were attended to the frontiers of the territories of the king of Prussia, on this side, with the same ceremonies that had been observed before, and received in like manner in those of the elector of Hanover. They arrived there the 6th, and his grace lodged at the house of general Bulau, which had been prepared for his reception. Lord Sunderland was received at another house, belonging to one of the chief officers of the court. They waited the same evening on his electoral highness and the electress dowager, and were received with the marks of distinction due to their extraordinary merit and quality. I must not omit that the king of Prussia presented my lord duke with a sword enriched with diamonds; and lord Sunderland with a diamond ring of great value. His grace was presented by his electoral highness with a fine calash and six horses, and the earl of Sunderland with a set of horses. The 9th their lordships set out very early from Hanover, and arrived the 14th at the Hague. His grace found the troops gone into winter-quarters, the lines of those in the English service extending from the sea to the neighbourhood of Mentz. He had several conferences with the deputies of the states, and then, together with Lord Sunderland, set sail for England, and arrived at St. James's the last day of the year. It was in vain that his enemies strove to impair his credit by depreciating the actions of his last campaigu, when the commons of England, in a committee, returned him thanks for his great services performed to her majesty and the nation, and for his prudent negociations with the queen's allies.

Thus ended the fourth year of a war, which, though it was the most difficult the allies ever had to maintain, was the only remedy they had left in the imminent danger with which Europe was threatened. While having Spain for an ally, they employed their joint force in the former wars, to prevent or repel the evil they seared, they found the weakness of their efforts prolonged the contest; and for want of exerting timely

their full strength, things were brought to that extremity, that had not Heaven sent a great revolution in England, it would have been impossible for them to save themselves. But since, by means of a shampeace, France became master of the monarchy of Spain, they could hope for no safety but from redoubled efforts, favoured by the Divine Protection.

The defeat of the French at Blenheim, the taking of Landau, Triers, Traerbach, and several other posts on the Moselle, and the suppression of a rebellion in Bavaria, were such real advantages, as gave just cause to hope, that the following campaign, in the year 1705, would be attended even with greater successes; but the event did not prove answerable to expectation. The French, whose best troops were either killed or taken prisoners, and whose cavalry was almost all dismounted, found means to repair their losses, and bring vost armies into th field, not withstanding those difficulties, and their scarcity of money, which obliged them to stop the cash, and give paper in lieu of the species. They neglected, indeed, authing to retrieve their losses; but yet their diligence was not the only, nor the chief cause of the disappointments of the allies. Those who have read the foregoing pages, will have no need to look towards the constellations in heaven, and the conjunction of the planets, to find it out. The affairs of the confederacy, however, were far from going backwards, as the reader may see by adding the following particulars to the actions of the duke of Marlborough.

Verrua, after a brave defence of six months together, was surrendered for want of provisions, and the French paid for a rock, and the ruins of some fortifications, above 20 millions of livres, and sacrificed the lives of more than 12,000 men. The long resistance of that place broke all their measures, and the duke of Vendome was not able to besiege Turin, as he intended, before the arrival of prince Eugene obliged him to march to the defence of the Milanese. They were still more unfortunate before Gibraltar, and the marshal de Tessy, who commanded the French and Spanish forces before that place, had the mortification to raise the siege, after having seen the flower of his army perish in that long enterprise. Three men of war of Monsieur Fonti's squadron were taken, and that admiral forced to run his own ship a-ground with another, and set them on fire themselves; without mentioning the loss of four frigates, which they had been forced to burn themselves, upon sir John Leake's coming into the bay of Gibraltar, towards the latter end of the year.

Eight thousand Prussians having marched into Italy, according to the treaty concluded with the court of Berlin by the duke of Marlborough, and four thousand Palatines being ordered the same way, prince Eugene set out for the imperial army in the Veronese, and attempted to pass the Mincio. This proving impracticable in sight of the French army, his highness was obliged to send his infantry over the lake de la Guarda to Salo, and the cavalry marched about the said lake to

The grand prior of France observed narrowly the motions of the Germans; but prince Eugene proved too vigilant for him, and gained a day's march, whereby he advanced to the banks of the Oglio. passed that river, took Soncino, Palazzuolo, Ponte Oglio, and several other posts; which obliged the duke of Vendome to leave the French army in Piedmont, under the command of the duke of La Feuillade, and march in person to defend the passage of the Adda. Prince Eugene made several feints to draw the enemy to an engagement, and at last attacked them near Cassano, where, notwithstanding they had the advantage of the ground, he obtained a considerable advantage. obliged the duke of Vendome to recal some forces from Piedmont, whereby the army under M. de la Feuillade, which had taken Chivazzo, was too much weakened to undertake the siege of Turin, before which place they were encamped near a month, and had made all the necessary dispositions. They flattered themselves to fright the duke of Savoy into a separate treaty: but that prince being proof against all their tempting promises, and haughty menaces, the duke of La Feuillade was obliged to retire towards Casal; from whence he marched to retake Asti, which the French had abandoned by mistake, and from whence he was forced to retire with great loss. Prince Eugene seeing the season so far advanced that the enemy could make no further attempt against Turin, repassed the Oglio, and returned towards Gavardo, whereupon the duke of Vendome marched to Castiglione della Stivere to secure the Mautuan. Thus far the affairs of Italy had a tolerable aspect for the allies.

On the other hand, as the French were resolved to spare nothing for reducing the duke of Saxoy, they took Villa Franca in the beginning of the spring, and obliged the town of Nizza to surrender: but they did not think fit to attack the citadel, and having blown up the fortifications of the town, withdrew their troops from thence. However, the taking of that place being absolutely necessary for reducing the duke of Savoy, and to hinder him from receiving any succour by sea, the duke of Berwick marched through Languedoc to besiege it, at the very time that Barcelona surrendered to the allies. In fine, the governor of Nizza was obliged to surrender the 4th of January; and the fortress of Monmellian, which had been blocked up for two years together, surrendered the 11th of December.

(To be continued.)

ORIGINAL LETTERS

WRITTEN BY OFFICERS DURING THE SEVERAL CAMPAIGNS IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN,

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE CAMPAIGNS.

The following Collection of Letters will be duly valued by our Readers, as being so many original cotemporaneous documents, written at the time, and on the spot, of the several Campaigns. They are arranged in distinct packets according as they belong so different Campaigns. Thus the first Packet is entituled,—Letters during the Campaign of 1808; and as the value of this kind of document depends upon its authenticity, at the end of every Packet is added the name of the afficer by whom the Letters were written. And where the whole of the Letters are not by one Writer, but are intermixed, the intermixed letters are signed with the name of the Writer.

LETTERS DURING THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1808 AND 1809.

LETTER VI.

Alcantara, November 17th, 1808.—My BEAR S————A continued hilly heath brought us to Zagura, the last Portuguese town on this route, previous to our entering Spain. It stands commandingly; possessing a fine old castle now in ruins. The Elga runs at the foot of the height on which the town is raised; and is crossed by a bridge of ancient Roman date, presenting an object well worthy the pencil of the artist, and the admiration of the antiquary. Mouldering relics of all ages render this romantic river still more interesting. And single towers, the frontier posts of feudal times, at remote distances, stand in solitary grandeur on the bold precipices which embattle the waters.

After crossing the bridge we bade adieu to Portugal; and with the proud enthusiasm of Don Sebastian and his followers, when they leaped on the African shores,—entered Spain! Five leagues brought us to Alcantara, and spread before us a sublime view of its great remains. This place has long been one of the first consequence in Spain. It owes its origin and name to the splendid bridge of Trajan, which stretches across the Tagus; and in after times it redoubled its celebrity by the knights which took their title from its domains; and by its having heroically sustained two memorable sieges, in 1914 and 1706. The Moors, when they were paramount in this country, were the first who established a residence here. They fortified their new city with ranges of strong walls and towers, and supported it with considerable force and magnificence.

This immortal proof of the greatness of Trajan's views—this unequalled bridge, consists of six arches, rising stupendously over the torrent. They are erected on buttresses; and the stones are formed as was the usual Roman method, unhawn near the edges; a manner which not only provides against the destruction of time, but likewise gives a solid and bold air to the architecture.

The length of the bridge is upwards of six hundred feet, about twenty-nine broad, and two hundred high. These dimensions will give you some idea, though a faint one, of the grandeur of this gigantic work. On the centre of the bridge is an elevation, like a triumphant arch, under which the passenger must go in passing from one end to the other. In the middle of the arch is an inscription on a tablet, and on each side of it are others; two of which are scarcely discernible, though of a much more modern date than the former one.

I have copied and enclosed that on the tablet, which is Trajan's; and also another inscribed by Charles the Fifth, importing the repairs made by his orders. So far the detail: but no description can give an exact idea of the coup d'æil whole the scene presents.

The town is situated on a precipitous and rocky hill, close to the river. The approach from the Portuguese side is over a steep descent of shelving rocks, winding round a barren mountain. On a sudden the brown waters of the Tagus break upon the sight, swoln by the hundred streams which sweep down the surrounding heights, and terminating in a rapid and roaring cataract, about two hundred yards below the bridge. The city crowns the opposite mountain, and looks with majesty on the time-defying structure of the once dictators of the world.

We entered Alcantara with high expectations. But the governor proved a beast—a vulgar, uncivil animal, with little power to serve us, and less inclination. He was asleep when we called on him. Indeed all seemed asleep to the feelings we brought along with us. They received us with the coldness of men, shewing they were resolved ever to consider us as strangers, and treated us with an inhospitality they durst not have ventured had they not believed us to be friends. We were wretchedly quartered; and the governor's excuse for this was, that he had no authority to force the people to receive us into more respectable houses.

The interior of the city is vile, filled with crumbling walls, and churches in a desolate state. There appears to be a very extensive religious institution here which possesses a fine Gothic structure, unfinished, and a noble cloister, filled with many curious remains.

It may seem ridiculous (the observation I am now going to make), but it is impossible not to notice the object of it; namely, the number of pigs of prodigious fatness! They prowl about the streets in droves, seeking for that filth to which they owe their exuberant rotundity. Pork, therefore, is the beef and mutton of the people; and, as for milk, it is as difficult to procure as ice in the crater of Etna. Take the city all in all, for so large and apparently well populated a town, I could not have conceived it possible that so few absolute necessaries can be found.

The specimen we meet here of the Spaniards gives them the superiority over the Portuguese. They are less in stature, but their faces have an air of intelligence and candour not generally possessed by their Lusitanian neighbours. And what increases their advantage is the gay taste of their costume.

The females wear a sort of black cowl over their heads, hanging in long folds down their backs: short petticoats of all colours, with extremely pretty legs covered with red or black worsted stockings, terminated by leathern shoes and large silver buckles, complete the dress of this fair race. The males, like the Portuguese, are enveloped in brown cloaks, with large flapped hats.

There are no regular Spanish troops in this place. The inhabitants mount guard at the governor's quarters. On our first route thither we met an officer and two patriotic dragoons, armed with long rusty swords, a solitary pistol, and, I believe, a carbine. Their rags and wretchedness peeping from under their thread-bare mantles, and their uncouth manœuvres, added to a sort of savage consequence arrogated by them on the cause of their becoming soldiers, gave them more the air of banditti than that of saviours of the state. Their horses were yet worse appointed, and seemed more unserviceable. If these

indolent, insolent Alcantarans be specimens of the army we are to join, I cannot augur a very brilliant campaign.

I have accompanied this letter with a sketch of the bridge, and of the archway which crowns its centre. The following is the inscription on the tablet which runs across its top.

Inscription over the arch on the bridge at Alcantara.

IMP. CAESARI. DIVI. NERVA. F. NERVAE. TRAIANO. AVG. GERM. DACIO. PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POTES. VIII. IMP. COS. V. P. P.

Inscription of Charles Fifth, on each side the arch.

Carolus. V. imp. Cæsar. Augustus. Hispaniarumque. Rex. Hunc. Pontem. bellis. etantiquitae. ex. parte. deruptum. ruinam. qui. minantim in staurariius. Sit Anno, domini, M. O. XLIII. Imperiius

Sit Anno. domini, M. O. XLIII. Imperiius, VI. XXIIII. Regni. vero XXVI.

On the Alcantara end of this long structure stands the Roman temple. Under the pediment is placed this inscription.

IMP. NERVAE. TRAIANO.
CAESARI. AVGVSTO. GERMANICO.
DACICO. SACRVM.

TEMPLVM. IN. RVPE. TAGI. SVPERIS,
ET. CAESARE. PLENVM. ARS.
VBI. MATERIA. VINCITVR. IPSA.
SVA. QVIS. QVALI. DEDERIT.
VOTO. FORTASSE. REQVIRET.
CVRA. JVVAT. INGENTEM. VASTA.
PONTEM. QVAM. MOLE. PECERIT.
SACRA. LITATURO. FEGIT. HONORE.

LACER. QUI. PONTEM. FECIT. LACER. ET. NOVA. TEMPLA. DICAVIT.

ILLIC. SE. SOLVVNT. HIC. SIBI. VOTA. LITANT.

PONTEM. PERPETVI. MANSVRYM. VN. SAECVLA. MYNDI:

FECIT. DIVINA. NOBILIS. ARTE LACER.

IDEM. ROMVLEIS TEMPLVM. CVM. CAESARE. DIVIS.

CONSTITUIT. EELIX. VTRAQVE. CAVSA. SACRI.

C. JVLIVS. LACER. H. S. I.

ET. DEDICAVIT. AMICO. CYRIO. LACONE. ICAEDITANO.

LETTER IX.

Plasentia.

We bade adien to the city of the white bridge without any regret. The country over which we now travelled was highly dangerous for horses, on account of the rocky steepness of the road; and for carriages it was wholly impassable. At the distance of a league we again came upon the Tagus, whose foaming roar, long ere we reached its abrupt sides, apprised us of our near approach. Here, being to cross to the opposite bank, with great difficulty, and at different times, we embarked our horses and mules on a sort of square

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boat, which wafted us, or rather was violently driven by the impetus of the stream, to the point where we were to land.

Two leagues of savage waste marked the residue of our way till we arrived at a neat little village called Ceclavin. Nothing of the base parsimony and cold-blooded patriotism which disgraced the proud city of Alcantara was seen within these humble walls. We were kindly received by the chief man of the town. He was married, and, to the honour of his fair dame, his habitation possessed an air of greater regularity and comfort than we had seen in any house since our march. Soon after our arrival an excellent dinner was set on the table, at which both the lady and her spouse presided; partaking of its good things with more than common union, as they both eat off the same plate and drank out of the same cup.

After a dessert of grapes well preserved, and most excellent libations of their juice, we were invited into the outer room, which was a kind of hall. There we found the whole village assembled and seated around, while a capacious pan of charcoal glowed in the midst of a circle of mats, so placed for the host and his friends. Fiddles, guitars, &c. finished the apparatus for the pleasures of the evening. The young ladies were dressed in their gala habits, and the men in their gayest attire. A dance, of course, seemed to threaten our patience.

The bullero was to be the exhibition. You already know its merits by my description of the like performance at the theatre in Lisbon. Speedily, therefore, the Vestris of the train rose, took out his lady, and the appropriate music striking up, produced a species of agility before us not very graceful, but most undoubtedly excessively droll. The female displayed great dexterity in keeping time, not only with the noise of her castanets, but with the silent movements of her bottom; which in elasticity far exceeded the quickness of her feet.

The kosack, and almost all the native dances of uncultured nations, and the bullero we must rank with these, were invented to express somewhat more than the tender passion: and certainly the one we have just been witnessing is not the most platonic of them all. Disgusting as it was to our eyes, the honest Ceclaviners liked it well; and a frequent repetition of the amusement took place during the evening. To change the scene a little, we commenced ballet-masters, and prevailed upon our village company to attempt an English country dance; in which they succeeded a merveille.

The dress of the girls at this little fite was rather pretty in parts. They wore their hair in nets (the first of the sort I had seen), decorated with large bows of riband, whose ends hung flaunting down their backs. White hand-kerchiefs covered their shoulders; and a long and uncouth waist, in stiff stays, rose from between a pair of hips branching out a la hollandoise. Their petticoats were very short; an apt fashion for displaying the heauty of their neat legs and feet. No want of gold was apparent here; as quantities of it formed into necklaces terminating in huge crosses, and massive ear-rings of the same gorgeous metal, shone upon their persons. The gayest colours, such as red, yellow, green, &c. were the general hues of their habiliments.

The ball ended at eleven o'clock: and refreshments in the form of wine, &c. flowed about most profusely. The segar too was not less used, as all the males present inhaled its somniferous perfume.

On retiring, we found clean and excellent beds, and slept soundly under the protection of a couple of bronze crucifixes that overhung our pillows.

These gay villagers exhibited every appearance of comfort both in their habitations and themselves. Neither rags nor wretchedness were to be encountered here. All the roundity of content, with the bloom of hilarity, marked not only the visages of the women, but of the men also.

Torrionsilla, at the distance of four leagues, was our next object. It is a village situated on a flattish hill, along which stretches forth an irregular line of poor-looking houses; but they are inhabited by a healthy and industrious people. Being the first British officers who had been seen in this place, we were presently surrounded like wild beasts at a fair; and had the pleasure of hearing that we were viewed with no inconsiderable degree of admiration. This was exemplified by more than words; for the Avocat, an agreeable and well-educated man, received us into his habitation, and treated us most hospitably.

The groupes of women, whom we often pass at the fountains in this country, are beautifully interesting; their figures, dress, and dexterity in carrying water, are peculiar to themselves. The earthen vessel which contains it is of a simple form; and when placed upon the head, is in complete unison with their costume, and composes a picture worthy of the most tasteful pencil; reminding you of the celebrated work by Raphael, of the girl bearing the water vessel.

The Spanish nymphs seldom apply their hands to poize it, and will walk over the roughest ground without losing the balance.

The habitations of the peasantry consist of one story and a ground floor; both are paved with brick; and the latter's windows are strongly barred with iron projecting into the street, which gives them the air of a range of prisons. The upper stories have nothing but wooden shutters: which, being kept open to admit the light, makes the residence as horribly cold in winter, as it is pleasantly cool in summer. The brick floors, too, add to these effects.

During our various sojourns at the several quarters in which we halted, the natives of every class and calling were admitted into our refectories; smoking, and staring at us whilst we cat, and between the whiffs asking ten thousand questions; besides exclaiming enthusiastically against the French and their emperor; and with equal ardour expressing their gratitude and friendship for England. And if physiognomy is to be believed, certainly we ought not to doubt the sincerity of this people; for, not only their aptness and activity, but their openness and vast superiority of mind over the Portuguese, give them ample claims for credit.

Weleft Torrionsilla at nine the following morning; and before the close of the day reached the valley of Plasentia; in whose bosom stands the fair city of that name, at a distance of six long leagues from the place whence we started. The road leading to this town is over a plain of great extent. On our approach vast piles of mountains rise to the view; their giant heads are crowned with snow, and look down proudly on the ancient walls of Plasentia. The valley is rich in vines, olives, and cypress trees, and receives a delightful interest from the meandering Xerte, which rolls its fertilizing waves through the scene. Numberless pale buildings and chapels rise from amidst the woods; and the venerable castie and tower, as well as the cathedral, present themselves in mouldering grandeur on the margin of the river, whose clear surface doubles these beauties by reflecting their forms. A noble stone bridge crosses the stream; its arches are modernized; but the whole bears evident marks of that era when a conquering people stamped their power by works of magnificence and utility. More Roman remains are to be met with in various parts

of this bishopric; and as you know my fondness for the study, you will not be surprised that I should wish to halt a day, and have an opportunity of indulging in my favourite gratification.

(In continuation.)

Plasentia, Nov. 21.

I recommence my epistle, after having been busied in a very interesting way.

Our quarters are at the hotel of the Marquis de ——, a fabric of antiquated fashion, but undergoing a repair for the reception of his excellency, now at Madrid. His superintendant received us with the greatest respect; and in our accommodations endeavoured to adapt every thing to the English customs, as far as his knowledge would direct him.

But all civilities were not confined to him; we were visited by many of the most considerable inhabitants, amongst whom were the canons of the cathedral, who volunteered bringing us acquainted with every thing worthy notice in the city. One, particularly loquacious, and possessing, or supposing he possessed, a deep intelligence in antiquities, held forth in Spanish on that subject most indefatigably. The following morning he repeated his visit, attended by a brother chanion, who spoke French. I found him, on conversing with him, to be a man of erudition and knowledge of mankind. His mind was beautifully adorned by the most unprejudiced principles of religion and moral goodness. And, still more to brighten the picture, he possessed an elegant wit, and considerable musical talents.

Such an acquaintance was very desirable; and under his auspices we sallied forth to visit the curiosities of the city.

The cathedral was the first place we visited. Its exterior is of a bad mixture of Arabesque and Roman architecture, overloaded with ornament and clumsy columns. The interior is of a perfect gothic, with an altar composed of oaken sculpture, richly gilt and painted. This piece of workmanship must be at least three centuries old. Part of the edifice is yet unfinished; and at the uncompleted end stands the more ancient cathedral, of a poor taste, and most gloomily grand. I hope the want of means to decorate it in the proposed new fashion will long allow it to rear its reverend spires above the popinjays of modern architecture.

We next proceeded to the palace of the bishop; his lordship received us cordially, offering his house and all it could afford, even to his carriage, to our use during our stay at Plasentia; he expressed in the most sensible language his gratitude to the English nation for their exertions in favour of Spain; and hoped, that we would think his the voice of the Junta of that province.

Happening to admire a large picture of Saint Francis which hung near the episcopal throne, he instantly begged our acceptance of it; of course we declined taking advantage of his generosity. Indeed, had we been in the least of spoiling dispositions, we might have come away well endowed from most of the places we visited; but we refused their presents, I hope not ungraciously; certainly it would have been base to have appropriated the overflowing gratitude of an already plundered people.

(To be continued.)

HISTORY OF THE WAR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

1815.]

(Translated from the French of General Sarrazin.)

(Continued from our last.)

IN the mean time Austria had declared war against France. This announcement had been closely followed by hostilities. The battle of Eckmuhl had opened the gates of Vienna to Buonaparte. But, having been defeated at Esling on the twenty-second and twenty-third of May, he had been obliged to recross the Danube. He was eagerly demanding to be reinforced with whatever troops were left in the several depôts of France, that he might resume the offensive with superior forces. From that moment the French army in the peninsula was abandoned to itself; and it is to the reverses experienced on the Danube, that the concentration of the army of Spain must be ascribed. Estremadura, Galicia, and La Mancha, were evacuated towards the latter part of June. On the eighth General Carrera had been attacked by Marshal Ney's troops at the bridge of Saint-Payo, near Vigo. Twelve thousand Spaniards, half of whom were peasants badly armed, repulsed the French, eight thousand in number, and forced them to fall back upon Sant-iago. Carrera's stout resistance was favoured by a well-directed fire from four gun-boats, which played upon the right flank of the French. This defeat, combined with the daily losses, arising from the murders committed by the Spaniards upon single soldiers, the difficulty of holding communications, the almost absolute want of provisions, and the exasperation of all the inhabitants against France, induced Marshals Ney and Soult to march into the kingdom of Leon. Ferrol was evacuated on the 21st, and Corunna on the 22d. General Sebastiani, who had advanced with Joseph as far as El Moral, to reconnoitre the passes of the Sierra Morena, left that position on the thirtieth of June, and established himself in the environs of Consuegra. On the 18th of the same month, General Suchet, who commanded the third corps of the French army, attacked General Blake, who had posted himself on the heights before Beclhithe, and forced him to fall back, with loss, upon Alcanitz. Suchet had replaced Junot in the command of the province of Arragon. This general has, in the French army, a great reputation for boldness and good fortune. An uncommonly good education has given him the advantages of a mind well stored with knowledge. He is extremely active, and appears to have been a favourite with Napoleon, because he always was as dexterous in pleasing his superiors, as he is severe towards those under his command.

Towards the tenth of June, the Spaniards were acquainted with Buonaparte's reverses on the Danube. It was to be expected that they would doubly exert themselves to profit by the dejection which that disastrous intelligence must have caused, as to the spirits of the Spanish army. The whole month of June, however, passed away without a single effort being made against the French, except in Arragon. La Romana and Carrera in Galicia, Cuesta and Sir Arthur Wellesley on

the two banks of the Tagus, and Venegas in the Sierra Morena, preserved a state of anathy, which cannot be easily justified. Sir Arthur. after having successively halted at Abrantes and Placentia, until the sixteenth of July, left the latter place on the seventeenth. On the 20th he formed his junction at Oropesa with General Cuesta, a brave officer. but a weak old man, as incapable of planning as of performing with ability; and yet adhering with inconceivable obstinacy to his own plans. The allied army left Oropesa on the twenty-second. The advanced guard attacked the French in their position of Talavera, and obliged them to fall back upon Victor's army, which was stationed on the left bank of the river Alberche. Sir Arthur wished to give battle on the twenty-third. General Cuesta begged to have it postponed to the day following: but when the allies presented themselves, they found the position evacuated. The French, on being informed of the approach of Venegas, who had left Madridejos on the nineteenth, had judged it necessary to concentrate themselves, in order to manœuvre with the majority of their forces, so as to encounter the allies separately; and, above all, to prevent the junction of their armies. In this plan they succeeded beyond their hopes. On the twenty-fourth General Cuesta commenced his pursuit of Victor. Sir Arthur refused to co-operate with the Spaniards on account of the great insufficiency as to the means of conveyance in Spain. This is Sir Arthur's own expression. It was easy to foresee the consequences of such a disunion. Cuesta was attacked on the twenty-sixth near Torrejos, by Victor's and Sebastiani's corps, and obliged to fall back to Talavera. Joseph had left Madrid on the twenty-third, with a corps de reserve, to cover the movements of his army. A body of light troops was left in front of Venegas, to retard his march, and a strong garrison thrown into Toledo to oppose the passage of the Tagus. These dispositions protected both Madrid and the communications of the army, which marched on the twenty-seventh to attack the allies at Talavera.

The advanced guard, under the orders of General Mackenzie, was vigorously assailed, and obliged to fall back on the left of the allies. Soon after, the attack became general. The Spanish infantry, on the right of the line, repulsed the French cavalry. A brisk cannonade against the left, which was occupied by the English, had little effect, and was perfectly well answered by the enemy's artillery. On the twenty-eighth the attack was renewed at break of day by the French, chiefly against the English army. Prodigies of valour were performed on both sides. Sir Arthur was assailed the whole day by troops inured to war, and superior in numbers. But he counteracted all Victor's efforts. His troops were as good as those opposed to him; and he had, besides, selected a very favourable field of battle; while the difficulties of the ground served to impair the regularity and spirit of the enemy's manœuvres. Night separated the combatants. The loss of the allies, on that day, was about eight thousand men, of whom five thousand three hundred and sixty-seven were English. The loss of the French

was more severe, from the nature of their attacks, which exposed them almost uncovered to a well sustained fire of artillery and musketry, and to very destructive charges of cavalry. King Joseph learnt, during the battle, that Venegas, who commanded the army of La Mancha, had reached the Tagus with thirty thousand men; that he was bombarding Toledo, and that some of his troops had advanced within four leagues of Madrid, after having crossed the Tagus at Aranjuez. He instantly sent Sebastiani to the succour of Toledo. Victor fell back on Santa Ollala.

Victory had remained with the allies; but they neglected to profit by it. They had sixty thousand men before the battle. The loss on the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth, did not exceed ten thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners. General Crawford arrived at Talavera on the twenty-eighth, in the evening, and Venegas was untouched. On the first of August the forces of the allies on the Tagus consisted, therefore, of eighty thousand fighting men. Joseph had only forty thousand left. The bloody battle of Talavera had scattered dismay through the Freuch army, and the soldiers agreed that the English fought as well as the Russians. Orders were given for the necessary arrangements to evacuate Madrid. The movement of Soult towards Placentia was a mere stratagem of war, which proved completely successful. This general had not above thirty thousand men under arms. Nev's corps had been stationed from Zamora to Placentia, to keep up the communications. The corps of Soult and Mortier ought not to have given any uneasiness to Sir Arthur Wellesley. Admitting even, contrary to all probability, that he had not succeeded in obtaining possession of Madrid, and that Soult had continued his movement towards Talavera, the English general had a safe retreat through Madridejos to the Sierra Morena, or towards Estremadura by La Mancha, along the left bank of the Guadiana. Was it likely that Soult, who, two months before, had fled with eighteen thousand men before sixteen thousand English, and ten thousand Portuguese, when he was covered by the Douro against their attacks, should be so imprudent as to place himself with thirty thousand men behind an army of eighty thousand? All the fruits of Sir Arthur's successes against Soult in the north of Portugal were lost by his stay in the neighbourhood of Abrantes. Instead of are riving at Talavera on the 22d of July, the allied army ought to have reached that place on the 22d of June. The plan settled between Cuesta and Sir Arthur at Almaraz was defective. To send Venegas to Arganda by Tuente-Duena was dangerous: it removed him from the centre of operations, and exposed him to be defeated separately. He ought to have been ordered to make a false attack upon Toledo, whilst the main part of his army, marching down the left bank of the Tagus, would have crossed this river opposite to Puebla de Montalban, and joined the grand army, which the day after this decisive manœuvre would have marched to the capital, and taken possession of it without any obstacle. This important operation might have been terminated

on the thirtieth of June, whilst Soult and Ney were still in Galicia, occupied by a petty warfare against La Romana and Carrera in the environs of Orense.

Firmness of mind is one of the most essential qualifications of a ge-A favourable opportunity, that has been suffered to escape, is not easily met with again. Had Sir Arthur Wellesley destroyed Loison's division of Soult's corps, which was posted at Armarante on the twelfth of May, or had he marched against Victor on the twelfth of June, he would not have had to fight under the apprehension of Marshal Soult's threatening to cut his line of operations. Had the English commander been better acquainted with the details of offensive warfare, he would have kept at Talavera the means of conveyance, which had served his army in coming thither from Placentia; he ought to have eagerly yielded to Cuesta, who proposed they should march forward, in order to form a junction with the army of Venegas, and act with a superiority of forces, that would have insured victory and the conquest of Madrid. The want of the means of conveyance cannot be admitted as a sufficient excuse; the fact is, that Sir Arthur was afraid of a defeat, and that he wanted firmness of mind. He thought of his retreat before he fought, and he determined to keep his position at Talavera; which, either by the bridge of Arzobispo, or by that of Almaraz, afforded him great facilities to place the Tagus between himself and the French. There is undoubtedly much prudence in this conduct: but it is far from agreeing with with the loyal character of the English nation. Sir Arthur never will be applauded for having suffered the Spaniards to be beaten at Torrejos on the twenty-sixth, when the battle of Talavera proves that, with merely the English troops, he could have resisted the whole French army. Another fact, in confirmation of the little harmony that prevailed between the generals of the allied troops, is, that on the tenth of August, Venegas was still in the neighbourhood of Toledo, expecting every moment the advance of the grand allied army to take advantage of the dreadful confusion occasioned among the French troops by the victory of Talavera. In this expectation he had taken a position with his army near Almonacid, where he was attacked on the eleventh of August by Joseph in person, at the head of twentyfive thousand choice troops. Venegas disputed the victory for nine hours, and retreated, only because his left was overthrown by Sebastiani's superior cavalry. It is to be deeply regretted, that the courageous exertions of those brave men of La Mancha were rendered abortive by the retreat of more than fifty thousand Anglo-Spanish troops, at the moment that every thing concurred to force Joseph from Madrid, and at the same time of the year that he had been obliged to fly in 1808.

On the third of August the English left Talavera for Oropesa. On the fourth they crossed the Tagus over the bridge of Arzobispo; Cuesta's army followed this movement. It had been settled between the two commanders-in-chief, that the Spanish army should keep the position of Talavera, whilst the English army should go to fight Marshal Soult, and force him back into Castille. Discord, that fatal bane of almost all,

alliances, caused these dispositions to be changed. The Spanish general did not think himself strong enough to face Victor, and left Talavera. His retreat exposed Sir Arthur Wellesley to be attacked on his flank, in his march against Soult. He therefore determined to remove from the theatre of operations, highly disgusted at having been feebly seconded, and even counteracted; though no one can doubt his anxiety to serve the cause of the peninsula, so long as this could be done without exposing the reputation of the British arms. It is not to his heart, but to his little experience in the command of large armies, that the errors, committed in the course of this campaign, must be ascribed; his zeal in behalf of the noble Spaniards being above all praise. He retreated by slow marches, and, towards the latter part of August, occupied the country situated upon the two banks of the Guadiana, between Merida and Ba-Joseph had re-established himself in his palace of Madrid, though amazed at not having been forced to fly to Bayonne, with the remnant of his army. Ney's corps had been concentrated in the environs of Salamanca; that of Soult occupied Placentia; Mortier had has troops stationed from Oropesa to Talavera de la Reyna; Victor had assigned cantonments to his corps in the neighbourhood of Toledo; and Sebastiani was on his left, occupying Aranjuez and Alcala, to cover Madrid against any Spanish partisans.

Almost immediately after the passage of the Tagus, Cuesta had resigned his command. General Eguia, his successor, made different dispositions. He left the Duke of Albuquerque, with a corps of ten thousand men, to repulse the French parties that might come to forage on the left banks of the Tagus; and marched with the remainder of the army, amounting to twenty thousand men, towards the Sierra Morena, for the purpose of joining Venegas. General Beresford, with the Portuguese army, was guarding the frontiers of Portugal, from the Tagus to Almeida. The Marquis de la Romana had left his troops for the purpose of going to Seville. This change proved extremely prejudicial to the success of the Spaniards in that part of the kingdom. General Mendizabal, his successor, displayed neither the same activity, nor the same energy. The inhabitants of Arragon were fighting but feebly: they had not yet recovered from the fatigues of the siege of Saragossa. General Suchet was occupied in enabling his troops to recommence the campaign. The guerillas, which have since acted so important a part, were beginning to be formed. Experience had taught the Spaniards, that, in attacks by main force on points which had been previously determined on, their courage almost always failed before the tactics and discipline of the French. The warfare of partisans appeared a safer way to fight successfully. The knowledge of the country enabled them to form snares, into which their adversaries must fall; because they were attacked unawares, and by superior numbers. Places were also selected for these attacks in which it was impossible for the French to manœuvre, such as narrow passages of mountains, hollow roads, defiles, &c. The Marquis de la Romana is said to have been the author of the organization of

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those guerillas, which, commanded by intelligent and enterprizing men, have greatly contributed to drive the French, first to the left bank of the Ebro, and lastly to their own country.

Ever since the first of January, 1809, the French army of Spain had not received a single reinforcement, though it had suffered enormous losses. Its strength, on the first of September, 1809, including the garrisons, did not exceed one hundred thousand men, twenty thousand of whom were in Catalonia, under the command of Marshal Augereau, who had succeeded General Gouvion Saint Cyr. Buonaparte had defeated the Arch-duke Charles, on the sixth of July, in the plains of Wagram. Peace was not yet certain; and Buonaparte was still demanding reinforcements for his army, when the Walcheren expedition obliged him to put the national guards, and the gendarmerie, into requisition. It is asserted, that, in consequence of a resolution on the part of the council of state, the war minister wrote to Joseph, requesting him to detach twenty thousand men, for the purpose of covering Paris. Joseph answered that he would, with pleasure, come in person with all his army; but only when he should receive the Emperor's commands to that purpose; that he had preserved Madrid by a miracle; and that he could not possibly detach a single battalion, without exposing himself to be driven to the Pyrenees. He ended his letter by declaring to the Duke de Feltre, that as soon as the crisis of the Scheldt had arrived, it would be highly necessary to send him one hundred thousand men, partly to replace the fifty thousand who had perished in the last campaign, and further, to have the power of occupying Valentia, Andalusia, Estremadura, and Galicia. The instant it was fully ascertained that the English were leaving the upper Scheldt, and preparing for their return to England, the battalions which formed provisional regiments were marched to Bayonne, in order to be sent from that place to Spain. Several battalions, which had reached Strasburg, to join the grand army at Vienna, were ordered to march back towards the peninsula, in the months of September and October. The total of the reinforcements that entered Spain, during the last four months of the year 1809, may be rated at thirty thousand men.

Although Joseph is unacquainted with the art of war, his good sense made him perceive that Jourdan, however brave and zealous in his service, was little calculated to fill the office of commander-in-chief. He called Soult to his aid, and appointed him to that important station. Marshal Soult, besides, had been on bad terms with Ney, ever since he had refused to stay with the latter in Galicia. The public service was likely to suffer from the disagreement of these two commanders. Soult's new situation gave him a superiority, at which Marshal Ney was displeased, and which determined the latter on repairing to Paris. He left the command of his troops to General Marchand, who, wishing to avail himself of a favourable opportunity for exercising his supreme command, marched against La Romana's army, which was posted on the heights of Tamames, near Ciudad-Rodrigo. On the eighteenth of

October he was at first successful against the left of the enemy: but Mendizabal and Carrera placed themselves at the head of the corps de reserve, charged the French with the bayonet, and obliged them to tall back almost in confusion. The Duke Delparque, who commanded in chief, moved his whole army forward on the twenty-first, in order to profit by the advantage which he had just gained. On the 25th he reached the heights of Salamanca, which the French had left the preceding night for Toro. The inhabitants received La Romana's brave companions with enthusiasm; but their joy was of short duration. Soult employed the reinforcements, which were arriving from France, to increase the sixth corps. General Kellermann was ordered to march against the Duke Delparque, who had already cut off the communication between Madrid and Valladolid. As soon as he knew that he was to be attacked by superior forces, he evacuated Carpio, to take the position of Alba de Tormes, near Salamanca. On the 28th of November the Duke was attacked by Kellermann. His troops did not oppose a resistance worthy of their ancient exploits. They retreated in confusion. with the loss of all their artillery. A French division of the sixth corps took possession of Salamanca on the 29th. The Duke Delparque's defeat was owing to his not having his troops concentrated at the moment when he was unexpectedly attacked. Besides, the Asturians and Galicians thought with regret of the Marquis de la Romana, and their mountains. They availed themselves of the confusion, which took place after the engagement of the 28th, to disperse, and return to their homes.

General Arrizaga had succeeded Venegas and Eguia, in the command of the armies of La Mancha and Estremadura. Surprised on beholding himself at the head of fifty thousand men, delighted with hearing the loud demand of his troops to be led against the French, and possessed of more bravery than experience, this general advanced as far as the plains of Ocana, near Aranjuez. Soult immediatly formed dispositions to make him repent this temerity. He assembled Mortier's and Sebastiani's corps and whatever troops he could dispose of at Madrid. His army did not exceed thirty thousand men, including four thousand horse, He caused the right wing of the Spaniards to be attacked: but the attack was completely repulsed. Proud of this first success, Arrizaga assumed the offensive, and overthrew Leval's division, which formed the left of Soult's army. He committed the imprudence of crossing the hollow road, which was between his line and that of the French. The passage created some confusion in the ranks of the Spaniards. A French divis sion of fresh troops availed themselves of it, to attack the Spaniards with closed ranks and the bayonet. Arrizaga's infantry, being forced to give way, was briskly pursued. The French cavalry, under the command of Sebastiani, rushed upon the Spanish battalions, which being already in confusion, could not resist its attacks. The Spanish cavalry, which had been stationed on unfavourable ground, was forced to leave the infautry to its fate, and took to flight. A few Spanish regiments formed squares, and retreated in good order for more than a league: but being

hurried away by the torrent, and favoured by the darkness of the night, they dispersed, and the retreat was converted into a complete rout. The loss of the Spaniards amounted to twenty-eight thousand men, twenty-five thousand of whom were taken prisoners.

As this success consolidated Joseph on his throne, he formed the design of subduing the rich provinces of the south. An expedition was prepared against Andalusia, of which Soult was to have the command. But the troops expected from France not being yet arrived, the French could not avail themselves of the confusion prevalent among the Spaniards subsequent to the battle of Ocana; and the attack of the Sierra Morena was postponed to the beginning of 1808. The capitulation of Gerona, on the tenth of December, 1809, ended the third campaign of the French in Spain. Gerona had the advantage over Saragossa of being regularly fortified; and though it was much longer defended, yet no greater praise can be bestowed on the garrison, and on the inhabitants, than to call them worthy brethren of the brave defenders of the capital of Arragon. One of the most glorious exploits during the siege of Gerona, which surrendered only after a courageous defence of six months, was the introduction of fresh provisions and ammunition into the place by General Blake, which service was performed with the most distinguished ability. He knew that the garrison was in want of victuals. He prepared a convoy of fifteen hundred mules, under the escort of four thousand men, commanded by General Garcia de Condé. This convoy, which had been formed in the neighbourhood of Oloi, was to pass the river Ter, at Amer and move towards Gerona, along the right bank of that river. To protect this movement, Blake resorted to a stratagem. On the 30th of August, 1809, he attacked the French with all his disposable forces, in the environs of Brunola. Souham's division having been overthrown, Saint Cyr, who commanded in chief, thought that the Spanish general wanted to give battle, for the purpose of liberating Gerona. He collected his army, and left before the place only the troops necessary to defend his works against the garrison. In the mean time, the convoy made its appearance, overthrew the besieging troops, and entered Gerona amidst acclamations of joy on the part of the besieged. When Saint Cyr heard that the place had been provisioned afresh, he left his position of Brunola, and concentrated his troops, to intercept whatever should attempt to leave the place. But in spite of these dispositions, all that were useless in Gerona, such as the guides and mules, left it without any loss. This circumstance, which must be attributed to the small number of troops under Saint Cyr, was proclaimed by Buonaparte as a capital fault, contrary to all the rules of the art of war: and it was on this occasion that Saint Cyr was succeeded in the command by Marshal Augereau.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR,

From the year 1792 to 1814; in which the Military Transactions of each Campaign are related separately and in detail.

CAMPAIGN OF 1793.

BOOK II. CHAP. III (continued.)

Retreat of the French Army—Arrest of the Deputies—Dumouricz, being abandoned by his Troops, takes Refuge within the Austrian lines.

DUMOURIEZ, in conformity to this treaty, now gave orders for abandoning the Netherlands; and after his army had marched through Brussels, an interview took place between him and the adjutant-general of the Austrian army, in the course of which he announced his intentions of marching to Paris and dissolving the convention. On this it was agreed, that the Imperialists should either remain passive, or act the part of auxiliaries as occasion might require; but it was expressly stipulated on the other hand, that Conde should be delivered up to them until the conclusion of peace, and the regulation of indemnities. The duke de Chartres, (now the Duke of Orleans) generals Valence, Thouvenot, and colonel Montjoye, were present upon this occasion, and assisted in the treaty.

Some sinister events, however, occurred soon after, which tended not a little to embarrass the conduct and defeat the new projects of Dumouriez. He had no sooner arrived at the camp of Tournay, than he learned that the division under general Neuilly, on its reaching Mons, instead of assuming a position in conformity to his orders on the heights of Nimy, had disbanded and fled to Conde and Valenciennes, and that the cavalry alone remained at its station. This unexpected defection, while it rendered the situation of the main body of the army precarious, by uncovering its left flank, in case the convention should be annulled, at the same time filled the two neighbouring fortresses with discontented soldiery, and rendered their surrender far more difficult than before.

On that very day he received a visit from Proly, Desjardins, and Pereira, three deputies from the jacobin society of Paris; who, suspecting his intentions, immediately denounced him to the legislature as an enemy to his country. A dispatch arrived at the same time from seven commissioners of the convention, who had assembled at Lisle, requiring his presence in that city to answer the accusations against him. He had the prudence to decline this invitation. However, as he had not as yet openly quarrelled with them, his reply was guarded; but at the same time it was easy to perceive that he had determined to act with vigour and firmness. He accordingly stated in his answer to their demand, "that being in sight of the enemy, and his presence constantly necessary for the preservation of an army which he was now busied in reforming, it became impossible for him to be present at the enquiry; but that if the deputies would repair to his camp he would answer any questions with his accustomed

frankness." He added, "that so soon as he had secured his retreat within the French territories, he would have more time to attend to matters that concerned himself personally; but that he was fully determined never to enter Lisle unless it should be at the head of his troops, and on purpose to punish the cowards who, after having abandoned their colours, dared to calumniate the gallant defenders of their country."

Soon after this, Antwerp surrendered to a body of two thousand men under colonel Mylius, and Dumouriez not only abandoned his position at Tournay, but conducted the army of the north to the camp of Bruille, which he connected by means of three bridges of communication with that of Maulde. He at the same time dispatched general Miaczinsky with four thousand men to occupy Orchies, while the artillery removed to St. Amand where the head-quarters were established.

Thus, after a short and impotent struggle, the armies of France abandoned the people of Liege to the just vengeance of their Sovereign, while the inhabitants of Flanders and Brahaut were once more resigned to the dominion of their ancient sovereign; and as a great portion of both nations had evinced a rash desire to be received within the pale of a new regulation, alarm and distrust necessarily ensued.

In the mean time the French commander began to disclose his intentions to his army. The violent proceedings of the jacobins, and the frequent instances of cruelty and injustice on the part of the convention, had rendered them odious to a large portion of the regular troops; it was easy therefore to inflame their resentments against both of these, particularly the former, and attribute all the disasters that had occurred to them alone. The re-establishment of a monarchial form of government, and the restoration of the former constitution, became popular subjects in the camp; while the presence of a young and gallant prince, who served with the rank of lieutenant-general, contributed not a little to revive the devotion of the French soldiery to one branch at least of the family of the Bourbons. The old troops were attached to this notion, and also to the person of their general, who had often displayed undoubted proofs of valour and abilities in their presence; the cavalry, which had always leaned towards the ancient government, embraced these ideas with ardour; and even the artillery, hitherto constantly attached to republican forms, proclaimed aloud that it was determined to defend the commander in chief against the machinations of all his enemies. Several regiments began to talk openly of marching to Paris, on purpose to punish the anarchists to whom they attributed all their recent disgraces; and when they were told that Dumouriez would be summoned to the capital, it was their usual reply "that they would conduct him thither and share his fate."

Some of the general and staff officers also appeared to waver in their allegiance. They beheld themselves attacked daily by name in the news-papers devoted to the jacobins; they were already accused of treason by some of the members of that celebrated society, and contemplated with suspicion even by the convention itself. They had also seen many gallant

chiefs, after overcoming the enemies of their country, arrested and executaed on vague surmises; they knew that an odious court, denominated the
revolutionary tribunal, presided over the lives and fortunes of all the
citizens, and condemned those dragged before it without proofs, and almost without a hearing.

To increase the number of those devoted to his person, Dumonriez transmitted orders to general de Flers and colonel Tilly, by means of the Austrian adjutant-general Mack to surrender Breda and Gertruydenberg. and return with the five or six thousand men entrusted to their command; this was accordingly performed, and they were permitted to march to his camp with their arms and baggage. But, on the other hand, while the greater part of his army detested the ruling tyranny, the idea of a secret treaty with the enemy, and an open conspiracy to overturn the remulican government, in support of which they had so often hazarded their lives. was contemplated with horror. The late conduct of Dumouriez had occasioned suspicion; the frequent and secret conferences with the Austrian officers, engendered ideas highly unfavourable to the honour of the general; and not a few believed that they and their country were about to be sacrificed to the treachery of a military adventurer, whose: proceedings were solely regulated by interest and ambition. The natio nal battalions, which formed a majority of the soldiery, were averse from change: and many of the principal officers, particularly Dampierre, who had so lately acquired the admiration of the troops, were decidedly hostile to the measures of their leader, of whose treason they were no long er ignorant. A number of members from the jacobin societies were also dispersed in the camp, and a secret communication was kept up with a Paris, and Three commissioners from the convention, the neighbouring garrisons. stationed at Valenciennes, already treated the commander in chief as a rebel. and prohibited money and supplies being sent to his army; they not only cut off all intercourse with the garrison lest it should be debauched, but they even published a manifesto against Dumouriez, which they caused to be distributed among the troops under his command, as well as in the neighbouring fortresses. The influence of money was also recurred to, and the assignats, originally destined to overthrow the enemies of the republic, were now employed to secure the allegiance of its troops.

All the cities on this frontier were agitated by the two different factions. In Conde considerable commotions alreadly prevailed, and the troops quartered there were divided in their opinions; but general Neuilly, who commanded them, was firmly attached to Dumouriez, and ready if a proper opportunity presented itself to dec'lare in his favour.

In the mean time the commander in chi ef recurred to a stratagem, in order to inflame the passions of his troops. Six volunteers having desired their general "to repair to the bar of the convention, in obedience to orders, else they and many of their companions had sworn to imitate Brutus, and poinard him on the spot;" the different regiments were immediately assembled by his partisans, and in the course of the same day he received various addresses from both officers and soldiers, express-

ing their abhorrence of assassination; some even evinced a desire to change the government, and re-establish the law and constitution of 1789. The moment the general received these petitions, which he affected to consider as the unanimous wish of the army, he openly endeavoured to obtain possession of the three neighbouring garrisons. Miaczinski was accordingly ordered to repair to Lisle with a large body of troops, on purpose to seize the deputies from the convention, together with all the principal members of the jacobin club; but this foreigner was taken prisoner in the midst of that very city which he intended to betray, and being sent to Paris, lost his head soon after. As Valenciennes was entrusted to the care of Ferrand, whom he had raised to the rank of general, Dumouriez hoped to prove more fortunate in his designs upon that place; but L'Ecuyer, the provost of his army, whom he had dispatched thither, on entering the fortress immediately proclaimed his treachery. Conde now appeared to be his last resource; but the deputies on mission had already dispersed manifestoes, jacobins, and assignats, among the garrison, and Neuilly the governour found it utterly impossible to fulfil his secret engagements with the rebel general.

These sinister events, however, did not deter him from arresting the secretary at war, and four commissioners from the convention, who had repaired to his camp on purpose to notify his suspension. Having sent these under a guard to general Clairfayt, he composed a manifesto in the course of that very night, in which he gave an account of the occurrences of the preceding day; but the murmurs of the volunteers, on his appearance next morning, already predicted the approaching catastrophe. Soon after this he was repeatedly fired at by three battalions, who attempted at the same time to surround him, and death or captivity appeared inevitable; but he escaped by the swiftness of his horse, within the Austrian lines. Undaunted even by this circumstance, he drew up two munifestoes in concert with the prince de Cobourg, in which the latter stated, " that he intended to act merely as an auxiliary, and that it was not the intention of his Imperial majesty to make any conquests whatever, but merely to co-operate in restoring peace and order in France." Next morning, at break of day, Dumouriez, accompanied by a guard of fifty Austrian dragoons, repaired once more to his own camp, and endeavoured to regain the confidence of his army; but it was now too late, for the artillery had retreated to Valenciennes, and several regiments of infantry were already on their march for the neighbouring fortresses. On this he attempted to secure the military chest; but failing in that also, he deemed himself fortunate in being able to escape with a few of his friends to Tournay.

Luckily for the convention, the Austrian commanders neglected this critical opportunity of marching against the camps of Maulde and Bruille, while confusion and dismay prevailed there. Instead of meditating an attack, they were occupied at head-quarters with arranging and organising the fugitives, and making preparations for the blockade of Conde, which was to have been summoned in the name of Dumouriez.

CHAP. IV.

Dampierre is appointed to succeed Dumouriez—Skirmishes at Famars, Quievrain, and St. Amand—The French are obliged to retreat—Surrender of Conde, Valenciennes and Mentz.

The army of the north, thus betrayed by its chief, was now reduced to a state of anarchy. The convention, on receiving the first intelligence of this event, declared itself permaneut, and expected to hear that all the troops of the line, and a great portion of the national guards, had joined the standard of revolt; but the commissioners immediately transmitted the agreeable intelligence that the camps of Maulde and Bruille still remained faithful to the republic, and that the fugitives consisted only of Dumouriez, a few officers, and a troop of horse.

Effective measures were now taken to collect the battalions that had retreated, to bring the artillery again into the field, and to inspire the soldiery with confidence. A new chief was, however, wanting; but one immediately presented himself in the person of general Dampierre. Care however was taken at the same time to pass two decrees, by one of which the severest punishment was enacted against those commanders who entered into any secret negociations with the enemy; while by the other, which would have come with a better grace at an earlier period, the obnoxious law of fraternity was rescinded.

As time alone could remedy the disorders that prevailed among the troops, it was found necessary to collect them in a camp under the protection of Valenciennes, and even to neglect many points of defence, calculated to obstruct the progress of the enemy, who were at length preparing to take advantage of the late events. The prince de Cobourg finding his army greatly strengthened by the accession of a body of Prussians, as well as by the arrival of a considerable reinforcement of English and Hanoverian troops, under the duke of York, immediately declared that the armistice was at an end. He accordingly advanced against Maulde, now rendered defenceless in consequence of the retreat, desertion, and dismay that had so recently intervened. Having secured this strong camp, he formed the blockade of Conde, and prepared to invest another of the principal fortresses in that neighbourhood.

Dampierre, well acquainted with the genius of his countrymen, who are always dispirited after misfortunes, determined not to hazard a battle: he therefore remained on the defensive at Farnars, where his out-posts were soon after assailed by the Austrians. The Imperialists, upon this occasion, seemed desirous to multiply the means of attack, and accordingly (April 13, 1793), advanced against ten different points at the same time, but the French commander at length found means to repulse them. This slight success contributed not a little to reanimate the courage of the troops, and invigorates the councils of the assembly, to which Dampierre intimated in his dispatches, "that the army would soon recover that superiority it had lost in consequence of the treachery of those by whom it was commanded." A short time after, the French

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in their turn determined to attack the allies encamped at Quievrain, with an intention of preventing the siege of Valenciennes, and raising the blockade of Conde. They accordingly marched (May I) against the advanced posts of the left wing, as well as those of the centre, but were repulsed every where, and suffered considerable loss, both of men and cannon.

Notwithstanding this check, it was resolved to make a still more serious assault on the positions assumed by the combined forces; and considerable bodies of troops sallied forth from Lisle and the neighbouring garrisons for the purpose, while the main body of the army advanced from the camp of Famars. The action, which commenced about seven o'clock in the morning of May 8th, was directed chiefly against the posts occupied by general Clairfayt as well as those possessed by the Prussians, and continued with nearly unabating ardour, both at the abbey of Vicogne, and in the village of Kaismes, until eight o'clock in the evening; even then, although the French were baffled and defeated in that quarter, they assumed a position in the neighbouring woods, kept the prince de Cobourg in check, and cannonaded the Prussian camp at St. Amand. On this the duke of York, who had arrived early. in the morning at the Maulde, with the brigade of English guards and a battalion of Hanoverian infantry, determined to march to their as-The Coldstream arrived at a critical moment, when the French were advancing towards the great road, and already commanded it, in some degree, by the fire of their cannon; but the battalion guns having succeeded in checking the battery opposed to this corps, it moved forward into the wood, and made a charge with fixed bayonets; in the course of its progress, however, another battery opened, and a retreat to the former position became necessary. The British troops, however, commanded by major-general Lake, contributed greatly by their gallantry to the success of the day.

In the course of this action Dampierre received a mortal wound, in consequence of his thigh being carried away by a cannon-shot. While bleeding to death, and conscious of his fate, he conducted himself with much fortitude. He was huried amidst the sorrow of the officers and the regret of the convention, which conferred upon his ashes the mummery of the Pantheon.

The moment the general in chief was wounded, the command devolved on Lamarche in right of seniority; and this officer appears to have followed the plan of his predecessor; for although the French had been so recently heaten, yet they still continued to menace and harass the allies. On the morning after the action they were still in sight, and even began to erect batteries along the front of the Austrian and Prussian lines, commanded by the generals Clairfayt and Knobledorff. On this it was determined to carry their works by assault; and the duke of York, who was about to return to Tournay with his troops, once more occupied the positions at Maulde and St. Amand, to enable as many of the combined forces as possible to take the field. Next morning at

break of day the two generals accordingly advanced at the head of their respective columns, and carried the batteries, which were not defended with any great degree of obstinacy, as the enemy had withdrawn their cannon during the night.

Preparations were now made by the prince de Cobourg to attack the camp of Famars, and the whole of the French line, from Orchies to Maubeuge. As the number of the fortresses in that neighbourhood rendered a formidable opposition inevitable, means were taken to render their support of little avail. The count Colloredo was therefore stationed so as to keep Valenciennes in check, while General Otto masked Quesnoy; and the prince of Wirtemburg, at the head of a body of Austrians, continued the blockade of Conde, and rendered a sally in that quarter ineffectual. Early in the morning (May 3d), three bodies of troops destined for the attack were assembled. The first column, commanded by the duke of York, consisting of sixteen battalions of English, Hanoverian, and Austrian infantry, with a detachment of cavalry, and a train of heavy artillery, was to cross the Ronelle, near Orties, with intent to turn the right flank of the enemy, while the second, commanded by General Ferraris, after carrying the works thrown up on the right bank of that river, was to co-operate with the forces under his royal highness. After a cannonade on both sides, two divisions of hussars passed the Ronelle without opposition at the village of Mershe; and on a body of infantry being ordered to advance on purpose to take the batteries in flank, the enemy retreated to the heights behind the village of Famars.

As soon as general Ferraris had taken the entrenchments by assault, the duke of York surveyed the new position assumed by the enemy, but finding it imprudent to commence an attack on their front, preparations were made to turn their flanks during the night.

(To be continued.)

ON THE

DEATH OF GENERAL ROSS.

T.

Paturent!—now, on thy once peaceful side,
The sounds of industry are heard no more;
But hostile squadrons on thy bosom ride,
And armed battalions gleam along thy shore:
Thy busy haunts are now forsaken all,
Deserted hamlets—or the roofless wall,
And fields uncultured, on thy banks so green,
Alone proclaim where once those haunts have been;

And round the ruins where the mansion stood,

The tangled bowers are now impervious grown,

And bud, and blossom wild, in solitude;

For all that pruned—and all that tilled—are gone!

Nor voice is heard—save the loud watch-word given;

Nor light is seen—save where by tempests driven,

The all-consuming flame ascends to Heaven.

II.

"Tis not the blood-nursed thirst of conquest lights
The war-torch o'er thy country blazing high;
"Tis not Ambition's scorching breath that blights
Thy ripening fields, and bids thy harvest die;
But retributive justice grasps the brand
Thy Leaders kindled in Canadia's land.
When generous Britain's every nerve was strained,
Her treasure lavished,—and her best blood drained,
In fancy, then, thy Chief perfidious hurled
Destruction on that Isle that singly stood,
To save from chains the wide-insulted world,
Till every soil was reeking with her blood:—
In league unnatural, with England's foe,
"Twas then He aimed the parricidial blow,
To bring the Sun of Britain's glory low.

TIT.

For this, her Chief, with masterly design,
Did thy remote and unknown stream explore;
For this,—her banners in extended line
Triumphant waved where fleet ne'er dared before.
Here thy flotilla blazed—and while a band
With dauntless prowess forced Potomae's strand—
The gallant Ross immortal laurels won.
Yet spared, though conquest flushed, thy Washington.
—Hero of Bladensburgh! I've seen thine eye
Reserved and downcast hide its ardent fire;
I've seen it lightning flash, and victory;—
I've seen it close,—and all its light expire!—
.....'Gainst fearful odds, on dark Patapsco's side,
His daring spirit British valour tried,—
He heard the shout of "Victory"—and, died!

THE

BULLETINS OF SIR A. WELLESLEY

IN THE CAMPAIGN IN PORTUGAL, 1808.

IT is not perhaps generally known to Military Readers, that it is the annual custom of the Gazette Office, for the use of His Majesty's Ministers, to reduce all the Military and Naval Dispatches of the Year (in short all the Gazettes) into the form of Bulletins, and to publish them in a portable volume for the use of the Government. In this reduction of the Gazettes to the form of Bulletins, no other alteration is made in the original Gazette or Dispatch than that of substituting the third person instead of the first,-as instead of "I ordered the Army to march," it is changed into " the Lieutenant-General ordered the Army to march." It is greatly to be regretted, that the utility of this publication is so much limited, a few copies only being printed for the use of the Ministers of State, and none being sold or given except to those great Officers. The Editor of the Chronicle has been honoured by an offer from Government to take upon himself this Collection of " Bulletins of the Army" from the commencement of the War; it was proposed some years ago by Mr. Windham, and has recently been repeated. If he should undertake it, it will only be upon the understanding (respectfully speaking) that he shall publish them for the use of the Army according to his own plan,-i. c.-in about Forty Monthly Numbers of the same size and price as the Army List. It is certainly to be regretted, that the Collection is at present in the hands of mere Printers, who cannot be supposed (however respectable) to have the necessary judgment or military knowledge.

* FIRST BULLETIN.

Caldas, June 16, 1808.

Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, with the forces under his command, sailed in the Donnegal, from Cork, on the 12th of July, and arrived at Coruna on the 20th. He landed there, and had a conference with the Junta of Gallicia. He was there informed, that the army of Castile and Gallicia, under the command of Generals Cuesta and Blake, had been defeated at Rio Seco, by the French under the command of Marshal Bessieres. The Lt.-General offered the Junta of Gallicia the force under his command, but was told by them expressly, that they did not want men, but only money, arms, and ammuni-They at the same time expressed the utmost anxiety that the French should be driven from Portugal, and declared that this would be the most valuable service which the British troops could render to the cause of Spain. They also recommended him to go with his troops to the North of Portugal, in order to assist, as much as possible, the insurrection which had taken place in the neighbourhood of Oporto. After these conferences had taken place, the Lt.-General left Coruna on the 22d, and joined the next day his fleet off Cape He then went to Oporto, where he landed, and had several conferences with the Bishop. The Bishop informed him that the Portuguese force consisted of about 5000 men, regulars and militia, besides, about 1500

^{*} This Bulletin was not published in the Gazette.

Spaniards, and nearly as many Portuguese, scattered over the country. He also promised to furnish mules for the conveyance of the artillery and ammumition waggons. After having received all the information he could get at Operto, the Lt.-General left his forces off that port, and sailed on the 25th to join Admiral Sir C. Cotton, and consult with him about the means of disembarkation. When he was off Lisbon, he received a letter from M.-General Spencer, who waited his orders, but who seemed to think it uncertain, whether, in the situation that Andalusia was (Dupont not having then surrendered) he would not act more for the common cause in remaining in his situation off The Junta of Seville, however, did not consider the presence of M.-General Spencer as absolutely necessary for the operations then going forward in Andalusia. It was the opinion of the Lt.-General, that the first object was to drive the French out of Portugal; that neither of the two corps could do much good acting separately, and that it was necessary they should be united. The Lt:-General therefore gave orders to M.-Gen. Spencer to join him. The information, which the Lt.-General obtained here of the strength of the French in Portugal was, that they amounted to about sixteen or seventeen thousand men, of which about fourteen thousand men were in Lisbon, and that the remainder were dispersed in small garrisons in the different strong places. He had heard that there were about six hundred in garrison in Alineida, and about an equal number in the forts of Elvas and Evora. Under these circumstances the Lt.-General conceived that it would be extremely dangerous to attempt a landing in any of the small bays to the north of the Tagus, where he would be immediately exposed to an attack from the main body of the French army. He therefore resolved that the landing should be effected at Mondego Bay, where he could speedily co-operate with the Portuguese force, which had advanced to Coimbra. He therefore sailed to Mondego Bay, and arrived there July Soth. He there received a letter from Lord Castlereagh, informing him that five thousand men were proceeding to join him under General Austruther, and that above ten thousand more were to arrive under Sir John Moore, He also received an account of Castanos' victory over Dupont, and also that General Loison was detached with 4000 or 5000 French to the province of Alentejo. Under these circumstances he thought a disembarkation might be safely effected at Mondego Bay. The landing was, however, attended with several difficulties, on account of the surf. His force landed on the 5th and 6th of August, and M.-General Spencer landed on the 7th and 8th. As soon as the necessary arrangements were completed, the Lt-General determined to march forward to Lisbon. Having then ascertained the force of the enemy, he wrote to Sir Harry Burrard, on the 8th, recommending a certain plan of operations for the corps that he was to bring into Portugal. On the 9th, the advanced guard of the army marched forwrad. Upon that day the Lt.-General received the account of Joseph Buonaparte having left Madrid, and also a letter from Colonel Doyle, at Coruna, which made it appear probable that Marshal Bessieres would make an irruption into the North of Portugal. It was necessary to gain some important advantages before Bessieres could have time to carry such a plan into execution, and the army continued its march. The Portuguese Generals demanded to be supplied with provisions from the British stores; which demand it was impossible to comply with. The Portuguese separated, and continued to remain separate from the British till after the 22d, of August. The Lt.-General made every possible proposal to induce the cooperation of the Portuguese. He had demanded only a reinforcement of 1000

infantry, 400 light troops, and 200 cavalry, and had promised that they should receive provisions from the British stock: and yet the Portuguese Generals would not consent to this. The Army had continued its march on the 10th; and on the 11th and 12th were assembled in Leirià. On the 13th it continued its march to Calveria, on the 14th to Alcobaza, and on the 15th to Caldas, where it was halted this day.

Arthur Wellsey.

SECOND BULLETIN.

Villa Verde, August 17, 1808.—The French General La Borde having continued in his position at Roleia since the arrival of the army at Caldas on the 15th instant, Lieutenant-General Sir A. Wellesley determined to attack him in it this morning. Roleia is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley, which commences at Caldas, and is closed to the south. ward by mountains, which join the hills forming the valley on the left looking from Caldas. In the centre of the valley, and about eight miles from Roleia, is the town and old Moorish fort of Obidos, from whence the enemy's picquets had been driven on the 15th, and from that time he had posts in the hills on both sides of the valley, as well as in the plain in front of his army, which was posted on the heights in front of Roleia, its right resting upon the hills, its left upon an eminence on which was a windmill, and the whole covering four or five passes into the mountains on his rear. The Lieutenant-General had reason to believe that his force consisted of at least 6000 men, of which about five hundred were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon; and there was some reason to believe that General Loison, who was at Rio Major yesterday, would join General La Borde by his right in the course of the night. The plan of attack was formed accordingly, and the army having broken up from Caldas this morning, was formed into three columns. The right, consisting of 1200 Portuguese infantry, and 50 Portuguese cavairy, destined to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in his rear. The left, consisting of Major-· General Ferguson's, and Brigadier-General Bowes's brigade of infantry, three companies of riflemen, a brigade of light artillery, and 20 Portuguese cavalry, was destined, under the command of Major-General Ferguson, to ascend the *hills at Obidos, to turn all the enemy's posts on the left of the valley, as well as the right of his post at Roleia. This corps was also destined to watch the motions of General Loison on the enemy's right, who I had heard had movedfrom Rio Major towards Aliventie last night. The centre column, consisting of Major-General Hill's, Brigadier-General Nightingale's, Brigadier-General Crawfurd's, and Brigadier-General Fane's brigades, (with the exception of the riflemen detached with Major-General Ferguson) and 400 Portuguese light infantry, the British and Portuguese cavalry, a brigade of 9-pounders, and a brigade of 6 pounders, were destined to attack General La Borde's position in the front.

The columns being formed, the troops moved from Obidos about seven o'clock in the morning. Brigadier-General Fane's riflemen were immediately detached into the bills on the left of the valley, to keep up the communication between the centre and left columns, and to protect the march of the former along the valley, and the enemy's posts were successively driven in. Major-General Hill's brigade, formed in three columns of battalions, moved on the right of the valley, supported by the cavalry, in order to attack the enemy's left; and Brigadier-Generals Nightingale and Crawfurd moved with the artillery along the high road, until at length the former formed in the plain immes-

diately in the enemy's front, supported by the light infantry companies, and the 45th regiment of Brigadier-General Crawfurd's brigade, while the two other regiments of this brigade (the 50th and 91st) and half of the 9-pounders brigade.

gade were kept as a reserve in the rear.

Major-General Hill, and Brigadier-General Nightingale advanced upon the enemy's position, and at the same moment Brigadier-General Fane's riflemen were in the hills on his right, the Portuguese infantry in a village upon his left, and Major-General Ferguson's column was descending from the heights into the plain. From this situation the enemy retired by the passes into the mountains, with the utmost regularity and the greatest celerity; and notwithstanding the rapid advance of the British infantry, the want of a sufficient body of cavalry was the cause of his suffering but little loss on the plain.

It was then necessary to make a disposition to attack the formidable position which he had taken up.

Brigadier-General Fane's riflemen were already in the mountains on his right, and no time was lost in attacking the different passes, as well to support the riflemen, as to defeat the enemy completely.

The Portuguese infantry were ordered to move up a pass on the right of the whole. The light companies of Major Hill's brigade, and the 5th regiment moved up a pass next on the right; and the 29th regiment, supported by the 9th regiment, under Brigadier-General Nightingale, a third pass; and the 45th and 82d regiments passes on the left. These passes were all difficult of access, and some of them were well defended by the enemy, particularly that which was attacked by the 29th and 9th regiments. These regiments attacked with the utmost impetuosity, and reached the enemy before those whose attacks were to be made on their flanks. The defence of the enemy was desperate, and it was in this attack principally that we sustained the loss which we have to lament, particularly of that gallant officer, the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Lake, who distinguished himself upon this occasion. The enemy was, however, driven from all the positions he had taken in the passes of the mountains, and our troops were advanced in the plains on their tops. For a considerable length of time the 29th and 9th regiments alone were advanced to this point, with Brigadier-General Fane's riflemen at a distance on the left, and they were afterwards supported by the 5th regiment, and by the light companies of Major Hill's brigade, which had come upon their right, and by the other troops ordered to ascend the mountains, who came up by degrees.

The enemy here made three most gallant attacks upon the 29th and 9th regiments, supported as above stated, with a view to cover the retreat of his defeated army, in all of which he was, however, repulsed, but he succeeded in effecting his retreat in good order, owing principally to the want of cavalry; and secondly to the difficulty of bringing up the passes of the mountains with celerity, a sufficient number of troops and of cannon to support those which had first ascended. The loss of the enemy has, however, been very great, and he left three pieces of cannon in our hands.

It is impossible sufficiently to applaud the conduct of the troops throughout this action. The enemy's positions were formidable, and he took them up with his usual ability and celerity, and defended them most gallantly. Although we had such a superiority of numbers employed in the operations of this day, the troops actually engaged in the heat of the action, were, from unavoidable circumstances, only the 5th, 9th, 29th, the riflemen of the 95th and 60th, and the flank companies of Major-General Hill's brigade; being a

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number by no means equal to that of the enemy. Their conduct, therefore, deserves the highest commendations.

The Lt.-General expresses his acknowledgements for the aid and support he received from all the general and other officers of this army: he was particularly indebted to Major-General Spencer for the advice and assistance he received from him; to Major-General Ferguson, for the manner in which he led the left column; and to Major-General Hill, and Brigadier-Generals Nightingale and Fane, for the manner in which they conducted the different attacks which they led.

He derived most material assistance from Lt.-Colonel Tucker and Lt.-Colonel Bathurst in the offices of Deputy Adjutant, and Deputy-Quarter-Master-General, and from the officers of the Staff employed under them. He had also every reason to be satisfied with the artillery under Lt.-Colonel Robe.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

THIRD BULLETIN.

Lourinha, 18th August, 1808.—Brigadier-General Austruther has reported that he is on the coast of Peniche with the fleet of victuallers and store ships, with a part of the force detached from England under Brigadier-General Acland, in consequence of the receipt of orders which Sir A. Wellesley had left at Mondego Bay for General Acland.

The Lieut.-General ordered Brigadier-General Austruther to land immediately, and he has moved to this place in order to protect his landing and facilitate his junction.

General Loison joined General La Borde in the course of last night at Torres Vedras, and both began their march towards Lisbon this morning. General Junot has arrived this day at Torres Vedras with a small corps from Lisbon, and it is probable that the whole of the French army will be assembled between Torres Vedras and the capital, in the course of a few days.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

FOURTH BULLETIN.

Vincira, Aug. 21, 1808.—The enemy attacked the army under Lieut.-Gen. Sir A. Wellesley, in its position at Vincira, at an early hour this morning.

The village of Vimeira stands in a valley, through which runs the river Maceira; at the back, and to the westward and northward of this village, is a mountain, the western point of which touches the sea, and the eastern is separated by a deep ravine from the heights, over which passes the road which leads from Lourinha, and the northward to Vimeira. The greater part of the infantry, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 8th brigades were posted on this mountain, with eight pieces of artillery, Major-General Hill's brigade on the right. and Major-General Ferguson's on the left, having one battalion on the heights separated from the mountain. On the eastern and southern side of the town is a mill, which is entirely commanded, particularly on its right, by the mountain to the westward of the town, and commanding all the ground in the neighbourhood to the southward and eastward, on which Brigadier-General Fane was posted with his riflemen, and the 50th regiment, and Brigadier-General Anstruther with his brigade, with half a brigade of six-pounders, and half & brigade of nine-pounders, which had been ordered to the position in the course of last night. The ground over which passes the road from Lourinha, com-

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manded the left of this height, and it had not been occupied, excepting by a picket, as the camp had been taken up only for one night, and there was no water in the neighbourhood of this height.

The cavalry and the reserve of artillery were in the valley, between the hills, on which the infantry stood, both flanking and supporting Brigadier-General

Fane's advanced guard.

The enemy first appeared about eight o'clock in the morning, in large bodies of cavalry, on our left, upon the heights on the road to Lourinha; and it was soon obvious that the attack would be made upon our advanced guard, and the left of our position; Major-General Ferguson's brigade was immediately moved across the ravine to the heights on the road to Lourinha, with three pieces of cannon: he was followed successively by Brigadier-General Nightingale, with his brigade and three pieces of cannon; Brigadier-General Ackland, and his brigade; and Brigadier-General Bowes, with his brigade. These troops were formed (Major-General Ferguson's brigade in the first line, Brigadier-General Nightingale's in the second, and Brigadier-General Bowes's and Ackland's in columns, in the rear) on those heights, with their rear upon the valley which leads into Vimeira; and their left upon the other ravine, which separates these heights from the range which terminates at the landing-place at Maceira. On the last mentioned heights, the Portuguese troops which had been in the bottom near Vimeira were posted in the first instance, and they were supported by Brigadier-General Craufurd's brigade.

The troops of the advanced guard, on the heights to the southward and eastward of the town, were deemed sufficient for its defence, and Major-General Hill was moved to the centre of the mountain, on which the great body of infantry had been posted, as a support to these troops, and as a reserve to the whole army; in addition to this support, these troops had that of the ca-

valry in the rear of the right.

The enemy's attack began, in several columns, upon the whole of the troops on this height; on the left they advanced, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the 50th regiment, and were checked and driven back only by the bayonets of that corps. The 2d battalion, 43d regiment, was likewise closely engaged with them in the road which leads into Vimeira; a part of that corps having been ordered into the church-yard, to prevent them from penetrating into the town. On the right of the position they were repulsed by the bayonets of the 92d regiment, which corps was successfully supported by the 2d battalion, 52d, which, by an advanced column, took the enemy in flank.

Besides this opposition, given to the attack of the enemy on their advanced guard by their own exertions, they were attacked in flank by Brigadier-General Ackland's brigade, in its advance to the position on the heights on the left, and a cannonade was kept up on the flank of the enemy's columns, by the artillery on those heights.

At length, after a most desperate contest, the enemy was driven back in confusion from this attack, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and a great number of officers and soldiers killed and wounded. He was pursued by a detachment of the 20th light dragoons, but the enemy's cavalry was so much superior in numbers, that this detachment has suffered much, and Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor was unfortunately killed.

Nearly at the same time, the enemy's attack commenced upon the heights on the road to Lourinha; this attack was supported by a large body of cavalry, and was made with the usual impetuosity of the French troops. It was received with steadiness by Major-General Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 56th, 40th, and 71st regiments, and these corps charged as soon as the enemy approached them, who gave way, and they continued to advance upon him, supported by the 82d, one of the corps of Brigadier-General Nightingale's brigade, which, as the ground extended, afterwards formed a part of the first line by the 29th regiment, and by Brigadier-General Bowes's and Ackland's brigades: whilst Brigadier-General Craufurd's brigade and the Portuguese troops, in two lines, advanced along the height on the left. In the advance of Major-General Ferguson's brigade six pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy, with many prisoners, and vast numbers killed and wounded.

The enemy afterwards made an attempt to recover part of his artillery, by attacking the 71st and 82d regiments, which were halted in a valley in which it had been taken. These regiments retired from the low grounds in the valley to the heights, where they halted, faced about, and fired and advanced upon the enemy, who had by that time arrived in the low ground, and they thus again obliged him to retire, with great loss.

In this action, in which the whole of the French force in Portugal was employed, under the command of the Duke of Abrantes in person, in which the enemy was certainly superior in cavalry and artillery; and in which not more than half of the British was actually engaged, he has sustained a signal defeat, and has lost 13 pieces of cannon, 23 ammunition-waggons, with powder, shells, stores of all descriptions, and 20,000 rounds of musket ammunition. One general officer (Berniere) has been wounded and taken prisoner, and a great many officers and soldiers have been killed, wounded, and taken.

The valour and discipline of his Majesty's troops have been conspicuous upon this occasion. It is justice to the following corps to draw notice to them in a particular manner, viz. the royal artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Robe; the 20th light dragoons, which has been commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor; the 50th regiment, commanded by Colonel Walker; the 2d battalion 95th foot, commanded by Major Travers; the 5th battalion, 60th regiment, commanded by Major Davy, the 2d battalion, 48d, commanded by Major Hull; the 2d battalion, 52d, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Ross; the 79th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lyon; the 36th regiment, commanded by Colonel Burne; the 40th, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Kemmis; the 71st, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Pack; and the 82d regiment, commanded by Major Eyre.

The regular and orderly conduct of the 36th regiment, under Colonel Burne, and their gallantry and discipline in action, were conspicuous.

The Lieutenant-General acknowledges his obligations to the General and Staff Officers of the army. He was much indebted to Major-General Spencer's judgment and experience in the decision which he formed in respect to the number of troops allotted to each point of defence, and for his advice dna assistance throughout the action. In the position taken up by Major-General Ferguson's brigade, and in its advances upon the enemy, that officer shewed equal bravery and judgment; and much praise is due to Brigadier-General Fane and Brigadier-General Anstruther, for their gallant defence of their position in front of Vimeira; and to Brigadier-General Nightingale, for the manner in which he supported the attack upon the enemy, made by Mazjor-General Ferguson.

Lieutenant Colonel G. Tucker, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bathurst, and the officers in the departments of the Adjutant and Quarter-Master-General, and Lieutenant-Colonel Torrens and the officers of the personal Staff, rendered the Lieutenant-General the greatest assistance throughout the action.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

P. S. A French General Officer, supposed to be General Thibault, the Chief of the Staff, has been found dead upon the field of battle. A. W.

FIFTH BULLETIN

OF THE ARMY OF PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

(Sir Hew Dalrymple in Command.)

Cintra, 3d Sept. 1808.—Sir H. Dalrymple landed in Portugal, and took the command of the army on Monday, the 22d of August, the day after the battle of Vimeira, when the enemy sustained a signal defeat; and when the valour and discipline of British troops, and the talents of British officers, were eminently displayed. A few hours after his arrival, General Kellermann came in with a flag of truce from the French General-in-Chief, in order to propose an agreement for a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of concluding a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops; though several articles, at first agreed upon, were signed by Sir Arthur Wellesley and General Kellermann, but as this was done with a reference to the British Admiral, who, when the agreement was communicated to him, objected to the seventh article, which had for its object the disposal of the Russian fleet in the Tagus, it was finally concluded, that Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, Quarter-Master-General to the British army, and General Kellermann, should proceed to the discussion of the remaining articles, and finally to conclude a convention for the evacuation of Portugal, subject to the ratification of the French General-in-Chief, and the British Commanders by sea and land.

After considerable discussion and repeated reference to Sir Hew Dalrymple, which rendered it necessary for the Lieutenant-General to avail himself of the limited period latterly prescribed for the suspension of hostilities, in order to move the army forwards, and to place the several columns upon the routes by which they were to advance, the Convention was signed, and the ratifications exchanged on the 30th of last month.

That no time might be lost in obtaining anchorage for the transports and other shipping, which had for some days been exposed to great peril on this dangerous coast, and to insure the communication between the army and the victuallers, which was cut off by the badness of the weather and the surf on the shore, the Lieutenant-General sent orders to the Buffs and 42d regiment, which were on board the transports with Sir Charles Cotton's fleet, to land and take possession of the forts on the Tagus, whenever the Admiral thought proper to do so. This was accordingly carried into execution yesterday morning, when the forts of Cascaes, St. Julien's, and the Bugio, were evacuated by the French troops, and taken possession of by ours.

As Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. Dalrymple landed in Portugal entirely unacquainted with the actual state of the French army, and many circumstances of a local and incidental nature, which, doubtless, had a great weight in deciding the question, his opinion in favour of the expediency of expelling the French army from Portugal, by means of the Convention, the late defeat had induced

the French General-in-Chief to solicit, instead of doing so by a continuation of hostilities, was principally founded on the great importance of time, which the season of the year rendered peculiarly valuable, and which the enemy could easily have consumed, in the protracted defence of the strong places they occupied, had terms of convention been refused them.

When the suspension of arms was agreed upon, the army under the command of Sir John Moore had not arrived, and doubts were even entertained whether so large a body of men could be landed on an open and dangerous beach; and that being effected, whether the supply of so large an army with provisions from the ships could be provided for, under all the disadvantages to which the shipping were exposed; during the negotiation the former difficulty was overcome by the activity, zeal, and intelligence of Captain Malcolm, of the Donnegal, and the officers and men under his orders; but the possibility of the latter seems to have been at an end nearly at the moment it was no longer necessary.

H. Dalanmele, Lt.-G.

DEFINITIVE CONVENTION

For the Evacuation of Portugal by the French army.

The generals commanding in chief the British and French armies in Portugal having determined to negociate and conclude a treaty for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops, on the basis of the agreement entered into on the 22d instant, for a suspension of hostilities, have appointed the undermentioned officers to negociate the same in their names, viz.—on the part of the general in chief of the British army, Lieut.-colonel Murray, quarter-master-general; and on the part of the general in chief of the French army, Monsieur Kellermann, general of division, to whom they have given authority to negociate and conclude a convention to that effect, subject to their ratification respectively, and to that of the admiral commanding the British fleet at the entrance of the Tagus.

These two officers, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the articles which follow:—

Art. I. All the places and forts in the kingdom of Portugal, occupied by the French troops, shall be delivered up to the British army, in the state in which they are at the period of the signature of the present convention.

Art. II. The French troops shall evacuate Portugal with their arms and baggage; they shall not be considered as prisoners of war, and, on their arrival in France, they shall be at liberty to serve.

Art. III. The English government shall furnish the means of conveyance for the French army, which shall be disembarked in any of the ports of France between Rochefort and l'Orient inclusively.

Art. IV. The French army shall carry with it all its artillery of French calibre, with the horses belonging to it, and the tumbrils, supplied with sixty rounds per gun. All other artillery, arms, and ammunition, as also the military and naval arsenals, shall be given up to the British army and navy, in the state in which they may be at the period of the ratification of the convention.

Art. V. The French army shall carry with it all its equipments, and all that is comprehended under the name of property of the army; that is to say, its military chest, and carriages attached to the field commissariat and field hospitals, or shall be allowed to dispose of such part of the same, on its account,

as the commander in chief may judge it unnecessary to embark. In like manner, all individuals of the army shall be at liberty to dispose of their private property, of every description, with full security hereafter for the purchasers.

Art. VI. The cavalry are to embark their horses, as also the generals and other officers of all ranks. It is, however, fully understood that the means of conveyance for horses, at the disposal of the British commanders, are very limited: some additional conveyance may be procured in the port of Lisbon. The number of horses to be embarked by the troops shall not exceed six hundred, and the number embarked by the staff shall not exceed two hundred. At all events, every facility will be given to the French army to dispose of the horses belonging to it which cannot be embarked.

Art. VII. In order to facilitate the embarkation, it shall take place in three divisions, the last of which will be principally composed of the garrisons of the places, of the cavalry, the artillery, the sick, and the equipment of the army.—The first division shall embark within seven days of the date of the

ratification, or sooner, if possible.

Art. VIII. The garrison of Elvas, and its forts, and of Peniche and Palmella, will be embarked at Lisbon; that of Almeida at Oporto, or the nearest harbour. They will be accompanied on their march by British commissaries, charged with providing for their subsistence and accommodation.

Art. IX. All the sick and wounded who cannot be embarked with the troops are entrusted to the British army. They are to be taken care of whilst they remain in this country, at the expence of the British government, under, the condition of the same being reimbursed by France when the final evacuation is effected. The English government will provide for their return to France, which shall take place by detachments of about one hundred and fifty, or two hundred men at a time. A sufficient number of French medical officers shall be left behind to attend them.

Art. X. As soon as the vessels employed to carry the army to France shall have disembarked in the harbours specified, or in any other of the ports of France to which stress of weather may force them, every facility shall be given them to return to England without delay, and security against capture until their arrival in a friendly port.

Art. XI. The French army shall be concentrated in Lisbon, and within a distance of about two leagues from it. The English army will approach within three leagues of the capital, and will be placed so as to leave about one league between the two armies.

Art. XII. The forts of St. Julien, the Bugio, and Cascaes, shall be occupied by the British troops on the ratification of the convention. Lisbon and its citadel, together with its forts and batteries, as far as the Lazaretto or Trifurio on one side, and Fort St. Joseph on the other, shall be given up on the embarkation of the second division, as shall also the harbour, and armed vessels in it, of every description, with their rigging, sails, stores, and ammunition. The fortresses of Elvas, Almeida, Peniche, and Palmella, shall be given up as soon as the British troops can arrive to occupy them. In the mean time, the general in chief of the British army will give notice of the present convention to the garrisons of those places, as also to the troops before them, in order to put a stop to all further hostilities.

Art. XIII. Commissaries shall be named on both sides, to regulate and accelerate the execution of the arrangements agreed on.

Art. XIV. Should there arise doubts as to the meaning of any article, it will be explained favourably to the French army.

Art. XV. From the date of the ratification of the present convention, all arrears of contributions, requisitions, or claims whatever, of the French government, against the subjects of Portugal, or any other individuals residing in this country, founded on the occupation of Portugal by the French troops in the menth of December, 1807, which may not have been paid up, are cancelled; and all sequestrations laid upon their property, moveable or immoveable, are removed, and the free disposal of the same is restored to the proper owners.

Art. XVI. All subjects of France, or of powers in friendship or alliance with France, domiciliated in Portugal, or accidentally in this country, shall be protected; their property of every kind, moveable and immoveable, shall be respected; and they shall be at liberty either to accompany the French army, or to remain in Portugal. In either case, their property is to be guaranteed to them, with the liberty of retaining or disposing of it, and passing the produce of the sale thereof into France, or any other country where they may fix their residence, the space of one year being allowed them for that purpose.—It is fully understood that shipping is excepted from this arrangement, only, however, in so far as regards leaving the port, and that none of the stipulations above-mentioned can be made the pretext of any commercial speculation.

Art. XVII. No native of Portugal shall be rendered accountable for his political conduct during the period of the occupation of this country by the French army; and all those who have continued in the exercise of their employments, or who have accepted situations under the French government, are placed under the protection of the British commanders: they shall sustain no injury in their persons or property, it not having been at their option to be obedient or not, to the French government: they are also at liberty to avail themselves of the stipulations of the 16th article.

Art. XVIII. The Spanish troops detained on board ship in the port of Lisbon shall be given up to the commander in chief of the British army, who engages to obtain of the Spaniards to restore such French subjects, either military or civil, as may have been detained in Spain, without being taken in battle, or in consequence of military operations, but on occasion of the occurrences of the 20th of May last, and the days immediately following.

Art. XIX. There shall be an immediate exchange established for all ranks of prisoners made in Portugal since the commencement of the present hostilities.

Art. XX. Hostages, of the rank of field-officers, shall be mutually furnished on the part of the British army and navy, and on that of the French army, for the reciprocal guarantee of the present convention. The officer of the British army shall be restored on the completion of the articles which concern the army, and the officer of the navy on the disembarkation of the French troops in their own country. The like is to take place on the part of the French army.

Art. XXI. It shall be allowed to the general in chief of the French army to send an officer to France with intelligence of the present convention. A vessel will be furnished by the British admiral to convey him to Bourdeaux or Rochefort.

Art. XXII. The British admiral will be invited to accommodate his excellency the commander in chief, and the other principal officers of the French army, on board of ships of war.—Done and concluded at Lisbon, this 30th day of August, 1808.

(Signed) George Murray,

Quarter-Master-General.

Kellerman,

Le General de Division.

Additional Article to the Convention of the 30th August, 1808.

Art. I. The individuals in the civil employment of the army, made prisoners. either by the British troops or by the Portuguese, in any part of Portugal, will be restored, as is customary, without exchange.-II. The French army shall be subsisted from its own magazines up to the day of embarkation; the garrisons up to the evacuation of the fortresses. The remainder of the magazines shall be delivered over in the usual form to the British government, which charges itself with the subsistence of the men and horses of the army from the above mentioned periods till their arrival in France, under the condition of their being reimbursed by the French government for the excess of the expence beyond the estimation to be made by both parties of the value of the magazines delivered up to the British army. The provisions on board the ships of war in possession of the French army will be taken in account by the British government, in like manner with the magazines in the fortresses. III. The general commanding the British troops will take the necessary measures for re-establishing the free circulation of the means of subsistence between the country and the capital.—Done and concluded at Lisbon, this 30th day of August, 1808. GEORGE MURRAY. (Signed)

> Quarter-Master-General, Kellermann,

Le General de Division.

Nous Duc d'Abrantes, general en chef de l'armée Française, avons ratifié et ratifions, les articles additionels à la convention et contre, pour autre executés suivant leur forme et teneur.

LE DUC D'ARRANTES.

(A true copy.)

A. J. Dalrymple, Captain, Military Secretary.

OFFICIAL NARRATIVES

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS OF BUONAPARTE,

SINCE THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

BEING A COMPLETE COLLECTION OF THE WHOLE OF THE BULLETINS
PUBLISHED BY BUONAPARTE TO HIS ABDICATION.

IT is the well known opinion of some of our ablest Generals, that the French Bulletins of Buonaparte contain the most complete practical lessons of modern warfare, and with a due allowance for some exaggeration, include the fullest narrative of the most memorable campaigns on record. A wish, therefore, has often been expressed that they were all published in one form, so as to form a portable manual as well for future reference as for present study. It is our present purpose to effect this. In this, and in the following numbers of the Chronicle, we shall accordingly give a complete collection of the whole of the Bulletins published by Buonaparte. This began only in the first Campaign after he was Emperor. The form of a Bulletin being considered in foreign Cabinets as belonging only to Sovereigns.

CAMPAIGN IN PRUSSIA OF 1806-1807.

ARMISTICE BETWEEN FRANCE & RUSSIA.

AS his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, are anxious to put an end to the war which has so long divided the two nations, they have in the mean time resolved to conclude an Armistice; their Majesties have named and empowered the following Plenipotentiaries, viz. on the one part the Prince of Neufchatel, Marshal of the Empire, Major-General in the Grand Army; and on the other part, Lieutenaut-General Prince Labanoff Von Rostrow, Knight of the Order of St. Anne, Grand Cross; who have agreed upon the following Preliminaries:—

Art. I. An armistice shall take place between the French and the Russian armies, in order that, in the mean time, a peace may be negociated, concluded and signed, to put an end to that bloodshed which is so contrary to humanity.

Il feither of the two contracting parties shall incline to break this armistice, which God forbid! the party so inclining shall be bound to signify this at the head-quarters of the other army, and hostilities shall not again commence until one month after the above notification.

III. The French and Prussian armies shall conclude a separate armistice, and officers shall be appointed for that purpose. During the four or five days requisite for the conclusion of this armistice, the French army shall undertake no hostilities against the Prussians.

IV. The limits of the French and Russian armies, during the armistice, shall be from the Churisch Haff, the Thalweg of the Niemen, and up the left bank of that river to the mouth of the Arama at Stakin, and pursuing the course of that river to the mouth of the Bobra, following this rivatet through Rozano, Lipsk, Habin, Dolitawo, Gomadz, and Wyna, up to the mouth of the Bobra in the Narew, and from thence ascending the left bank of the Narew by Tylyoczyni, Suratz, Narew, to the frontiers of Prussia and Russia. On the Curisch Nehrung the limits shall be at Nidden.

V. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, shall name Plenipotentiaries within the shortest time possible, who are to be provided with the necessary powers for negociating, concluding, and signing a definitive Peace between these two great and powerful nations.

VI. Commissaries shall be named on both sides, in order to proceed immediately to the exchange of prisoners, which exchange shall take place by

rank for rank, and man for man.

VII. The exchange of the ratifications of the present armistice shall take place within 48 hours, or sooner, if possible, at the head-quarters of the Russian army.

Done at Tilsitz, this 21st of June, 1807.

(Signed) The Prince of Neufchatel Marshal Alexander Berthier.

Prince Labanoff Von Rostrow.

Approved of, Tilsitz, 22d June, 1807. (Signed) Napoleon. (Undersigned) By the Emperor.

The Minister and Secretary of State, H. B. MARET.

I hereby ratify the whole contents of the armistice concluded between the Marshal Prince of Neufchatel, and Lieutenant-General Prince Labanoff Von Rostrow.

Teurogen, 11-23 June, 1807.

ALEXANDER.

In testimony of his approbation.

(Undersigned) The Major-General Marshal Alexander Bertuier, Prince of Neufchatel.

TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA.

Treaty of Peace between His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. Done at Tilsitz, July 7, 1807.

HIS Majesty, the Emperor of France, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, animated with the same interest in putting an end to the devastations of war, have, for this purpose, nominated and furnished with full power on the part of His Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy, Charles Maurice Talley rand, Prince of Benevento, his Great Chamberlain, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Prussian Order of the Black and of the Red Eagle, of the Order of St. Hubert. His Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, has, on his part, appointed Prince Kourakin, his actual Privy Counsellor; Member of the Council of State, and of the Senate; Chancellor of all the Orders in the Empire; Ambassador Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary of His Majesty of all the Russias to His Majesty the Emperor of Austria: Knight of the Russian Order of St. Andrew; of St. Alexander; of St. Aube; of the first class of the Order of St. Wolodimir, and of the second class of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle; of the Bavarian Order of St. Hubert; of the Danish Order of St. Dannebrog, and the Perfect Union, and Bailiff and Grand Cross of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem; and Prince Dimitry Labanoff Van Rostoff, Lieutenant-General of the Armies of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; Knight of the first class of the Order of St. Anne, of the Military Order of St. Joris, and of the third class of the Order of Wolodimir. The abovementioned, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Art. I. from the day of exchanging the ratification of the present treaties, there shall be perfect peace and amity between His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.

II. Hostilities shall immediately cease at all points by sea or land, as soon as the intelligence of the present treaty shall be officially received. In the mean while, the high contracting parties shall dispatch couriers extraordinary to their respective generals and commanders.

III. All ships of war or other vessels, belonging to the high contracting parties or their subjects, which may be captured after the signing of this treaty, shall be returned.

IV. Out of esteem for His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and to afford to him a proof of his sincere desire to unite both nations in the bands of immutable confidence and friendship, the Emperor Napoleon wishes that all the countries, towns, and territory, conquered from the King of Prussia, the Ally of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, should be restored, namely, that part of the Duchy of Magdeburg situated on the right bank of the Rhine, the Mark of Prignitz; the Uker Mark; the Middle and New Mark of Brandenburg, with the exception of the Circle of Kothuss, in Lower Alsace; the Duchy of Pomerania; Upper, Lower, and New Silesia, and the County of Glatz; that part of the District of the Netze, which is situated to the northward of the road of Driesen and Schneidemuhl, and to the northward of a line drawn from Schneidemuhl through Waldauto the Vistula, and extending along the frontier of the circle of Bromberg, and the navigation of the river Netze and of the canal of Bremberg, from Driesen to the Vistula and back, must remain open and free of all tolls; Pomerelia; the island of Nogat; the country on the right bank of the Vistula and of the Nogat, to the West of Old Prussia, and to the northward of the circle of Calm; Ermeland. Lastly, the kingdom of Prussia, as it was on the 1st of January, 1772, together with the fortresses of Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Glogau, Breslau, Schweidnitz, Neisse, Brieg, Kosel, and Glatz, and in general all fortresses, citadels, castles, and strong holds of the countries above-named, in the same condition in which those fortresses, citadels. castles, and strong holds may be at present; also, in addition to the above, the city and citadel of Grandentz.

V. Those provinces which, on the 1st of January, 1772, formed a part of the kingdom of Poland, and have since, at different times, been subjected to Prussia (with the exception of the countries named or alluded to in the preceding article, and of those which are described below the 9th article,) shall become the possession of His Majesty the King of Saxony, with power of possession and sovereignty, under the title of the Duchy of Warsaw, and shall be governed according to a regulation, which will insure the liberties and privileges of the people of the said Duchy, and be consistent with the security of the neighbouring states.

VI. The city of Dantzic, with a territory of two leagues round the same, is restored to her former independence, under the protection of His Majesty the King of Prussia, and His Majesty the King of Saxony; to be governed according to the laws by which she was governed at the time when she ceased to be her own mistress.

VII. For a communication betwixt the kingdom of Saxony and the Duchy of Warsaw, His Majesty the King of Saxony is to have the free use of a military road through the states of His Majesty the King of Prussia. This road, the number of troops which are allowed to pass at once, and the resting places.

shall be fixed by a particular agreement between the two sovereigns, under the mediation of France.

VIII. Neither His Majesty the King of Prussia, His Majesty the King of Saxony, nor the city of Dantzic, shall oppose any obstacles whatever to the free navigation of the Vistula, under the name of tolls, rights, or duties.

IX. In order as far as possible to establish a natural boundary between Russia and the Duchy of Warsaw, the territory between the present confines of Russia, from the Bug to the mouth of the Lassona, shall extend in a line from the mouth of the Lassona along the towing path of the said river; and that of the Bobra, up to its mouth; that of the Narew from the mouth of that river as far as Suradiz; from Lissa to its source near the village of Mien; from this village to Nutzeck, and from Nutzeck to the mouth of that river beyond Nurr; and finally, along the towing path of the Bug upwards, to extend as far as the present frontiers of Russia. This territory is for ever united to the empire of Russia.

X. No person of any rank or quality whatever, whose residence or property may be within the limits stated in the above-mentioned article, nor any inhabitant in those provinces of the ancient kingdom of Poland, which may be given up to His Majesty the King of Prussia, or any person possessing estates, revenues, pensions, or any other kind of income, shall be molested in his person, or in any way whatever, on account of his rank, quality, estates, revenues, income, or otherwise, or in consequence of any part, political or military, which he may have taken in the events of the present war.

XI. All contracts and engagements between His Majesty the King of Prussia, and the ancient possessors, relative to the general imposts, the ecclesiastical, the military or civil benefices, of the creditors or pensioners of the old Prussian government, are to be settled between the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Majesty the King of Saxony; and to be regulated by their said Majesties, in proportion to their acquisitions, according to article V. and IX.

XII. Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Saxe Cobourg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg Schwerin, shall each of them be restored to the complete and quiet possession of their estates; but the ports in the Duchies of Oldenburg and Mecklenburgh shall remain in the possession of French garrisons till the definitive treaty shall be signed between France and England.

XIII. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon accepts of the mediation of the Emperor of all the Russias, in order to negociate and conclude a definitive treaty of peace between France and England; however, only upon condition that this mediation shall be accepted by England in one month after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

XIV. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias being desirous on his part to manifest how ardently he desires to establish the most intimate and lasting relations between the two Emperors, acknowledges His Majesty Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples, and His Majesty Louis Napoleon, King of Holland.

XV. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias acknowledges the Confederation of the Rhine, the present state of the possessions of the princes belonging to it, and the titles of those which were conferred upon them by the act of confederation, or by the subsequent treaties of accession. His said Majesty also promises, information being communicated to him on the part of the Emperor Napoleon, to acknowledge those sovereigns who may hereafter become of the Confederation, according to their rank specified in the act of Confederation.

XVI. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias cedes all his property in the right of sovereignty to the Lordship of Jevor, in East Friesland, to His

Majesty the King of Holland.

XVII. The present treaty of peace shall be mutually binding, and in force for His Majesty the King of Naples, Joseph Napoleon, His Majesty Louis Napoleon, King of Holland, and the Sovereigns of the Confederation of the Rhine, in alliance with the Emperor Napoleon.

XVIII. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias also acknowledges His-

Imperial Highness Prince Jerome Napoleon, as King of Westphalia.

XIX. The kingdom of Westphalia shall consist of the provinces ceded by the King of Prussia on the left bank of the Elbe, and other states at present in

the possession of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

XX. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias engages to recognize the limits which shall be determined by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, in pursuance of the foregoing XIXth article, and the cessions of His Majesty the King of Prussia, (which shall be notified to His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias,) together with the state of possession resulting therefrom to the sovereigns for whose behoof they shall have been established.

XXI. All hostilities shall immediately cease between the troops of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and those of the Grand Seignior, at all points, wherever official intelligence shall arrive of the signing of the present treaty. The high contracting parties shall, without delay, dispatch couriers extraordinary to convey the intelligence, with the utmost possible expedition.

to the respective generals and commanders.

XXII. The Prussian troops shall be withdrawn from the provinces of Moldavia, but the said provinces may not be occupied by the troops of the Grand Seignior, till after the exchange of the ratifications of the future de-

finitive treaty of peace between Russia and the Ottoman Porte.

XXIII. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias accepts the mediation of his Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy, for the purpose of negociating a peace advantageous and honourable to the two powers, and of concluding the same. The respective plenipotentiaries shall repair to the place which shall be agreed upon by the two powers concerned, there to open the negociations, and to proceed therewith.

XXIV. The periods within which the high contracting parties shall withdraw their troops from the places which they are to evacuate, pursuant to the above stipulations, as also the manner in which the different stipulations contained in the present treaty shall be executed, will be settled by a special agreement.

XXV. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, mutually ensure to each other the integrity of their possessions, and of those of the powers included in this present treaty, in the state in which they are now settled, or further to be settled, pursuant to the above stipulations.

XXVI. The prisoners made by the contracting parties, or those included in the present treaty, shall be restored in a mass, and without any cartel of ex-

change on both sides.

XXVII. The commercial relations between the French Empire, the Kingdom of Italy, the Kingdoms of Naples and Holland, and the Confederated States of the Rhine, on one side, and the Empire of Russia on the other, shall be replaced on the same footing as before the war.

XXVIII. The ceremonial between the two Courts of the Thuilleries and Petersburgh with respect to each other, and also their respective ambassadors, ministers, and envoys, mutually accredited to each other, shall be placed on the

footing of complete equality and reciprocity.

XXIX. The present treaty shall be ratified by His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; the ratifications shall be exchanged in this city within the space of four days.

Done at Tilsitz, 7th July, (25th June,) 1807.

(Signed) C. Maurice Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento.
Prince Alexander Kourakin.
Prince Dimitry Labanoff Van Rostoff.

A true Copy (Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND, Prince of Benevento.

LONDON GAZETTES .- CAMPAIGN OF 1815.

AS the strong interest for present events renders it impossible to defer the Gazettes of the Campaign of 1815, which is now commenced, we have accordingly begun them. The interrupted thread of the former Gazettes will shortly be continued in a few pages set aside for the purpose.



The London Gazette.

Published by Authority.

SATURDAY, June 24, 1815.

Downing-street, June 23, 1815.—A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received from Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K. G. to Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the War Department:—

Bruxelles, June 19, 1815.—MY LORD,—I have to inform your Lordship, in addition to my dispatch of this morning, that we have already got here five thousand prisoners taken in the action of yesterday, and that there are about two thousand more coming in tomorrow: there will probably be many more. Among the prisoners are the Count Loubau, who commanded the 6th corps, and General Cambrone, who commanded a division of the guards. I propose to send the whole to England by Ostend. I have the honour to be, &c. Wellington.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE

of TUESDAY, June 27.

Downing-street, June 29, 1815 — Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have been this day received by Earl Bathurst, from Field-Marshal his Grace the Duke of Wellington, dated Cateau, 22d, and Joncourt, 25th instant.

La Cateau, June 22, 1815 .- WE have continued in march on the left of the Sambre since I wrote to you. Marshal Blucher crossed that river on the 19th, in pursuit of the enemy, and both armies entered the French territory yesterday; the Prussians by Beaumont, and the allied army under my command, by Bavoy. The remains of the French army have retired upon Laon. All accounts agree in state ing, that it is in a very wretched state; and that, in addition to its losses in battle and in prisoners, it is losing vast numbers of men by desertion. The soldiers quit their regiments in parties, and return to their homes; those of the cavalry and artillery selling their horses to the people of the country. The ad corps, which in my dispatch of the 19th, I informed your Lordship had been detached to observe the Prussian army, remained in the neighbourhood of Wavre till the 20th; it then made good its retreat by Namur and Dinant. This corps is the only one remaining entire. I am not yet able to transmit your Lordship returns of the killed and wounded of the army in the late actions. It gives me the greatest satisfaction to inform you that Colonel Delancey is not dead; he is badly wounded, but his recovery is not doubted, and I hope will be early.

Joncourt, June 25, 1815 .- Finding that the garrison of Cambray was not very strong, and that the place was not very well supplied with what was wanting for its

defence, I sent Lieut. General Sir Charles Colville there, on the day before yesterday, with one brigade of the 4th division, and Sir C. Grant's brigade of cavalry; and upon his report of the strength of the place, I sent the whole division yesterday morning. I have now the satisfaction of reporting that Sir Charles Colville took the town by escalade yesterday evening, with trifling loss, and from the communications which he has since had with the Governor of the citadel, I have every reason to hope that that post will have been surrendered to a Governor sent there by the King of France, to take possession of it in the course of this day. St. Quentin has been abandoned by the enemy, and is in possession of Marshal Prince Blucher; and the castle of Guise surrendered last night. All accounts concur in stating, that it is impossible for the enemy to collect an army to make head against us. It appears that the French corps, which was opposed to the Prussians on the 18th inst, and had been at Wavre, suffered considerably in its retreat, and lost some of its cannon.

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

SATURDAY, July 1, 1815.

At the Court at Carleton-House, the 29th June, 1815, present His Royal Highness the Prince Regent in Council. It is this day ordered by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent in Council, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, that his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury do prepare a Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Armighty God for the glorious victory obtained over the French, on Sunday the eighteenth day of this instant, June, at Waterloo, by the allied armies under the command of Field-Marshal the Most Noble Arthur Duke of Wellington, and Field-Marshal His Highness Prince Blucher.

And it is hereby further ordered, that His Majesty's Printer do forthwith print a competent number of copies of the said Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving, that the same may be forthwith sent round and read in the several churches throughout those parts of the United Kingdom called England and Ireland.

JAS. BULLER.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE Of Saturday, July 1, 1815.

MONDAY, July 3, 1815.

Downing street, July 3, 1815.—A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was last night received, addressed to Earl Bathurst, by his Grace the Duke of Wellington, dated Orville, June 29, 1815:—

My Lord,—Being aware of the anxiety existing in England to receive the returns of the killed and wounded in the late action, I now send lists of the officers, and expect to be able to send this evening returns of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers. The amount of non-commissioned officers and soldiers, British and Hanoverian, killed, wounded, and missing, is between 12 and 13,000. Your Lordship will see in the enclosed lists the names of some most valuable officers lost to his Majesty's service; among them I cannot avoid to mention Colonel Cameron, of the 92d, and Colonel Sir H. Ellis of the 23d regiments, to whose conduct I have frequently drawn your Lordship's attention, and who at last fell distinguishing them selves at the head of the brave troops which they commanded. Notwithstanding the glory of the occasion, it is impossible not to lament such men, both on account of the public and as friends. I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Names of Officers killed, wounded, and missing, 16th June.
Killed.

1st Guards-Ensign James Lord Hay, Aide-de-Camp to General Maitland.

1st Guards, 2d Batt .- Lieut Thomas Brown (Capt); Ensign S. S. P. Barrington.

1st. Guards, 3d Batt .- Lieut. Edward Grose (Captain).

1st Foot—Captain Wm Buckley, Lieuts. John Armstrong and J. E. O'Neill, Ensigns J. G. Kennedy, Charles Grahum, and Alexander Robertson.

32d Foot-Captain Edward Whitty.

331 Foot-Capt. John Haigh, Lieuts. John Boyce and Arthur Gore.

42d Foot-Lieut.-Col. Şir R. Macara, K. C. B.; Lieut. Robert Gordon, Ensign William Gerrard.

44th Foot, 2d Batt .- Lieut. Wm. Tomkins, Ensign Peter Cooke.

69th Foot, 2d Batt .- Lieut. Edmund William Whitwick.

79th Foot, 1st Batt .- Adjutant J. Kynock.

92d Foot-Captain William Little, Lieut. J. J. Chisholm, Ensigns Abel Becher and John M. R. Macpherson, First-Lieutenant William Lister.

Wounded.

General Staff-Captain H. G. Macleod, 35th Foot, Deputy-Assistant-Quarter-Master-General: Captain John Jessop (Major) 44th Foot, Assistant Quarter-Master-General, severely; Captain Charles Smyth (Major), 95th Foot, Brigade Major, severely (since dead); Captain Langton, Acting Aid-de-Camp to Sir T. Picton, slightly; Lieut. W. Havelock, 43d Foot, Aide-de-Camp to Major-General Alten, slightly; Lieut. William de Gnebn, severely (since dead).

Royal Artillery, King's German Legion-Lieut. Henry Hartmann, severely.

Ist Guards, 2d Batt.—Major Henry Askew (Colonel), severely; Lieut. James Simpson (Captain), severely; Ensigns George Fludger and Thomas Elmsley Croft, severely.

1st Guards, 3d Batt.—Major the Hon. William Stewart (Colonel), severely; Captain Hon. Horace G. Townsend (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captain Wm. Miller (Lieut. Colonel) severely, (since dead); Lieuts. Robert Adair and Thomas Streatfield, (Captaius), severely; Ensign Wm. Barton, severely

Royal Scots, 3d Batt.—Captain L. Arquimbeau (Major), slightly; Captain Hugh Massey (Major) slightly; Robert Dudgeon, severely; Lieuts. William J. Rea, J. N. Ingram, and Wm. Clarke, severely; Lieuts. R. H. Scott and Joseph Symes, slightly; Lieut. James Mann, severely; Lieuts. George Stewart and James Alstone, slightly; Adjutant Allan Cameron, severely.

28th Foot-Captains Wm. Irvin (M.) and John Bowles, severely; Lieut. Wm. Irwin, severely; Lieut. John Coen, slightly.

30th Foot, 2d Batt.-Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Hamilton, severely; Lieus. P. Lockwood severely.

32d Foot—Captain W. H. Toole, slightly; Capt. Jacques Boyce, severely, (since dead); Captains Thomas Cassan and John Crowe, severely; Capt. Charles Wallet, slightly; Lieuts. H W. Brookes, M. W. Meighen, S. H. Lawrence, slightly; Lieuts. Geo. Barr and John Boase, severely; Lieut. Henry Butterworth, slightly; Lieuts. James Robinson, James Fitzgerald, Henry Quill, Edwd. Stephens, severely; Lieut. Thomas Horan, slightly; Ensigns Henry Metcalfe and John Birtwhistle, slightly; Ensigns Charles Dallas and A. Stewart, severely; Adjutant David Davis, slightly.

33d Foot-Major Edward Parkinson, slightly; Capt. Wm. M'Intyre, slightly; Lieuts. James Markland, J. G. Ogle, and James Forlung, severely; Ensign John Alderson, severely (right arm amputated); Ensign James Howard, slightly.

42d Foot-Major R. H. Dick (Lieutenant Colonel), severely; Capts. A. Menzies, George Davison, Donald M'Donald, Dan. M'Intosh, and Robert Boyle, severely; Lieut. Donald Chisholm, slightly; Lieut Duncan Stewart, severely; Lieuta, Donald M'Kenzie and Hugh A. Fraser, slightly; Lieuts. John Malcolm and A.

Dunbar, severely; Ensigns Wm. Fraser and A. L. Fraser, slightly; Adjutant James Young, slightly.

44th Foot, 2d Batt.—Lieut. Col. J. M. Hamerton, slightly; Captains Adam Brugh, David Power, Wm. Burney, and Mildmay Fane, severely; Lieuts. Robt. Russel, Robert Grier, and W. B. Strong, severely; Lieut. Alexander Campbell, slightly; Lieut. W. M. Hern, severely; Lieut. James Burke, slightly; Ensigns James Christie, B. Whitney, J. C. Webster, and A. Wilson, severely.

69th Foot, 2d Batt.—Captain H. Linsey (Major), severely; Lieuts. Brook Pigot, John Stewart, and C. Busteed, severely.

73d Foot, 2d Batt.—Lieut. J. Acres, severely (since dead); Captain J. Lloyd, severely; Ensign Thomas Deacon, severely; Ensign R Hesellidge, slightly.

79th Foot, 1st Batt.—Lieut. Colonel Neil Douglas, severely; Majors A. Brown and D. Cameron (Lieut. Colonels), severely; Captains T. Mylne, W. Marshal, severely; Captains M. Fraser and W. Brace, severely; Captain John Sinclair, severely (since dead); Captain Neil Campbell, slightly; Lieut. D. M'Phee, slightly; Lieuts. Thomas Brown, William Maddock, W. Leaper, James Fraser, and William A. Riach, severely; Ensign Robert Robertson, severely.

92d Foot-Lieut.-Colonel John Cameron (Colonel) severely (since dead); Major James Mitchell (Lieut.-Colonel), severely; Capts. George W. Holmes, Dugald Campbell, and Wm. C. Grant, severely; Lieuts. Thomas Hobbs and Thomas M'Intosh, severely; Lieut. Robert Winchester, slightly; Lieut. Ronald M'Donnell, severely; Lieut. James Kerr Ross, slightly; Lieuts. George Logan, John M'Kinlay, George Mackie, Alexander M'Pherson, and Ewen Ross, severely; Lieut. Hector M'Innes, slightly; Ensign John Bramwell, severely, (right leg amputated); Ensign Robert Logan, slightly; Eusign Angus M'Donald and Robert Hewett, severely; Assistant-Surgeon John Stewart, slightly.

95th Foot, 1st Batt.—First Lieuts. J. P. Gardiner and John G. Fitzmorris, severely; First Lieut Felix, slightly; Second Lieut. Wm. Shenley, severely.

79th Foot, 1st Batt .- Volunteer Cameron, severely.

Missing.

79th Foot, 1st Batt .- Captain Robert M'Kay, severely wounded.

Hanoverian Officers killed.

M. B. Verdon-Lieutenant Wegener.

M. B. Osterode-Lieutenant Janish.

Wounded.

M. B. Verdon-Captain Witzendorff; Lieutenant Hinuber.

M. B. Lunenburg-Captain Reicke; Lieutenant Dapue.

F. B. Bremen-Captain Bessalde, severely.

F. B. D'York-Lieutenant Mahrenhery, severely; Ensign Rabors, severely.

F. B. Grubenhagen-Lieutenant Westphal, severely: Ensign Ernest, severely: Lieutenant Marwedel, slightly; Ensign Bulow, slightly.

F. B. Lunenburg-Lieutenant Volger, severely.

F. B. Luneberg-Ensigns De Weyne and Sachsse, severely.

Missing.

F. B. Luneberg-Captain Corseir, severely.

M. B. Verden-Ensigns State and Hotzebue.

(Signed) JOHN WATERS, Lieut.-Col. and A. A. G.

Names of Officers killed, wounded, and missing, 17th June.

Killed.
73d Foot, 2d Batt.—Lieutenant William Strahan.

Wounded.

1st Life Guards—Captain John Whale, slightly.
7th Hussars—Lieutenant John Gordon, severely.
11th Light Programs, Larges S. Manna coverely.

11th Light Dragoons-James S. Moore, severely,

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Missing .

General Staff-Captain A Kranchenberg (retaken).

7th Hussars-Major E Hodge, severely wounded; Captain J. D. Elphinstone, severely wounded (retaken); Adjutant Myers, severely.

Hanoverian Officers wounded.

Field B. Bremen—Captain Lapel, severely; Ensigns Bruhl and Meyer, severely. 1st Batt. Duke of York—Major Bulow, slightly.

(Signed) JOHN WATERS, Lieut.-Col. and A. A.G.

Names of Officers killed, wounded, and missing, 18th June.

Killed.

General Staff—Lieut. General Sir Thomas Picton, G. C. B., Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, K. C. B.; Colonel Baron Charles Ompteda; Lieut.-Colonel E. Curric, 90th Foot, A. A. General.

Brigade-Major Staff, K. G. L .- Captain Henry Weigman.

General Staff-Captain Hon. William Curzon, 69th Foot, D. A A. G.; Captain Walter Crofton, 54th Foot, Brigade-Major; Captain T. Reignolds (Major) 2d R. N. B. Dragoons, Brigade-Major; Captain Charles Eccles, 95th Foot, Brigade-Major; Captain De Cloud, K. G. L.

1st Life Guards-Major Samuel Ferrior (Lieut -Col.) and Capt. M. Lind.

2d Life Guards-Richard Fitz Gerald, (Lieut. Colonel).

Royal Reg. Horse Guards Blue-Major Robert C. Pack.

1st Dragoon Guards—Captain John D. Bringhurst (Major); Captain George Battersby, and Adjutant Thomas Shelver.

1st Royal Dragoons-Capt. E. C. Windsor, Lieut. Charles Forster, Cornet J. C. Sykes, and Adjutant Thomas Shipley.

2d or R. N. B. Dragoous-Licut.-Colonel James J. Hamilton, Capt. G. L. Barnard, Licut. Trotter, Cornets Edward Westley, F. C. Kinchant and L. Shuldham.

6th Dragoons-Adjutant Michael Cluskey.

10th Hussars-Major Hon. F. Howard, and Lieut. George Gunning.

11th Light Dragoons-Lieutenant Edward Phillips.

12th Light Dragoons-Lieut. L. J. Berne and Cornet J. E. Lockhart.

13th Light Dragoons-Captain James Gubbins.

15th Hussars-Major Edward Griffith and Lieut. Isaac Sherwood.

16th Light Dragoons-Captain J. P. Buchanan, and Cornet Alexander Hay.

1st Light Dragoons, K. G. L.—Captain Frederic Peters and Lieuts. C. F. Se-vetzon and Otto Kualmann.

2d Light Dragoons, K. G. L .- Capt. F. Bulow and Cornet H. Drangmeister.

3d Hussars, K. G. T. - Capts. August Kerssenbruh and George Jansen, Cornet William Deickmann and Adjutant Henry Bruggerrann.

Royal Artillery-Capts. F. Ramsay and R. M. Cairnes (Majors) Capts. G. Beane and S. Bolton.

Royal Artillery, K. G. Legion-Lieut, Detlef de Schulzen.

1st Guards, 2d Batt .- Sir Francis D'Oyley (Lieut .- Colonel).

1st Guards, 3d Batt.—Captains Edward Stables (Lieut.-Colonel) and Charles Thomas (Lieut.-Colonel); Ensign Edward Pardoe.

Coldstream Guards, 2d Batt .- Lieut. John Luice Blackman.

3d Guards, 2d Batt.—Lieut. Hon. Hastings Forbes (Captain), Thomas Craw-ford (Captain) and John Ashton (Captain).

1st Foot, 3d Batt -Lord William Young and Ensign William Anderson.

23d Foot, 1st Batt.—Capts. Joseph Hawtyn (Major), Charles Joliffe, and Thomas Farmer; Lieut. G. Fensham.

27th Foot, 1st Batt.—Captain George Holmes, Ensign Samuel Irelnad.

28th Foot-Captain W. Meacham.

30th Foot, 2d Batt.—Major J. W. Chambers, Capt. Alexander M'Nabb, Lients. Henry Beere and Edward Prendergast, Ensigns John James and James Bullen.

33d Foot-lieuts. R. H. Buck and James Hart.

40th Foot, 1st Batt - Major A. R. Heyland, captain W. Fisher.

52d Foot-Easign W. Nettles.

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69th Foot-lieut.col. Charles Morice (colonel), captains Benjamin Hobbouse and R. Blackwood.

71st Foot-Easign John Todd.

73d Foot—captains Alexander Robertson and John Kennedy, lieut. Matthew Hollis, Eusigns Samuel Lowe and Charles Page.

79th Foot, 1st Batt .- lieuts. D. M'Pherson and E. Kennedy.

95th Foot, 1st Batt -First Lieutenant Edward Duncan Johnstone.

1st Light Batt, K. G. L.—captains Philip Holzerman, Henry Marshalk, and Alexander Goeben, lieutenant Authony Albert.

2d Batt, K. G. L.—capts. A. Bosewell (Major) and William Schaumann, Eusign Frederick Robertson.

1st Line Batt, K. G. L .- captain Charles Holle.

2d Line Batt. K. G. L .- captain George Tibe.

3d Line Batt, K. G. L .- captain Frederick Didel.

4th Line Batt. K. G. L .- Ensign Frederick Cronhelm.

5th Line Batt. K. G. L .- captain C. Wurmb, Adjutant Laves Schuck.

sth Line Batt. K. G. L -- captains William Voight and T. Westernhagen, Lieut. William Mehrenhotz.

Wounded.

General Staff—General His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, G. C. B. severely; Lieut.-Gen. the Earl of Uxbridge, G. C. B. severely (right leg amputated); Lieut.-General Sir Charles Alten, K. C. B. severely; Major-General George Cooke, severely (left arm amputated); Major-General Sir E. Barnes, K. C. B. severely; Major-General Frederick Adam, severely; Major-General Sir James Kempt, K. C. B. slightly; Major-General Sir Charles Halkett, K. C. B. severely; Major-General Sir William Doernberg, K. C. B. severely; Major-General Sir Denis Pack, K. C. B. slightly; Colonel Charles Duplat, severely (since dead); Col. Sir John Elley, K. C. B. Royal Horse Guards (Blue) D. A. G. severely.

Permanent Staff-Colonel Sir William Delancey, K. C. B., D.-Quarter-Master-General, severely (since dead).

General Staff—Lieut.-Col. Sir Henry Bradford, K. C. B. 1st Guards, A. Q. M. G. severely; Lieut.-Col. Hon. Alexander Abercrombic, Coldstream Guards, A. Q. M. G. slightly.

Unattached-Lieut.-Colonel John Waters, A. A. G. slightly.

General Staff-Lieut.-Colonel Sir H. Berkley, K. C. B. 35th Foot, A. A. G. severely; Licat.-Colonel Sir Alexander Gordon, K. C. B. 3d Guards, A. D. C. to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, severely (since dead); Lieut.-Col. Charles Fox Canning, A. D. C. to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, severely (since dead); Major Hon. George Dawson, A. Q. M. G. slightly; Major Charles Beckwith, 95th Foot, A. Q. M. Gen. severely; Major Andrew Hamilton, 4th West India Regt. A. D. C. to Major-Gen. Sir E. Barnes, slightly; Major D'Estrange, 71st Foct, A. D C. to Major-General Sir D. Pack, severely (since dead), Captain Hon-E. S. Erskine, 60th Foot, D. A. A. G. severely (left arm amputated); Captain Edward Fitzgerald, 25th Foot, D.A.Q.M.G. slightly; Captain T. Hume Blair (Major) 91st Foot, Brigade-Major, severely; Captain G. de Eureur, Staff, K. G. L. severely; Captain T. Noel Harris (half-pay) severely, right arm amputated; Cap. tain Henry Baines, Royal Artillery, slightly; Capt. William Stothert, 3d Guards, severely, since dead : Capt. Orlando Bridgman, 1st Guards, A. D. C. to Lord Hill, slightly; Capt. Henry Dumaresq, 9th Foot, Aid de-Cam to Major Gen. Byng, severeiy; Captain William Moray, Extra Aid-de-Camp to Major-Gen. Grant, severely; Lieut. Ralph Mansfield, 15th Hussars, Aid-de-Camp to Major-Gen. Grant, slightly; Lieut. James Rook, half-pay Extra Aide-de-Camp to his R. H. the Prince of Orange, slightly Lieut. J. H. Hamilton, 46th Foot, D. A. G. slightly; Major W. Thornhill, 7th Hussars, A. D. C. to Lieut.-Gen. the Earl of Uxbridge, severely; Capt. Thomas Wildman, 7th Hussars, A. D. C. to Lieut.-Gen. the Earl of Uxbridge, slightly; Capt. J. J. Frase, 7th Hussars, A. D. C. to Lieut.-Gen. the Earl of Uxbridge, slightly; Lieut. Horace Seymour, 18th Hussars, A. D. C. to Lieut.-Gen. the Earl of Uxbridge, slightly.

1st Life Guards-Capt. Edward Kelly, Cornets William Richardson, and Samuel Cox, severely.

Royal Regiment Horse Guards (Blue)—Lieut.-colonel Sir Robert C. Hill, severely; Lieut.-col. Clement Hill, slightly; Lieuts. William Cunliffe Shawe, and Everard William Bouverie, slightly.

1st Dragoon Guards-Capt. Michael Turner, severely; Captain J. F. Naylor,

slightly; capt. J. P. Sweney, severely; Lieut. W. D. Irvine, slightly.

1st (Royal) Dragoous—capt. C. E. Radcliffe, (M.) severely; capt. A. R. Clarke, Lieuts. G. Gunning and Sig. Stafford, slightly; T. R. Kelly, severely; Sam. Wyndowe, slightly; C. Ommany, severely; S. Goodenough, and C. Blois, severely.

2d (R. N. B.) Dragoous—Majors J. B. Clarke (Lieut.-colonel) severely; and J. P. Hanken (Lieut. colonel) slightly; capts. James Poole (Major) and Richard Vernon, severely; Lieut. John Mills, slightly; Francis Stupart, James Carruthers, severely (since dead); and Charles Wyudham, severely.

6th Dragoons-Lieut.-colonel Muter (colonel) slightly; Major F. S. Miller, (Lient.-col.) Captain's W. F. Brown, and Hon. S. Douglas, Lieut. Alexander Has-

sard, severely.

7th Hussars-capts. Thomas William Robius, William Vernor, and P. A. Heyliger, Lieuts. R. Douglas, Edward Peters and Robert Beattie, severely.

10th Hussars-lieut.-col. George Quentin (colonel) severely; capt. John Grey, slightly; capts. John Gurwood, and Charles Wood, Lieuts, Robert Arnold, and Anthony Bacon, severely.

11th Light Dragoons—capt. J. A. Schreiber, slightly; lieuts. Frederick Wood, severely; Richard Coles, slightly; and Robert Milligan, severely.

12th Light Dragoons-lieut-col. Hon. F. C. Ponsonby (colonel) and captain Edwin Sandys, severely; lieut. W. H. Dowbeggen, slightly.

13th Light Dragoons—lieut.-colonel Shap Boyce, capts. Joseph Doherty, Geo. Doherty and Charles Bowers, slightly; lieut. John Gale, severely (since dead) Lieut. John Pymm, severely (since dead); lieuts. John H. Irwin, James Mill, and George H. Pack, slightly.

15th Hussars—lieut.-colonel Leighton Dalrymple, severely (leg amputated); capt. Joseph Thackwell, severely (arm amputated); capt. John R. Whiteford, and lieut. William Byam, severely; lieuts. Edward Byam, and George A. Dawkins, slightly; lieut. Henry Buckley, severely (since dead.)

16th Light Dragoons-licut. colonel James Hay, severely; capt. Richard Weyland and lient. William Osten, slightly; licut N.D. Crichton, severely.

18th Hussar -lieut. Charles Hesse and Adjutant H. Duperiere, severely.

23d Light Dragoons-Major J. M. Cutliffe, severely; capt. C. Webb Dance, slightly; captain Thomas Gerrard, (Major), and lieut. Thomas B. Wall, severely; lieut. Brabasin Disney, slightly.

1st Light Dragoons King's German Legion—Lieut.-col. John Bulow, severely; Major A. Reitzenstein, slightly; capt. B. Bothmer, severely; capts. P. Sichart, and G. Hattort, slightly; lieut. O. Hammerstain, severely; lieut. W. Mackenzie and Henry Bosse, slightly; cornets S. H. Vanne, and Tritton, severely; Adjutant W. Tricke, slightly.

2d Light Dragoons, K. G. L.—Lieuts.-colonels C. de Jonquires and C. Maydell, slightly; capt. T. Harling, severely; lieut. H. H. C. Bitter, severely; cornet F. Lovery, severely.

1st Hussars, K. G. L .- lieut. George Baring, slightly.

ad Hussars, K.G. L.—lieut. colonel Lewis Meyer, severely; capts. Quintus Goeben and William Schuchen, slightly; lieuts, Herman, True, and Christopher Ochlkers, severely; Cornet Frederick Floyer, slightly; cornets Conrad Dassel and Huns Horenberg, severely.

Royal Artillery, British—Major William Lloyde, severely; capt. Charles Napier, severely; capt. John Parker (Major) severely (leg amputated); capt. Robt. Bull (Major) slightly; capts. E. C. Whinyates, C. C. Dansey, R. Macdonald, and W. Webber, slightly

R .yal Artillery, K. G. L .- capt. Augustus Sympher, slightly; captain William Brann, severely.

Royal Artillery, British—T. F. Strangeways, slightly; lieut. W. L. Brereton, severely; W. L. Robe, severely (since dead); Lieut. W. M. Smith, slightly; lieut. M. Cromic, severely (both legs amputated); lieut. Henry Foster, severely; lieuts. D. Crawford and J. Day, slightly; lieut. C. Spearman, severely; lieut. F. Manners, severely (since dead); lieut. T. Harvey, severely (right arm amputated); lieut. William Poole, severely.

Royal Artillery-K. G. L.-lieuts. Lewis Erythropel and Lewis Heisse, severely. Royal Engineers-lieut J. W. Pringle, slightly.

Royal Staff Corps-captain Thomas Wright, slightly; lieut. George D. Hall, severely.

1st Guards, 2d Batt.—capts. Richard Henry Cooke (lieut.-col.) severely, and W. H. Milnes (heut.-col.) severely (since dead); lieuts. Francis Luttrel (capt.) and Somerville W. Burgess (captain) severely; ensign H. Lascelles, slightly.

1st Guards, 3d Batt.—captain Henry D'Oyley (lieut.-col.) severely; captain George Feed (lieut.-col.) slightly; lieut. Hon. Robert Clements (captain) severely; lieut. Charles Parker Ellis (captain) slightly; ensign Robert Batty, slightly; ensign Robert Bruce, severely.

Coldstream Guards, 2d Batt.—captain Daniel M'Kinnon (lieut.-col.) slightly; capt. Henry Wyudham (lieut.-col.) severely; lieut. Edward Sumner (captain), Hon. Robert Moore (captain) severely; ensign Henry Frederick Griffiths, severely; ensign John Montague, slightly; ensign Henry Vane, severely.

3d Guards, 2d Batt.—capt. Charles Dashwood (lieut.-col.) severely; captains Edward Bowater (lieut.-col.) slightly; Charles West (lieut.-col.); lieut. Robert Bamford Hesketh (captain) slightly; lieut. George Evelyn (captain) severely; lieut. Hugh Montgomerie; ensigns Charles Lake, and David Baird; Charles Simpson, severely, (since dead).

1st Foot, 3d Batt.—Major Collin Campbell (lieut.-col.) severely; captain L. Arg-nimbau (Major), slightly; capts. Robert M'Donald, and Hugh Massey (majors), severely; lieuts. Archibald Morrison, George Lane, J. F. Miller, and William Dobbs, severely; lieuts. Robert H. Scott, and J. L. Black, slightly; ensigns. Thomas Stevens, and Joseph M'Kay, slightly; ensign Leond. M. Cooper, severely; Quarter-Master Thomas Griffiths, slightly.

4th Foot, 1st Batt.—capts. G. D. Wilson, and James C. Edgill, slightly; lieuts. John Brown, George Smith, Halkett Boyd, William Squires, severely: lieut. Robert Gerard, slightly; ensign W. M. Matthews, slightly; Adjutant W. M. Richardson, severely.

14th Foot, 3d Batt .- Ensign Alfred Cooper, slightly.

23d Foot, 1st Batt.—lieut.-col. Sir H. W. Ellis, K. C. B. (colonel) severely, since dead Major J. H. E Hill (lieut.-col.) severely; captain Henry Johnson, slightly; lieut. W. A. Griffiths, severely; lieut. John Clyde; lieutenant R. D. Sidney, slightly. 27th Foot, 1st Batt.—capt. John Hare, (Major) slightly; captain John Tucker,

severely; lieuts. G. M'Donald, W. Henderson, R. Handcock, W. Fortesque, T. Craddock, E. W. Drew, C. Manly, and John Millar, severely; ensign Thomas Smith, severely; ensign John Ditmes, slightly; ensign E. Hancock, severely.

28th Foot—Major R. Nixon (lieut.-col.) severely; captain Richard Llewellyn (major) severely; captain Richard Kelly, slightly; captains T. English, W. F. Wilkinson, Roger P. Gilbert, Henry Hilyard, Charles B. Carruthers, John T. Clarke, severely; capts. John Willington Shelton and John Deares, slightly; captain G. Ingram, severely, since dead; ensign J. Mountsteven, severely; adjutant Thomas Bridgland, slightly.

30th Foot-Majors William Bailey (lieut.col.) and C. A. Vigaroux (lieut..col.) severely; capt. A. Gore, slightly; lieut. R. C. Elliot, slightly; lieuts. John Rumby and John Pract, severely; lieuts. R. Hughes, T. Moneypenny, R. Daniel, John Roe (ed) slightly; lieut. W. O. Warren, severely; adjutant M. Andrews, slightly.

32d Foot—captain Hugh Harrison, severely; lieutenauts Thomas Rosslewin and James Colthurst, slightly; lieuts. Thomas Horam and Jonathan Jagoo, severely; ensigns I. McGouchy John Birtwhistle, and William Bennet, severely; adjutant David Davies, severely.

33d Foot—capts Charles Knight and J. M. Harty, slightly; lieuts. Thomas Read, R. Westmore and Samuel Pagan, severely; lieuts. Thomas Haight and John Cameron, severely (since dead); ensigns W. Bain and —— Drury, severely; adjutant W. Thain, slightly.

40th Foot—capts. C. Ellis and J. H. Barnet, severely; lieuts. R. Moore, J. Mill, and J. Anthony, severely; lieut. J. Campbell, stightly; Hon. M. Brown, severely; lieut. J. Robb, slightly; cusigns F. Ford and J. Clarke, severely.

42d Foot—captain Mungo M'Pherson, slightly; lieuts. John Orr and George Gunn Munro, severely; lieuts. Hugh A. Fraser, and James Brander, slightly; quarter-master Donald M'Intosh, slightly.

44th Foot-Major George O'Mealy (licut. col.) slightly; licut. James Burke, severely; adjutant Thomas M'Dann, severely.

51st Foot-captain Samuel Beardesiey, severely; lieutenant Charles W. Tyndale, slightly.

52d Foot—Major Charles Rowan (lieut.-col.) slightly; captain Charles Diggle, severely; captain James Fred. Love (major) severely; lieut. Charles Dawson, severely; Lieut. Matthew Anderson, severely (left leg amputated); lieutenants George Campbell and Thomas Cottingham, severely; adjutant John Winterbottom, severely.

69th Foot-captain Lewis Watson (major) severely; Ensigns Henry Anderson and Edward Hodder, severely.

71st Foot, 1st Batt—lieut.-colonel Thomas Reynell (colonel) slightly; major Arthur Jones (lieut.-col.) severely; captain Donald Campbell, slightly; capts. Wm. A. Grant and James Henderson, severely; capt. Charles Johnson (major), slightly; lieut. Joseph Barralier, slightly; lieut. John Raleig Elwes, severely, (since dead); lieuts. Robert Lind, and Robert Lawe, severely; lieuts. Carique Lewin, John Roberts, and John Coote, slightly; adjutant W. Anderson, slightly.

73d Foot-lieut.-colonel W. G. Harris (col.) severely; major Archibald M'Lean, severely; captains Henry Coane, William Wharton, and John Garland, severely; lieuts. John M'Connel, and Thomas Reynolds, severely; lieut. Donald Browne, severely (left arm amputated); ensign William M'Bean, severely; ensign Charles Eastwood, slightly; ensign George Bridge, severely; adjutant Patrick Hay, severely.

79th Foot—capts. James Campbell, and Niel Campbell, severely; capt. John Cameron, severely, since dead; lieuts. John Powling, D. Cameron, and Ewen Cameron, severely; lieuts. A. Cameron, C. M'Arthur, and A. Forbes, ensigns John Nash and A.S. Crauforde, slightly.

92d Foot-capts. Peter Wilkie, and Archibald Ferrior, slightly; lieuts. Robert Winchester, and Donald M'Donaid, severely; lieut. James Kerr Ross, slightly; lieut. James Hope, severely.

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95th Foot, 1st Batt .- lieut.-col. Sir A. F. Bernard, K. C. B. (col.) slightly; mafor Alexander Cameron (licut.-col.) severely; captains Edward Chawner, and William Johnstone, 1st. licut. John Malloy, John Gardiner, George Simmons, and John Stillwell, severely (since dead); 2d lieuts. Allen Stewart, James Wright, and James Church, severely.

95th Foot, 2d Batt - Majors Amos Godsold Norcott (lient .- col.) and George Wilkins (lieut.-col.) severely; captain George Miller (major) severely; capt. John M'Culloch, severely (left arm amputated); lieuts. William Humbly and Edward Coxan, severely; licuts. Donald Cameron, Robert Cochrane, John Fry, slightly; lieuts. John Ridgway, Joseph Lynam, Richard Eyre, Joseph Walsh, severely; lieut. Vera Webb, slightly.

95th Foot, 3d Batt-Major John Ross (lieut.-colonel) severely; captain James Fuderton (major) severely; 1st lieuts. J. T. Wersley and G. H. Shenley, severely. 1st Light Batt. K. G. L .- Major H. Bussche, severely, (right arm amputated);

capt. Fred. Gilsa, severely; lieuts. Christian Heisse and Ker Wolrabe, severely; lieut. Adolphus Koster, slightly; lient. H. Leonhart, severely; ensign A. Gentzhow, slightly; ensign Charles Behne and A. Heisse, severely.

2d Light Batt. K. G. L .- lieut. F. Kessler, severely; lieut. G. Meyer, slightly; lieuts. O'Luinan and B. Riefkugen, severely; lieuts. M. Jobin and T. Carrey, slightly; lient. G. D. Granie, ensign George Franck, adj. D. Timman, severely.

1st Line Batt, K. G. L .- Major William Robertson, severely; capts. Gerlach and Schlutter, severely; lieuts. A. Muller and H. Wilding, severely; ensign H Lucken, severely; adjutant F. Schnath, severely.

2d Line Batt. K. G. L .- captain F. Purgold, lient, Care Decken, severely,

Ed line Batt. K. G. L .- Major Anthony Boden, severely; lieuts. Frederick Jansen and F. Leachen, severely; lieuts. A. Kuckuck and E. Kuckuck, slightly.

4th Line Batt, K. G. L .- Major G. Chuden, severely (since dead); captain F. Heise, slightly; lieuts. Gasp Both and A. Langworth, slightly; lieut. W. L. De la Farque, severely; ensign Arnold Oppunn, slightly; adjutant A. Hartwig, severely.

5th Line Batt. K. G. L .- captain F. Sander, severely; licut. C. Berger, severely; lieut. G. Klingsehr, severely.

8th Line Batt. K. G. L .- captain C. Rougemont, severely; lieut. C. Sadler slightly; ensign W. Mareau, severely; adjutant T. Brinmann, severely.

3d Batt. Royal Scots-Volunteer Richard Backlin, slightly.

95th Foot, 1st Batt .- Volunteer Charles Smith, slightly.

Missing.

Staff, K. G. L .- captain C. de Roberts, Br. Major.

General Staff-lieut, E. Gerstlacher, 3d Hussars, K. G. L. D. A. A. G. wounded. 2d Life Guards-Lieutenant Samuel Weymouth.

Royal Horse Guards (Blue)-captain John Thoyts.

1st Dragoou Guards-lieut .- col. William Fuller (col.) severely wounded; captain Henry Graham, lieut. Francis Brooke, severely wounded; cornet Hon. H. B. Bernard.

1st Dragoons-cornet Richard Magniac.

6th Dragoons-lieutenant P. Ruffo.

23d Light Dragoons-lieutenant Stephen Coxan.

2d Light Batt. K. G. L -captain Ernest Holzermann, wounded.

Names of the Hanoverian Officers killed, wounded, and missing, on the 18th of June. Killed.

General Staff-captain M. Hanbury (Brigade Major).

2d Batt. Duke of York-lieutenant Uffel, ensign Berghoff.

Field Batt. Grubenhagen-lieut.-colonel Baron Wurmb.

1st Luneburg Batt .- captain Bobart, ensign de Plate.

Bremirvode Batt-ensign Thomas Holt.

Osterode Batt. -ensign Schantz.

Wounded.

Field Jagers-capt. de Reden, slightly; lieutenant Grote, slightly; lieut. Schultze, severely.

2d Batt. Duke of York—major Baron Gudirig Munster, slightly; captain F. Gotthard, severely; capt. C. Quentin, slightly; lieuts. G. Winkler and Roichers, slightly; ensigns Ludewig Nienheuke and George Meyer, severely.

Field Batt. Batt.-Grubenhagen-captain De Baner, slightly.

Field Batt. Bremen—Lieut-col. Langrehre, severely (since dead); major Muller, slightly; lieutenant De Quistorff (1st) and De Quistorff (2d) slightly; adjutan Wehner, slightly.

Field Batt. Luneburg-lieut -col. Klencke, severely.

Field Batt. Verden—Major Schopp, slightly; captain Jacoby, slightly; lieut. Selig, slightly; lieut. Brandis (2d) severely; lieuts. Brandis (1st) and Suffcuplan, slightly; ensign Pianzis, slightly; adjutant Gerhard, slightly.

Militia Batt. Bremivorde-lieut. Leoper, severely (since dead); lieuts. Wencke and E. Meyer, severely; ensigns E. Wilhew and Ernest Holthausen, slightly.

1st Batt. Duke of York—capt. De Pavel, severely; lieutenant Shol, severely; ensign Muller, slightly.

3d Batt. Duke of York-major Clamor Buscke, severely.

Salzgitter-Captain Charles Hammerstein, slightly; lieutenant Charles Spangenberg, severely.

Militia Batt Handelu-Major Strube, slightly; captain Blankhart, slightly; lieut. Kohle, severely; lieut. Kistner, slightly.

Militia Batt. Hildesham-major Reden, severely.

Militia Batt. Peina-capt. Betram, severely; ensign Kohler, slightly; lieut, Helmrick, 7th Line Batt. K. G. L. attached, severely.

Griffhorn Batt.—major Hammerstein; major Lene, 4th Batt. K. G. L. attached, severely (since dead); capt. Wredenfels, slightly; lieut. Schmint, severely.

Luneburg-captain Kamf; ensigns Darnaur and Meyer.

Velden Batt .- lieuts Hartzig, Wiencoken, ensign Ziegener.

Osterode Batt.—Major Reden, captains Papet and Ingerslaben, lieuts. Groebs and Sambrecht.

Munder Batt.—captain Harstein; lieuts. Brisberg, Brenning, and Schwencke; easigns Murray and Oppermann.

Missing.

Field Batt. Luneberg-Major Dackenhausen, wounded; Staff Surgeon Karster Assistant-Surgeon Schmuster.

Bremenvorde-2d Quarter Master Rees, 1st Quarter-Master W. Eblers.

Saltzgitter-ensign Serader; Assistant-Surgeons J. Deneske and Rhomeyer.

JOHN WATERS, Lieut.-col, and Assistant Adjutant-General.

THE ROYAL

MILITARY CHRONICLE;

OR,

BRITISH OFFICER'S

MONTHLY REGISTER, CHRONICLE, AND MILITARY MENTOR.

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1815.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Plates deficient in this Volume will be given all together in the Supplement, as we are unwilling to give one where we owe two; and, in the present sale of this Work, it is impossible to detain the press to wait the indolence or convenience of any Engraver. Will it be believed, that these men, who style themselves Artists, will not work in winter because the days are dark, nor in summer because of their health.

The circumstantial Narrative of the BATTLE of WATERLOO, with Maps and Plans, being the Supplement to the Third Volume of the Chronicle, price Two Shillings and Sixpence, will be published together with our next Number.

ROYAL MILITARY CHRONICLE.

No. 17.1

NEW SERIES, SEPTEMBER, 1815.

[Vol. III.

ORIGINAL NARRATIVE

OF WHAT OCCURRED ON THE SCAFFOLD IN THE EXECUTION OF LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH.

By the ABBE EDGEWORTH, His Majesty's Confessor.

The following narrative was copied from a manuscript in the British Museum. It is part of a splendid work, beautifully written, and adorned with portraits, designed by the pen, of most of the Royal Family of France, and of many individuals who had distinguished themselves during the Revolution. It is compiled by the Marquis de Sy, and is preserved with uncommon attention in the British Museum, in a table of curious contrivance.

The fate of the King was not yet decided, when M. de Malesherbes, to whom I had not the honour of being personally known, and who could neither ask me to his house nor come to mine, requested me to meet him at Mad. de Senosan's, where I accordingly waited on him.

There M. de Malesherbes delivered me a message from the King, signifying the wish of that unfortunate monarch that I should attend him at his last moments, if the atrocity of his subjects should be contented with nothing less than his death. This message was conveyed in terms, which I should have thought it my duty to suppress, if they did not demonstrate the excellence of that prince, whose tragical end I am going to relate. He carried the delicacy of his expressions so far, as to ask as a favour, the services he had a right to demand from me as a duty. He claimed them as the last proof of my attachment. He hoped that I would not refuse him. He added, that if the danger to which I must be exposed should appear to me too great, he begged that I would name another clergyman to attend him. He left the choice entirely to me.

Any man would have felt himself inclined to comply with such a message. I felt it as a command that could not be disobeyed; and I conjured M. de Malesherbes to represent to the King all that a feeling heart, broken by grief, dictated to me at the moment.

Several days passed away, and hearing nothing said, I indulged the hope that the King would only be banished, or that at least his fate would be deterred for some time; when, on the 20th Jan. at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, a stranger called on me, and presented to me a note, containing these

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words: "The Executive Council having business of the highest importance to communicate to Citizen Edgeworth de Firmont, invites him to come instantly to its sittings."-The stranger added, that he had orders to accompany me, and that a carriage waited for us in the street. I went with him to the Thuilleries, where the Council held its meetings. I found all the ministers assembled. Consternation appeared in their countenances. As soon as I entered, they arose, and all surrounded me with eagerness. The Minister of Justice first addressed me. "Are you," said he, "the Citizen Edgeworth de Firmont?" I replied that I was. "Louis Capet," continued the Minister, "having expressed to us his desire to have you near him at his last moments. we have sent for you to know whether you consent to the service he requires of you."-I replied, that since the King had signified his wishes, and named me, it became my duty to attend him. "Then," pursued the Minister, " you will go with me to the Temple, whither I will conduct you."-And immediately taking a bundle of papers from the table, whispered a moment with the other Ministers, and going out in haste, ordered me to follow him. An escort of horse waited for us at the door with the Minister's carriage, into which I got, and he followed me. At this time all the Catholic clergy of Paris were dressed like other citizens, so that I was not in a clerical dress; but recollecting what I owed to the King, who had not been accustomed to such a costume, and to religion itself, which received for the first time a sort of homage from the new government, I thought I ought, on this occasion. to resume the exterior marks of my station; at least to make the attempt appeared to me a duty. I mentioned it to the Minister before we quitted the Thuilleries; but he rejected my proposition, in terms that prevented my further insisting upon it, though without using any offensive language towards me.

Our drive to the Temple passed in gloomy silence. Two or three times, however, the Minister made an attempt to break it; he drew up the carriage windows, and exclaimed, "Great God, with what a dreadful commission am I charged! What a man!" added he, speaking of the "What resignation! what courage!-no!-human nature alone could not give such fortitude; he possesses something beyond it." -Such expressions gave me an excellent opportunity for speaking some unwelcome truths; but I hesitated an instant what course I should pursue; for I reflected, that my first duty was to afford the King the religious consolations he had so earnestly desired; and that by giving vent to the indignation the conduct of my companion and his associates had inspired me with, I should probably be forbidden to approach my royal Master. I therefore resolved on absolute silence. The Minister seemed to comprehend my motives, and said not a word during the remainder of our drive. We arrived at the Temple, and the first gate was instantly opened to us; but when we reached the building which separates the court from the garden, we were stopped; and before we could proceed, it was necessary that the commissaries of the tower

should come and examine us, and ascertain our business; even the Minister seemed subject to this form. We waited for the commissaries near a quarter of an hour, without speaking to each other; at last they appeared. One of them was a young man of about seventeen or eighteen; they saluted the Minister as an acquaintance; he told them in a few words who I was, and the nature of my mission; they made a sign to me to follow them, and we all together crrossed the garden to the tower. Here the scene became horrible beyond description: the door of the tower, though very narrow and very low, opened with a terrible noise, it was loaded with iron bolts and bars; we passed through a hall filled with guards, into a still larger hall, which appeared from its shape to have been once a chapel. There the commissaries of the commune who had the custody of the King were ssembled: I could not discover in their countenances that embarrassment or consternation that had struck me in the ministers. There were about twelve of them, mostly in the dress of jacobins.

Their air, their manners, their sangfroid, all denoted them to be men of desperate minds, who did not shrink from the contemplation of the blackest crimes.

But in justice I ought to say, that this is not a portrait of them all; and I thought I could discover some, who had been induced, from the weakness of their character, to associate with the rest. Whatever might be their respective feelings, they were all taken indiscriminately by the minister into a corner of the apartment, where he read to them in a low voice the papers which he had brought from the Thuilleries. When he had done, he turned suddenly to me, and desired me to follow him, but this the council opposed by acclamation: again they assembled in the corner of the ball, deliberating some time in whispers; the result was, that one half of the assembly accompanied the Minister, who went up stairs to the King, while the other half remained to guard me. When the doors were carefully closed, the oldest of the commissaries approached me, with a polite but embarrassed air, spoke of the terrible responsibility he was under, and begged a thousand pardons for the liberty he was obliged to take. I guessed that this preamble was to end in my being searched; so I anticipated him, by saving, that since the reputation of M. de Malesherbes could not excuse him from this formality, I could not flatter myself that when I came to the Temple, an exception would be made in my favour. I assured him, that I had nothing about me that could be suspected, but added, that he was welcome to satisfy himself. Notwithstanding this declaration, the search was made with rigour; my snuff-box was opened, the snuff examined, and a little steel pencil-case, which happened to be found in my pocket, was carefully inspected, to discover whether it concealed a poinard!

They paid no attention to any papers I had about me, and finding every thing else unexceptionable, they renewed the excuses with which they had begun, and invited me to sit down; but I had scarcely done so, when two of the commissaries, who had gone up to the King, came

to tell him that I was allowed to see him. They conducted me by a winding staircase, which was so narrow that two persons could hardly pass each other: at certain intervals barriers were placed across the stairs, and at every barrier stood a sentinel; these men were actual sans culottes, and almost all drunk; the shouts they made, re-echoing through the vaults of the Temple, were quite horrible.

When we reached the apartment of the King, all the doors of which were open, I perceived him in a group of eight or ten persons; it consisted of the Minister of Justice, accompanied by some Members of the Commune, who came to read to him the fatal decree, which sentenced him to death on the following day. He was calm, tranquil, even with an aspect of benignity, while not one of those who surrounded him had an air of composure.

As soon as he saw me, he waved his hand for them to retire; they obeyed in silence, he himself shut the door after them, and I found my-

self alone with my sovereign.

Till this moment I had been able to command the various emotions with which I had been agitated; but at the sight of a prince, who had been once so great, and who was now so unfortunate, I was no longer master of myself, I could not restrain my tears, and I fell at his feet without the power of utterance. This touched him more than the decree which he had just heard; he answered my tears only by his own; but soon resuming all his firmness, "Forgive me," said the King, "forgive me, sir, a moment's weakness, if such it can be called; for a long time I have lived among my enemies, and habit has, in some degree, familiarized me to them; but when I behold a faithful subject, this is to me a new sight, a different language reaches my heart, and in spite of my utmost efforts I am melted."-Saying these words, he kindly raised me from the ground, and led me into his closet, that he might speak more freely, for from his chamber all he said was over-heard. This closet or cabinet was built in one of the turrets of the Temple; it had neither hangings nor ornament, a bad stove served for a fire-place, and the only furniture was one table and three leathern chairs. There, making me sit down near him, "Now, sir," said he, "the great business of my salvation is the only one which ought to occupy my thoughts—the only business of real importance! What are all other subjects compared to this? This must, however, be delayed for a few moments, because my family are coming to take leave of me for ever. In the mean time here is a paper that I wish you to read." As he spoke, he drew from his pocket a sealed paper, and broke it open. It was his will, which he had made in the month of December, at a period when he was uncertain whether any religious assistance would be allowed to him in his last moments.

All those who have read this paper, so interesting and so worthy of a Christian King, can easily judge of the deep impression it must have made on me. But what most astonished me, was that the monarch had fortitude sufficient to read it himself, which he did nearly twice over.

1815.

His voice was firm, and no change was to be seen in the countenance, except when he read names most dear to him;—then all his tenderness was awakened, he was obliged to pause a moment, and his tears flowed, notwithstanding his efforts to restrain them:—but when he read passages that concerned himself alone, and that related only to his personal calamities, he seemed no more affected than if he had heard the misfortunes of an indifferent person related.

Perceiving when he had finished reading that the Royal Family were not coming, the King hastened to enquire from me the state of his clergy and of the French church. Some things he had learned, nothwithstanding the rigour of his confinement; he knew in general that the French ecclesiastics had been obliged to fly their country, and had been received in London, but he was entirely ignorant of particulars. The little that I thought it my duty to tell him, seemed to make a great impression upon his Majesty's mind; he deplored the fate of his clergy. and he expressed the greatest admiration for the people of England, who had mitigated their sufferings. But he did not confine himself to these general enquiries; he entered into particulars that surprised me; he wished to know what had become of many of the clergy in whose welfare he took a particular interest. The Cardinal de la Rochefoucault and the Bishop de Clermont, seemed to fix his attention; but his eagerness redoubled at the name of the Archbishop of Paris: he enquired where he was, what he was doing, and whether I had the power of corresponding with him :- "Tell him," said the King, "that I die in his communion, and that I never have acknowledged any pastor but him: alas! I am afraid he is offended at my not answering his last letter. I was then at the Thuilleries, but in fact my enemies kept so close to me at that period, that I had not time to write; at all events, he has so much goodness of heart, that I am sure he will pardon me." His Majesty spoke also of the Abbé Floriae, whom he had never seen; but he was well acquainted with the services which this respectable divine had rendered to the diocese of Paris, in times of the greatest difficulty. His Majesty asked me what had been his fate, and when I told him that he had had the good fortune to effect his escape, he spoke of him in terms which evinced the value he attached to his services, and the esteem in which he held his virtues. I don't know by what chance the conversation fell upon the Duke of Orleans; the King seemed to be well acquainted with his intrigues, and with the horrid part he had taken at the convention; but he spoke of him without any bitterness, and with pity rather than with anger:-" What have I done to my cousin," he exclaimed, "that he should so persecute me? What object could he have? Oh! he is more to be pitied than I am !-my lot is melancholy no doubt, but his is much more so. No! I would not change with him!"

This most interesting conversation was interrupted by one of the commissaries, who came to inform the King that his family were come down, and that he was at length permitted to see them. At these words he appeared extremely agitated, and he broke from me with precipita-

tion. The interview took place, as well as I could judge, for I was not present at it, in a little room which was only separated by a glass-door from that which the commissaries occupied; so that they could see and hear all that past. Even I, though shut up in the cabinet where the King had left me, could easily distinguish their voices, and I was involuntarily in some degree witness to the most touching scene I ever heard. It would be impossible for me to describe this agonizing interview; not only tears were shed, and sobs were heard, but piercing cries, which reached the outer court of the Temple. The King, the Queen, Monseigneur, the Dauphin, Madame Elizabeth, Madame Royale, all bewailed themselves at once, and their voices were confounded; at length their tears ceased, for their strength was exhausted: they then spoke in a low voice, and with some degree of tranquility.

The conversation lasted near an hour, and the King parted from his family, leaving them the hope of seeing him in the morning.

He returned immediately to me, but in a state of agitation which shewed that he was wounded to the soul.

"Oh, sir!" cried he, throwing himself into a chair, "what an interview have I gone through. Why should I love so tenderly, and why should I be so tenderly beloved? But it is past! Let us forget every thing else to turn my thoughts to that alone which is now of importance—to that which should at this moment concentrate all my feelings."

He was continuing to speak in this manner, which shewed at once his sensibility and his courage, when Clery came to entreat him to take some refreshment. The King hesitated a moment, but after some reflection consented. The supper did not last more than five minutes, and the King retiring into his closet, begged me to follow him. I had scarcely strength to rise, but the dread of giving him pain made me comply. One thought had strongly weighed upon my mind, since I had been so near the King. I determined to procure the means of administering the sacrament to his Majesty, at any risk to myself, since he had been so long deprived of the opportunity of receiving it. I should have brought the elements in secret with me, as we were obliged to do to all good Christians, who were detained in their own houses: but the strict search it was necessary to submit to in coming to the Temple, and the profunation which would infallibly have followed, were motives more than sufficient to have prevented me. There remained no other resource than for me to say mass in the King's chamber, if I could find the means. I proposed it to him, but though he desired it most ardently, he seemed afraid of compromising my safety. I entreated him to give me his consent, promising that I would conduct myself with prudence and discretion. He at length yielded, "Go, sir," said he, "but I very much fear you will not succeed, for I know the men, with whom you have to deal, they will grant nothing which they can refuse." Fortified by this permission, I desired to be conducted to the hall of council, and there I made my demand in the name of the King. This proposal, for which the commisseries of the tower were not prepared, disconcerted them extremely, and they sought for different pretexts to elude it. "How could they find a priest at that hour; and when they had got one, how obtain all that was necessary." "The priest is already found," I replied, "for I am he; and as for the rest, the nearest church will supply all that is necessary, if you will make the application. You will consider that my demand is just, and that it would be against your own principles to refuse me." One of the commissaries instantly, though rather in guarded terms, insinuated that my request was only a snare; and that under the pretence of giving the communion to the King, I intended to poison him. "History has furnished us with examples enough of this kind to make us circumspect," said he. I looked steadily in the face of this man, and replied: "The strict search I underwent as I came in here, ought to convince you that I do not carry poison. If then to-morrow any is found, it must be from you that I shall have received it; all that I demand for the celebration of mass, must pass through your hands."

He would have replied, but the rest commanded him to be silent; and for a last subterfuge they said, that as the council was incomplete they could not decide upon any thing; but that they would go for the absent members, and then tell me the result of their deliberations.

A quarter of an hour past, and I was again brought into their chamber, where the President thus addressed me, "Citizen, minister of religion, the council have taken into consideration the request that you have made, in the name of Louis Capet; and since they deem his request conformable to the law, which declares that all forms of worship are free, they consent to it; nevertheless we exact two conditions. The first, that you draw up instantly an address containing your demand, signed by yourself; and the second, that your religious ceremonies should be concluded by seven o'clock to-morrow, at the latest; for at eight precisely, Louis Capet must set out for the place of execution."

These last words were said like all the rest, with a degree of coldblooded indifference, which characterised an atrocious mind.

I put my request in writing, and left it on the table. They re-conducted me to the King, who awaited with anxiety the conclusion of this affair. The summary account, which I gave him, in which I suppressed all particulars, pleased him extremely.

It was now past ten o'clock, and I remained with the King till the night was far advanced; when perceiving that he was fatigued, I requested him to take some repose. He complied with his accustomed kindness, and charged me to lie down also. I went by his desire into a little coset which Clery occupied, which was separated from the King's chamber only by a thin partition; and whilst I was occupied by the most overwhelming thoughts, I heard the King tranquilly giving directions for the next day, after which he lay down on his bed.

At five o'clock, he rose and dressed as usual. Soon afterwards he sent for me, and I attended him for near an hour in the cabinet, where he had received me the evening before. When I retired, I found an altar completely prepared in the King's apartment, the commissaries

had executed to the letter every thing that I had required of them: they had even done more than I had asked, I having only demanded what was indispensable.

The King heard mass, he knelt on the ground without cushion or desk, he then received the sacrament, after which ceremony I left him for a short time at his prayers; he soon sent for me again, and I found him seated near his stove, where he could scarcely warm himself.

"My God," said he, "how happy I am in the possession of my religious principles! Without them, what should I now be? But with them, how sweet death appears to me. Yes, there dwells on high an incorruptible judge, from whom I shall receive the justice refused to me on earth."

The sacred offices I performed at this time, prevent my relating more than a few sentences, out of many interesting conversations which the King held with me, during the last sixteen hours of his life; but by the little that I have told, it may be seen how much might be added, if it were consistent with my duty to say more.

Morning began to dawn, and the drums sounded in all the sections of Paris. An extraordinary movement was heard in the tower—it seemed to freeze the blood in my veins; but the King, more calm than I was, after listening to it for a moment, said to me without emotion, "'Tis probably the national guard beginning to assemble."

In a short time detachments of cavalry entered the court of the Temple, and the voices of officers, and the trampling of horses, were distinctly heard. The King listened again, and said to me, with the same composure, "They seem to be approaching."

On taking leave of the Queen, the evening before, he had promised to see her again next day, and he wished earnestly to keep his word, but I intreated him not to put the Queen to a trial under which she must sink; he hesitated a moment, and then, with an expression of profound grief, said, "You are right, sir, it would kill her. I must deprive myself of this melancholy consolation, and let her indulge in hope a few moments longer."

From seven o'clock till eight, various persons came frequently under different pretences to knock at the door of the cabinet, and each time I trembled lest it should be the last. But the King, with more firmness, rose without emotion, went to the door, and quietly answered the people who thus interrupted us. I do not know who these men were, but amongst them was one of the greatest monsters that the Revolution had produced; for I heard him say to his King, in a tone of mockery, I know not on what subject, "Oh that was very well once, but you are now no longer King." His Majesty did not reply a word, but returning to me, satisfied himself by saying, "See how these people treat me. But I know how to endure every thing."

Another time, after having answered one of the commissaries who came to interrupt us, he returned, and said with a smile, "These people see poinards and poison every where: they fear that I shall destroy myself.

Alas! they little know me, to kill myself would indeed be weakness. No! since it is necessary, I know how I ought to die." We heard another knock at the door-it was to be the last. It was Santerre and his The King opened the door as usual. They announced to him (I could not hear in what terms), that he must prepare for death. "I am occupied," said he, with an air of authority; " wait for me. In a few minutes I will return to you." Then having shut the door, he kneeled at my feet. "It is finished, sir," said he; "give me your last benediction, and pray that it may please God to support me to the end." He soon arose, and leaving the cabinet, advanced towards the wretches who were in his bed-chamber. Their countenances were embarrassed, yet their hats were not taken off, and the King perceiving it, asked for his own. Whilst Clery, bathed in tears, ran for it, the King said, "Are there amongst you any Members of the Commune? I charge them to take care of this paper !" It was his will. One of the party took it from the King. "I recommend also to the Commune, Clery, my valet de chambre. I can do no more than congratulate myself in having had his services. They will give him my watch and clothes; not only those I have here, but those that have been deposited at the commune. I also desire, that in return for the attachment he has shewn me, he may be allowed to enter into the Queen's-into my wife's service :"-he used both expressions. No one answering, the King cried out in a firm tone, " Let us proceed," at which words they all moved on; the King crossed the first court, formerly the garden, on foot: he turned back once or twice towards the tower, as if to bid adieu to all most dear to him on earth; and by his gestures it was plain that he was then trying to collect all his strength and firmness. At the entrance of the second court, a carriage waited, two gensd'armes held the door: at the King's approach one of these men entered first, and placed himself in front, the King followed, and placed me by his side; at the back of the carriage, the other gensd'arme jumped in last, and shut the door.

It is said that one of these men was a priest in disguise; for the honor of religion I hope that this may be false. It is also said, that they had orders to assassinate the King on the smallest murmur from the people; I do not know whether this might have been their design, but it seems to me, that unless they possessed other arms then those that appeared, it would have been difficult to accomplish their purpose; for their muskets only were visible, which it would have been impossible for them to have These apprehended murmurs were not imaginary, a great number of people devoted to the King had resolved on tearing him from the hands of his guards, or at least on making the attempt. Two of the principal actors, young men whose names are well known, found means to inform me the night before of their intentions; and though my hopes were not sanguine, I yet did not despair of rescue, even at the foot of the scaffold. I have since heard, that the orders for this dreadful morning had been planned with so much art, and executed with so much precision, that of four or five hundred people, thus devoted to their prince, twenty-five only succeeded in reaching the place of rendezvous. In consequence of the measures taken before day-break in all the streets of Paris, none of the rest were able to get out of their houses.

The King finding himself seated in the carriage, where he could neither speak to me or be spoken to without witness, kept a profound silence. I presented him with my breviary, the only book I had with me, and he seemed to accept it with pleasure: he appeared anxious that I should point out to him the psalms that were most suited to his situation, and he recited them attentively with me. The gensd'armes, without speaking, seemed astonished and confounded at the tranquil piety of their monarch, to whom they doubtless never had before approached so near.

The procession lasted almost two hours, the streets were lined with citizens, all armed, some with pikes and some with guns, and the carriage was surrounded by a body of troops, formed of the most desperate people of Paris. As another precaution, they had placed before the horses a great number of drums, intended to drown any noise or murmur in favor of the King; but how could they be heard, nobody appeared either at the doors or windows, and in the streets nothing was to be seen but armed citizens, -citizens, all rushing towards the commission of a crime,

which perhaps they detested in their hearts.

The carriage proceeded thus in silence to the Place de Louis XV. and stopped in the middle of a large space that had been left round the scaffold; this space was surrounded with cannon, and beyond, an armed multitude extended as far as the eye could reach. As soon as the King perceived that the carriage stopped, he turned and whispered to me, We are arrived, if I mistake not." My silence answered that we were. One of the guards came to open the carriage door, and the gensd'armes would have jumped out, but the King stopped them, and leaning his arm on my knee, "Gentlemen," said he, with the tone of majesty, " I recommend to you this good man; take care that after my death no insult be offered to him. I charge you to prevent it." The two men answered not a word; the King was continuing in a louder tone, but one of them stopped him, saying, "Yes, yes; we will take care. Leave him to us;"-and I ought to add, that these words were spoken in a tone of voice which must have overwhelmed me, if at such a moment it had been possible for me to have thought of myself. As soon as the King had left the carriage, three guards surrounded him, and would have taken off his clothes, but he repulsed them with haughtiness: he undressed himself, untied his neckcloth, opened his shirt, and arranged it himself. The guards, whom the determined countenance of the King had for a moment disconcerted, seemed to recover their audacity. They surrounded him again, and would have seized his hands. "What are you attempting?" said the King, drawing bac his hands. "To bind you," answered the wretches. "To bind me," said the King, with an indignant air, " no! I shall never consent to that; do what you have been ordered, but you shall never bind me."

The guards insisted, they raised their voices, and seemed to wish to call on others to assist them.

Perhaps this was the most terrible moment of this most dreadful morning; another instant, and the best of Kings would have received from his rebellious subjects indignities too horrid to mention—indignities that would have been to him more insupportable than death. Such was the feeling expressed on his countenance. Turning towards me, he looked at me steadily, as if to ask my advice. Alas! it was impossible for me to give any, and I only answered by silence; but as he continued this fixed look of enquiry, I replied, "Sire, in this new insult, I only see another trait of resemblance between your Majesty and the Saviour who is about to recompence you." At these words he raised his eyes to heaven, with an expression that can never be described. "You are right," said he, "nothing less than his example should make me submit to such degradation." Then turning to the guards, "Do what you will, I will drink of the cup even to the dregs."

The path leading to the scaffold was extremely rough and difficult to pass; the King was obliged to lean on my arm, and from the slowness with which he proceeded, I feared for a moment that his courage might fail; but what was my astonishment, when arrived at the last step, I felt that he suddenly let go my arm, and I saw him cross with a firm foot the breadth of the whole scaffold, silence, by his look alone, fifteen or twenty drums that were placed opposite to him; and in a voice so loud, that it must have been heard at the Pont Tournant, I heard him pronounce distinctly these memorable words:—" I die innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge; I pardon those who have occasioned my death; and I pray to God, that the blood you are now going to shed may never be visited on France."

He was proceeding, when a man on horseback, in the national uniform, waved his sword, and with a ferocious cry, ordered the drums to beat. Many voices were at the same time heard encouraging the executioners. They seemed re-animated themselves, and seizing with violence the most virtuous of Kings, they dragged him under the axe of the guillotine, which with one stroke severed his head from his body. All this passed in a moment. The youngest of the guards, who seemed about eighteen, immediately seized the head, and shewed it to the people as he walked round the scaffold: he accompanied this monstrous ceremony with the most atrocious and indecent gestures. At first an awful silence prevailed; at length some cries of "Vive la Republique!" were heard. By degrees the voices multiplied, and in less than ten minutes this cry, a thousand times repeated, became the universal shout of the multitude, and every hat was in the air."

ORIGINAL NOTES ON BUONAPARTE.

SIR,

In the abundance of Publications respecting this extraordinary Man, all of them (as far as I have seen) contemptible, and many of them fraudulent (such as that worthless work, the Memoirs of Buonaparte by one who never quitted him for twenty years), it is a matter of regret that so little is to be be found, and that in that little no distinction is made between what is true and what is false; what rests upon sufficient authority, and what has no foundation but that it has been passed from one writer to another. You will probably, therefore, deem the following Notes of some interest and value. They contain facts which are verified by the concurrent voice of good company both in Paris and London. The truth is, that there is no deficiency of proper and authentic sources for the history of every period of the Life of this singular Man. His course may be distributed into about four periods,-the first his birth, parentage, and early education,—the second his debut (as it may be called) into public life at Toulon,—the third his conduct in subduing the revolt of the Parisians October 5th, 1795,—and the fourth the whole course of his military life, commencing from the first Italian Campaign in 1796 and 1797, and terminating with his surrender in 1815. Now of the first period we have ample knowledge of him from English officers educated at Brienne with him, amongst whom was General Mackinnon, and many others. And the other periods of his life had so many witnesses, and associates, and are so generally and so freely spoken of in Paris, and even by Napoleon himself in his conversations with English officers, that history will not want materials for her judgment and character. The following Notes are much at your service. You may depend upon them most implicitly. Permit me to add, that the most pleasing, and certainly the most useful feature of your Chronicle, is that you have rendered it the repository of these kind of Documents, and thus have given your readers such a body of cotemporary History in its best form,-the Records, Journals, and Diaries of those who saw what they relate. H.

^{1.} Napoleon Buonaparte is at this time in the forty-sixth year of his age. He is of the middle size, and extremely like the numerous pictures and prints of him which may be seen every where. He is of an iron constitution, and patient of every extreme of climate; active almost to a wonder; resolving in an instant, and impetuous, indefatigable, and constant, in its execution. His figure is simple and plain,—round and rather corpulent; his complexion of a yellow brown; and his look severe, penetrating, and resolved. But no man unbends himself more easily when the humour takes him, and if it were possible to forget his crimes, or to find some decent excuse for them, it would be impossible to withhold our praise from the private manners of a man, who never forgetting that he has been an Emperor, equally remembers that

he is an Officer and a Gentleman, and that the best enjoyment of life is in that equal interchange of minds and affections, which the privacy of the domestic board allows even to princes and their friends. Captain Usher, and the English gentlemen who visited him at Elba, were greatly impressed with this feature of his character,—and are the authorities for this note. It may appear ludicrous to say,—but it is perfectly true, that he sings an excellent song, and at his own table is gay, open, and candid, to a singular degree.

2. Buonaparte was born in the year 1769 at Ajaccio in Corsica. His family was noble, but in moderate circumstances, but certainly not poor. His godfather was General Paoli. Marbœuf, the French Governor of Corsica, was an intimate friend of his family; he recommended the young Napoleon to M. Segur, the Minister of War, and thus procured him an admission into the public school at Brienne. It has been said that Marbœuf had an adulterous intimacy with the mother of Buonaparte, but this report appears to be totally destitute of any foundation. His friendship with the father

is a very sufficient reason for the favour to the son.

3. He entered the school of Brienne in the year 1780, when he was ten years old, and he remained there till he was fifteen. Some English officers were his schoolfellows, and the following facts are of good authority. In his general manner and deportment he was a cold, reserved, proud boy; but attentive to his studies beyond his years, and regarded as clever, active, and promising. He took an evident and strong pleasure in the military art. It was a part of the discipline of the school that every scholar was allowed a small piece of garden, which he might cultivate as he pleased; Buonaparte rendered his a perfect fortification, and guarded it as an intrenched camp. He took the lead likewise of all the other boys; and was certainly remarked by his masters as an extraordinary youth. So much rests upon good authority.

4. Buonaparte quitted the school of Brienne in 1784 in consequence of a promotion which enabled him to be received at the military school of Paris. Here likewise we are enabled to speak of him from the report of English officers, who were there at the same time. His taste for the mathematics and fortification led him to prefer the artillery. His character became now more developed. It had two characteristic traits which it always afterwards retained,—in its general cast it was cold, grave, and severe; but when awakened by any incitement, resolute, impetuous, and even furious. He greatly distinguished himself in the examinations. After the due course, he was hence appointed to the rank

of a subaltern officer in the regiment of La Fere.

5. The Revolution now broke out; and Buonaparte became in the instant one of its most zealous partisans,—in plain words, a most furious Jacobin. The following fact rests upon good authority. He was defending some of the Jacobin excesses in an argument with some of the elder officers of his regiment; the scene of the argument happened to be the bank of a river; and his brother officers, irritated by his argument or his manner, seized hold of him, and were about to throw him into the water. It should not

be forgotten in pourtraying the character of Napoleon, that his resentments, however furious, were not lasting; and that at times he has displayed much magnanimity in his forgiveness. But this never stood in the way of his policy or interests. At the call of his ambition he was sanguinary and inflexible. To say all in a word, he was what the late Mr. Windham always regarded him, -an extraordinary man, a great man, a magnificent man, but whose great qualities were corrupted into extraordinary wickedness by the effect of the horrible times in which he lived and acted; he was thus a mind of strong power thrown into the school of Jacobinism, and he came out as might be expected,—a tho-

rough-bred pitiless heroic Ruffian.

6. The officers of his regiment, the first regiment of artillery, have given this report of his regimental conduct. It is characteristic of the man. He was remarked for his punctual attendance to discipline. Though his attention to his previous studies, and his natural aptitude, rendered him superior to all the other officers in the knowledge of his duties, he obeyed the most ignorant of them with an ostentatious strictness, and was thus pointed out as an example. He exercised his company late and early. structed himself in instructing them. He was as conspicuous for his prudence as for his military talents. He was considered as avoiding the richer officers in order to avoid being drawn into expences above his means. Some of his sentiments at this period are still remembered, and deserve to be so. He always expressed a horror of debt. "Debts," said he, "degraded an Officer, and subdued all dignity of mind by subjecting him to those beneath him." I have much pleasure in making this note both from its intrinsic worth, and because it rests upon undoubted authority. The most constant companion of Napoleon at this period was the Serjeant-Major of his company,—an admirable soldier, and to whom Napoleon, when Emperor, acknowledged his obligations. He gave him the regiment of artillery of which he was serjeant, and always mentioned him with warm praise.

7. In the year 1790, he accompanied Paoli to Corsica, where he remained till the year 1793. He employed this period in accomplishing himself in the military art,—and particularly in fortification, engineering, and the mathematics. The island of Corsica then became the scene of tumult and revolt; Buonaparte adhered to the party in favour of France; and upon the triumph of the opposite party in 1793, he withdrew with his family into France. They fixed their residence in a town near Toulon. He was here shortly called into active service by the occupation of Toulon by the English. He greatly distinguished himself in retaking this town from us. He was one day discovered alone, of all the officers, amongst the thickest of the cannoneers; his comrades around him were covered with wounds and blood, whilst he was charging, presenting, and firing his piece. Barras, the commissioner from the Convention to superintend the operations, happened to be a spectator of this act, he instantly adopted the young Napoleon into his patronage, and he was promoted upon the spot. He was raised to the rank of Brigadier-General within a few days, and

a force put into his command. He realized the hopes which the Jacobins had formed of him. He animated his soldiers to astonishing efforts; and succeeded in all that he attempted.

s. After the French troops had repossessed themselves of Tou-Ion he went to Nice. This was in the beginning of the year 1794. The Jacobins were overthrown in this year by the death of Robespierre; and a party, calling themselves the moderate party, or the Clichians, succeeded to their power, and in a good degree to all their crimes but their cruelties. The Clichian party (so called from meeting in a garden called Cliche) deemed it necessary to their safety to hunt out and to repress the remains of the Jacobins or Terrorists; and as Buonaparte was already considered as the promising child of this faction, he was put under arrest at Nice by Befroi, one of the representatives of the people. He was shortly released, but ordered to change into the infantry in order to remove himself from his former connections. He went to Paris to remonstrate against this order; and as he found no redress, made the singular request of being allowed to go into the service of the Turks.

9. From this period,—the end of 1794 to the autumn of 1795, he remained unemployed; but rendered himself well known as an active and energetic Jacobin, and was regarded as fit for any thing by his daring spirit and undoubted talents. He was indefatigable likewise in improving his military knowledge. It is probable (but there is no authority for the assertion) that he saw that the times were peculiarly apt for military adventure; and that he sedulously applied himself to the acquisition of that knowledge which he

foresaw would be so useful.

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10. His fortune was at length fixed by the epoch, known in the revolutionary jargon, under the name of the 13th Vendemiare,that is to say, the 13th of October 1795. The Convention was threatened by the populace of Paris, and Barras was invested with supreme power to direct the armed force to protect them. At the siege of Toulon he had been a spectator of the talents of Buonaparte; he had moreover served and patronized him, and he therefore now selected him to be his second in command. The second in command was necessarily the first in execution; Barras remained a distant spectator, whilst Buonaparte commanded and performed every thing. He headed the principal attack in the Rue St. Honore, he charged the armed sections with the bayonet, and shortly cleared the streets with a dreadful havoc. perhaps just to impute this service as a crime; the Convention was at the time the acknowledged Government, and the sections of Paris were led on to the insurrection by the remains of the furious Jacobins; had they succeeded they would have renewed the days of Marat and Robespierre. But it is added that Buonaparte executed the service with a cruel and indiscriminate havoc. and as this accusation is easier made than proved, and as it is difficult to settle the point at which such an assault should stop, I feel inclined to acquit him of any blame upon this occasion. is difficult to treat this wretched populace with more severity than they merited.

appointing him to the command of the 17th military Division; and as Buonaparte solicited him for active employ, followed up this favour by giving him the command of the army of Italy. The widow and family of General Beauharnois were under the protection of Barras—(not criminally so); Barras wished to provide for the widow; and Buonaparte gave her his hand. There appears no foundation for the reports upon this head,—that the lady was the mistress of Barras, &c. The character of Josephine is a strong testimony for the falsehood of this assertion. He married the lady on the 8th of May, and on the following day, the 9th, he set off from Paris to join the army of Italy.

(To be continued.)

MEMOIR ON THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA. By Mr. Brook, Secretary to the Island.

THE island of St. Helena is situated in 15 deg. 55 min. south latitude, and 5 deg. 49 min. west long, from Greenwich. It lies within the limit of the south-east trade wind, and is distant 400 leagues from the coast of Africa, the nearest continent. The extreme length of the island is $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles, its breadth $6\frac{3}{4}$, its circumference about 28 miles, and its surface, in acres, 30,500.

The island, when observed at sea, presents to the eye the appearance of a most lofty land. A nearer approach brings in view its hills, clothed with verdure, and towering to the clouds. On rounding Munden's Point you come in view of the town, seated in a narrow valley, between two lofty mountains; and the interspersion of trees among the white houses has an effect picturesque and pleasing in a high degree.

Upon landing, and passing the draw-bridge, the way leads between a double row of trees, of a lively green, generally in full leaf, being a species of the banian of India, and named in Bengal the peepel tree. The town is entered by an arched gateway, under a rampart, or terrace, forming one side of a parade about 100 feet square. This parade has a handsome appearance. On the left side are the government-house and main guard-room: the former is inclosed with a wall, having the semblance of embrasures, and is called the Castle. It contains the Governor's habitation, and the offices of government. The church, fronting the gateway, is a neat, and not inelegant edifice. The principal street commences between it and a pallisade inclosing the Company's garden. It consists of twenty-eight houses, most of them neat and well-constructed, and divides into two other streets; one on the east, leading to that side of the country, the other proceeding to the upper part of the valley, where are situated the barracks and the new garden. In this street there are a number of shops, well stored with European and Indian commodities; but the houses in general are far inferior to those in the lower part of the town, where the principal inhabitants reside.

The two hills, or ridges, between which the town is situated, are Rupert's on the east, and Ladder Hill on the west.

The roads by which access is gained into the interior, are formed on the sides of these hills, and the ascent is so easy and safe, that carts and oxen pass along without danger or difficulty. For the first mile or two, the traveller observes little else than nakedness and sterility, but his curiosity is soon gratified by the sudden prospect of verdure, woody heights, neat dwellings, and cultivated plantations.

The island is unequally divided by a lofty chain, or ridge of hills, running nearly east and west in a curved direction, and bending to the south at each extremity. From this chain alternate ridges and vallies branch off in various directions, but chiefly north and south. Diana's Peak, towards the east end of this chain, is the highest point of the island, and rises nearly 2700 fect above the level of the sea. From the summit of this peak no point intercepts the horizon; the whole island is beneath the scope of vision; the ridges and hollows diverging from the chain are traced to the sea. Houses and plantations diversify the prospect, and the contrast of verdant and naked mountains forcibly strikes the attention, and renders the scene at once novel, picturesque, and majestic.

The summits and sides of most of the interior heights are wooded with the cabbage-tree of the island, the red-wood, string-wood, and other indigenous trees and shrubs; and in situations less elevated, the gumwood was formerly to be found in great abundance; but at present few trees of this kind are left standing, except at Long Wood, where they have been protected by the injunctions of the Company, and cover unequally a surface of nearly 1500 acres.

Clear and wholesome springs issue from the sides of almost every hill; but as they have neither volume nor sufficient length of current, they form only inconsiderable rills. From this circumstance it happens, that in a country so calculated to produce picturesque cascades, there are no falls of water of any magnitude. One stream projects its whole quantity from a height of about 300 feet perpendicular, but becomes a shower before it reaches the cavity below: when, indeed, it is swollen by torrents, it descends in a continuous column, but its effect and beauty are in that case tarnished by the mud involved in its mass.

It would be difficult, perhaps, in any country, to meet with a more uncommon and romantic prospect than Sandy Bay, when seen from parts of the main ridge. Though in general a bird's-eye view lies before the spectator, hills rise above him to an elevation much greater than the spot on which he stands. Those on the left, richly clothed with trees to the very summits, display a wonderful contrast to the wildness on his right, where shelving cliffs, surmounted by huge perpendicular rocks, are multiplied under every shape and aspect. The downward view consists of a variety of ridges, eminences, and ravines, converging towards the sea, into one common valley. Among this scenery are interspersed the dwellings of planters, the different forms of gardens and

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plantations, and the pasturing of cattle; the prospect closing with the distant sea, rushing in between two black, craggy cliffs, which the surf whitens with its spray. The infinite diversity of tint that overspreads the whole of this extraordinary picture, the majesty of one part, the reposing beauty of another, and the horror of a third, cannot fail to delight and astonish every observer of nature.

The Governor's country residence, which lies about three miles from the town, is called the Plantation-House, and is a well-built, handsome edifice, erected in the years 1791 and 1792. Art has been combined with nature to render this, in the opinion of many, the most beautiful spot on the island. Here the landscape-painter has a fine subject for his pencil; and a considerable fund of amusement is afforded to the botanist. Not only the indigenous productions of the island, but plants and trees from distant and opposite climes have been introduced within the inclosure. The mimosa of New South Wales, the pine of the North, and the bamboo of India, seem to outvie each other in the luxuriance of their growth.

Thunder, lightning, or storms, rarely disturb the serenity of this mild atmosphere, in which so small a portion of electric fluid is supposed to exist, that it was imagined a machine for collecting it would be useless; but experiment has exposed the error of this supposition.

In James's-Town, the thermometer, in the shade, seldom rises above eighty degrees; but the reflected heat from the sides of the Valley, when there is little wind, and the sky is clear, resembles that of India. In the country, the temperature is much more moderate and uniform. Sir Joseph Banks, on being furnished with a professional report from the Company's botanist at St. Helena, made the following observations upon it.

"From this abstract it appears, that the summer, in that elevated situation (the Plantation-House), is not so hot as in England, 72 deg. being the highest point at which the thermometer was observed in 1788, while 76 deg. is marked as the point of our summer heat. The winter is also much milder than ours, ranging between the 55th and 56th degrees of Fahrenheit's scale; a temperature in which the vegetation of leaves proceeds with more equability, perhaps, than any other.

The rain is divided more after the manner of our temperate climates than of the trophical ones; every month has its share; and the July, August, and September seem to be the stormy seasons there, with more rainy days in February than in either of those months. Cloudy days also exceed in number, almost two to one, those in which the rays of the sun fall upon the earth without interruption, and scorch vegetation. This is particularly suited to pasture and trees, but not to the ripening of European fruits. The timber which grows on the upper part of Madeira would answer here."

The soil inclines to clay, and loam abounds to a greater depth than is requisite for the purposes of agriculture. The climate is therefore well adapted to both European and Indian productions. The wood of the

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cabbage-tree is very durable, and answers well for rafters; the red-wood, (a species of ebony) and the gum-wood, are also valuable for the purposes of building. The last seldom attains a greater height than three feet; but some of the old inhabitants remember to have seen it much higher. This, as well as the first-mentioned species, bears a blossom somewhat resembling the daisy in Europe. The common gara-wood, when it arrives at maturity, has a tolerably straight stem, about twenty or thirty feet high, and spreads its branches and leaves like an umbrella. Its blossoms are in small bunches. From the trunks of all three an aromatic gam exudes, which renders the wood extremely pleasant when used as fuel. A liquid of a sweet flavour, which the natives call toddy, issues spontaneously from the trunk of the common and bastard gamwood. It is obtained by means of a bottle on the tree, so placed as to catch the natural exudation, which fills in the course of a night.

In the interior the verdure is rich and beautiful, and the oxen are seen up to their knees in grass. Fruits, particularly vines, figs, oranges, and lemons, ripen best in the values near the sea; which are also well adapted to the growth of plantains and bonanoes; all these fruits requiring a great degree of heat, and the enriched soil and shelter of the vallies. From a garden more interior, but finely watered and sheltered, of no greater extent than three acres of ground, 24,000 dozen apples, of a large size, were gathered in one season, besides peaches, guavas, grapes, and figs in abundance. Cherries have been tried, but without success. Gooseberry and currant bushes turn to evergreens, and do not bear fruit,

A species of yam, introduced from Madagascar, is cultivated principally in the vallies. It requires almost a constant soak of water, for fifteen months, to bring it to perfection. In its raw state, it has an acrid, and almost a caustic quality; but after many hours boiling, it becomes a wholeseme and nourising food. The attention of the farmers, however, has, for the last eighteen years, been peculiarly directed to the cultivation of potatoes, for the obvious reason, that three, and sometimes four crops of that vegetable can be produced for one of yam, independently of their finding a more ready sale to the ships. Cabbages, pease, beans, and other vegetables, are raised in abundance.

The fern-tree grows, in the upper lands, to a size larger than in most countries, and is in request by botanists in England; and the myrtle, to which the climate seems peculiarly adapted, attains a height of near to thirty feet. The grass that prevails in the higher parts is the English vernal grass; it is extremely sweet and natritious, and suffers less from dry and hot weather than any other sort. But it has been supptanted, to the injury of many pastures, by a coarse herb, called cow-grass, originally from the Cape of Good Hope, which is now extremely common. Lucerne is found to succeed in some situations; and if it could be more generally cultivated, it would prove exceedingly advantageous. The sea-coast of the island, near the sea, produces, spontaneously, a shrub, to which the natives give the name of samphire; but it is probably the barilla, as its

ashes yield a large quantity of marine alkali, with which a good soap has been manufactured.

The breed of cattle and sheep on the island is originally English. The beef is of an excellent quality; but in consequence of the great demand from the Company's shipping for fresh provisions, a bullock is seldom allowed to attain the age of four years. Rabbits abound in some situations; pheasants and partridges are become numerous, since the Government has given them protection; and every garden is enlivened by the notes of the canary-bird. Guinea-fowl, with which the island was once well stocked, are now seldom to be seen.

Of fish it has been computed that seventy-six species frequent the coast. Those most commonly taken and used, are mackarel, albecore, cavalloes, jacks, congers, soldiers, old-wives, and bull's-eyes; and of shellfish. long-legs and stumps. The two last resemble the lobster in taste and colour, and have the same kind of tail. Rock-oysters are found in some situations, hardly distinguishable from the rock, forming a solid congeries, which may be separated into distinct fish. The coal-fish, so called from the black hue of its skin, is from two to three feet in length. and very thick about the neck; it is singulary high-flavoured and delicate, and not unlike a salmon in taste; but so scarce, that seldom more than six or eight are caught in a year. The flying-fish about the shores of St. Helena, when pursued by porpoises, sharks, or other rapacious enemies, often meet death in a different element by dropping on the rocks. Some of them have been picked up in this situation which measured more than two feet in length, a size to which they are supposed seldom to attain in other parts of the world. The general mode of fishing practised here is that by hook and line, either from the shore, or from boats moored either by a stone or a grapual. Whales are frequently seen, and have in a few instances, been killed by South-Sea whalers in the Roads. tween the months of December and March turtle frequent the island. and are often taken by the fishing-boats.

The shores and neighbourhood of the island abound in sea-fowl, which deposit their eggs in the cliffs and detached rocks round the coast. Their haunts, covered with white dung, exhibit a fantastic appearance upon an insulated rock, called Shore Island, being sometimes mistaken for a ship under sail. Their eggs are collected in the months of October and November, and in flavour somewhat resemble those of a plover. One species of these fowl, however, prefer making their nests in the woody, central eminences of the island, and are often seen flying across the country with a fish in their beaks.

Upon an average of five years, viz. from 1801 to 1805 inclusive, 165 ships touch annually at St. Helena. In war time, the mere productions of the island being insufficient for the Convoys, ample quantites of salt meat are sent from England, and of rice from Bengal. These articles, as they are cheaper than fresh provisions, constitute the principal food of the inhabitants and garrison. Salt meat is issued to them from the Company's stores, under prime cost, and every other article at only ten per

cent, advance, including freight. Beef is now sold at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per pound alive, having been lately raised to that price; and, as it is principally destined for the King's or the Company's shipping, no person can kill even his own ox without permission from the Governor—a rule which has existed since the year 1752. The market-prices of other articles of provision vary according to the demand; in the year 1805 the rates were as follow:

Mutton, from 14 to 18d. per lb; Pork, from 18 to 20d. per ditto; Grown fowls, 9 to 12s. each; Turkeys, 30 to 40s. ditto; Geese, 25 to 30s. ditto: Ducks, 10 to 12s. ditto; Potatoes, 8 to 10s. per bushel; Milk, 4d. to 6d, per quart; Eggs, 5s. per dozen.

Fish.—Mackarel, 8d. per dozen; Bull's-eyes, 9d. per ditto; Albicore, baracoota, dolphins, and bonito, 2d. per lb; Turtle and coal-fish, 8d. per ditto; Conger, conger-eels, cavalloes, silver-fish, and old-wives, 3d. per lb; Stumps and soldiers, 2d. each; Long-legs 6d. each.

Shortly after the first settlement of St. Helena, the Company were anxious that experients should be made to ascertain its resources and capability. Indigo, cotton, sugar-canes and vines, were introduced. Rum, sugar, wine, and brandy, were brought to some degree of perfection; and, at a more recent period, crops of barley, and other grain, were raised at Long-Wood. But the intrinsic value of St. Helena consists in its being a place of refreshment and rendezvous for the homeward-bound ships from India. The cultivation of corn therefore has been deemed of less consequence, than that every acre should be applied to raising live-stock, roots, and culinary vegetables. Its waters, its vegetables, and its climate, seem peculiarly adapted to the recovery of scorbutic patients; and instances frequently occur of those who have been sent to the hospital in the last stages of the sea-scurvy, in the course of two or three weeks being restored to perfect health, vigour, and activity.

By the registered returns of the year 1805, the population of the island is stated at 504 white inhabitants, 1560 blacks, of whom 329 were free; making a total of 2064, exclusive of the garrison and civil establishment of the Company. Five thousand one hundred and eight acres are in the hands of individuals, besides goat-ranges, which are the outskirts of the island, affording the chief supply of fresh meat both to the inhabitants and the hospital.

Lands, in general, are supposed to yield a nett profit of between 7 and 8 per cent. The price of labour is high; a carpenter cannot be hired under six or seven shillings a day. A mason's wages vary from four to five shillings; and those of a labourer from two shillings to half-a-crown, or to a black man, engaged by the year, from ten to twenty pounds. In this case clothing is likewise to be provided, as well as maintenance, and medical attendance in the event of sickness. The value of slaves depends very much upon their character. The sum of £150 has been paid for a good husbandman, but a man of bad character may be purchased for £30. Governor Patton set a subscription on foot for distributing to the slaves honorary medals and pecuniary rewards, proportioned to their merit, from which great advantages have already resulted. If the

system be followed up, the most important effects may be expected. The total want of religious instruction among this class of people has, doubtless, contributed to their depravity; a regular attendance at public worship is therefore now enjoined.

The island comprises only one parish; but, for the more regular performance of the country and parish officers' duties, it is divided into three districts, viz. the east, the west, and the south, or Sandy Bay division. There are two churches, one in the town, and another in the country. Strangers, whilst they remain at the island, are accommodated in private houses, at the rate of one guinea per day; for which an excellent table, good wines, and comfortable lodgings, are provided.

The Island belongs to the Company. The Government is vested in the Governor, and a Council, composed of the Lieutenant-Governor and senior civil servant. They are justices of peace, judges &c.

The military force of the island is composed of a corps of artillery, commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel; a regiment of infantry, and five companies of white and black militia, who are at present upon the footing of volunteers.

The Governor is allowed a town and country residence, and a liberal table, at the Company's expense, with servants, horses, &c. The Lieutenaat-Governor has likewise the privilege of a town and country house, some land, servants, and a few horses. The other member or members of Council are each allowed a town residence; and, by the orders of the Court of Directors, dated 1796, the remaining Company's houses were allotted to the two senior civil servants next to Council, the Engineer, Chaplain, and head Surgeon. There are not, at present, barracks for a third part of the garrison officers; and house-rent is not only very high, but at times it is impossible to procure a lodging. From these circumstances the Company's servants have experienced much inconvenience.

ORIGINAL LETTERS

WRITTEN BY OFFICERS DURING THE SEVERAL CAMPAIGNS
IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE CAMPAIGNS.

The following Collection of Letters will be duly valued by our Readers, as being so many original cotemporaneous documents, written at the time, and on the spot, of the several Campaigns. They are arranged in distinct packets according as they belong so different Campaigns. Thus the first Packet is entituled,—Letters during the Campaign of 1808; and as the value of this kind of document depends upon its authenticity, at the end of every Packet is added the name of the officer by whom the Letters were written. And where the whole of the Letters are not by one Writer, but are intermixed, the intermixed letters are signed with the name of the Writer.

LETTERS DURING THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1808 AND 1809.

LETTER IX. continued.

Having left the good bishop, we turned our steps towards the castle; but found it, though picturesque at a distance from its commanding situation, a

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mere shell within. As we passed on, we were invited by some Dominican monks into their monastery; when we entered, they all embraced us, and with equal energy of gesture and expression inveighed against the common enemy

The holy brotherhood sorrounded us on all sides; their various forms of young, old, fat and lean, presented groupes truly novel and interesting. Having ascended the large staircase of the convent, we were ushered into a long and faintly lighted room, in which sat the Abbot. Many of the elder brethren were likewise seated, being so many proofs of the good effects of holy secusion, penitence, fasting, and other mortifications of the flesh.

The whole body of monks now furnished the apartment. Cakes, wine, and many good things were produced; the sparkling cup went rapidly round, and gave new zest to toasts of our lasting amity and public friendship; these bursts of convivial enthusiasm were accompanied by embraces, and every act of pantomimic assurances of fellowship and love. In short our visit had more the appearance of some extravagant scene on the stage, than the sober converse of a society of holy men.

Just before we departed they conducted us into the refectory, which displayed every preparation for good living. Eleven o'clock is their usual hour of dinner.

During our walk home we visited an institution I was some little surprised at finding here: namely, a foundling hospital! On its being pointed out to me by one of our divine attendants, I exclaimed—"My God! what an enfans trouvée instituted in a town like this! It is the last place in the world I should have expected to have found one."

He laughingly replied, "What are those to do who dare not marry?"

The building is of considerable extent, appears clean, and is attended with much care. I do not doubt that it is the human depot of the province.

We returned to the Marquis's to dinner; and after our hospitable meal, our good superintendant led us over the mansion to shew us the antiquities and the splendour of the house. Amidst the numerous apartments, one vaulted salcon was filled with armour of all descriptions, both for horse and foot, hesides swords, cross-hows, and chests filled with arrows. All are in a sad neglected state, and likely to remain so: for his excellency finding no possibility of re-polishing them, has left them to rust; and perhaps, in the end, to be sold for old iron.

Had we them in England, what a treasure would they be to our antiquarians! how nobly would they emblazon the halls of some of our new and unshielded noblesse!

He led us from the armoury to a sort of cloistered terrace; the walls of which were enriched with many a Roman fragment, found in the town and its neighbourhood. The relics thus preserved are altars, funeral stones, and one or two basso relievos. One, a boy squeezing grapes, is of very excellent sculpture. On a branch of the vine in this piece, is a bird, and a serpent winding up the stem: symbols I could not decypher.

Another, of equally good workmanship, is a figure placed in a sort of niche cut into the solid marble. It is a female gracefully covered with drapery, and seated on a chair, bearing on her knee a basket of fruit; at her right side is a dog, and over her head the following inscription:

DIIS MNIB ROMNAE INRIFINI VXORI OPIIM.

D.M.S.
AMMONMXRA
AN. XVIII. AMMO
NICVS. MAVRVS
FILIAE. PIENTIS
SIMAE. F.

The basso relievo of the boy is fixed on a tablet, on which is engraven an accompanying inscription.

MHTHP· MOI· TAIHNA

ΠΑΡΗΡΙΟΝΟCΤΙCΟΔΟΥΘ

ΗΓΘΠΘCΤΗΑΗΝΟΥΝΠΑΤΙ

Ο WCΘΟΝΘΙΠΟΜΟΛΟΦΥΙ

ΜΕΝΟΙΜΙΑΡ WIΘΠΙΗΝΓΑΘΡΜΟ

Μ ': ΘΡΑΟΜΟΟΟΥΠΑΝΡΙΙΟΟΥ.

ΝΟΜΙΟΥΑΙΑΝΟΟ

ΝΟΜΙΝΕ. IVILIANVS MENSESEX.

DERRSEPTIM·HAVΠΙCITVM·MVI

VM. FLEVII. VIERQVII. PARENS.

A mutilated bust of Antoninus, and two colossal heads in no better preservation, as well as many antique fragments of which I send you sketches, adorn this colonnaded repository. A very large foot, sculptured in the purest marble, at least four times the size of life, next caught our attention. It is covered by a richly decorated sandal, worthy indeed of the first artist of the classic age in which it was hown. The figure to which it has been attached must have been immense; and from the fashion of the sandal, I have hardly a doubt that it was the statue of some warrior.

We closed the evening of this day at the house of our chanion. He had not only attentively conducted us through the city, but had prepared a little concert for us, that we might part, in every way, harmoniously. The Adonis or Mercutio of the town played and sung to his guitar with all the affectation of a finished coxcomb. And I am positive, the subject of the airs he chanted must have far out-stepped the bounds of decency, as the Spanish part of our society seemed to enjoy them most potently; their countenances betraying a rather sensual demonstration that love and its consequences were the burthen of these verses.

On our return to our quarters we found that his grace the bishop had been to visit us; leaving two turkeys and as many bottles of rum for our supper. The latter present arose from an idea that the English cannot finish the day without punch. Fearing that you will think I never will finish this letter, I remain, &c.

LETTER X.

DEAR SIR.

Salamanca, November 26th, 1808.

WE separated in my last at Plasentia; which city saw us depart the succeeding morning to that in which we halted; and very deeply impressed were we with the kindness of the inhabitants.

On our issuing forth, our two clerical friends were at the door of the Marquis's hotel to bid us adieu; and our parting, I assure you, was not a little pathetic; much friendship was avowed on both sides; and their last words were prayers for our success and health.

I never beheld a more beautiful morning; but that is nothing strange with the inhabitants of this favoured city: bland are the people, and bland is their climate. I am told that the air around this delightful spot is almost always serene and heavenly. Though now far advanced in the month of November, nothing but the name of that ungenial season is known here. The softest air of the sweetest summer day could not be more balmy than that which met our freshened senses on turning out for the march. The sun shone in full power; and its bright beams, while they warmed the bosom of the hill we were to ascend, glittered on the cold snows of the yet more distant heights we were also destined to cross.

We left the town by a road near to the castled ruins. It had been a Roman way; was broad, and paved with regularity. Adjoining the outward gate rises an aqueduct of the same era with the road, and consisting of fifty arches, which cover a vast extent of ground, and form a grand variety, when thus opposed to the black towers of Plasentia.

The view of the city on this quarter is not so magnificent as the one on our approach. It wants the lofty heights rising directly above its walls, and the aspiring icy heads of the mountains afar off: but though inferior to the absolute perfection of the sublime on the other side, yet all was so admirable here, that we quitted the romantic involvements of the antique and vineyard-clad road with regret, and soon lost sight of the ever-respected environs of Plasentia.

Our route lay in a direct line to the tracts of distant snow; however we speeded on, and before many hours passed away, found ourselves entirely out of the temperate zone, and introduced to the circles of extreme cold and misery. A march of six leagues brought us to a village called Aldea Nueva; and as it lay in the midst of snow, and the inhabitants seemed frozen alike with cold and indolence, no wonder, when fresh from the warm comforts of Plasentia, that we should ill brook the penury of our present reception. However, the metropolitan turkies saved us from actual want in this instance; and glad were we in the morning when the signal was made for our march.

Having dispatched our domestics betimes in the advance, we followed when the sun had obtained a little power, and continued our course along the brow of this freezing district. After a few hours' patient endurance of the bitter blast and driving snow, we descended the mountain; and, as a reward for our brave sufferance of such ills, got into a rich valley, whose autumnal warm tints were a pleasing change from the late pale monotony of the scene. The road in many parts still exhibited curious remains of Roman industry and greatness. Many a mile of well-paved causeway pointed out to us the footsteps of the emperors of the world. Ah! my friend, how many mimento more were here of the transitoriness of all human power! The ruius of bridges cross-

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2 X

ing the dry beds of once rapid streams; the cylindrical stones which marked the military distances, were yet unbroken: but what are the divisions they were intended to limit?—where the hands which planted them? Let our modern Cæsars of the earth view these relies, and lay to heart the emptiness of all conquests that are not over vice; the faithlessness of monuments which outlive the names they were planted to immortalize! These stones stand; but their inscriptions are almost totally worn out by time.

Having so lately left the scorching suns of Lisbon, and the more delightful atmosphere of Plasentia, you will not be surprised that we should find these snow-clad regions insufferably cold. Even this valley, which was somewhat more tolerable than the heights, was rendered indescribably chill by the blasts from the mountains. Perhaps you will scarcely credit it, that at Aldea Nueva we felt eight degrees of frost.

Not any of us being apprised that we should encounter such severity, I fear that all the officers are in a similar predicament with myself; and I have not brought an article of warm clothing with me. As to the poor soldiers, they stand a good chance of being transformed into moving icicles, in marching from quarter to quarter. A few of your benevolent ladies' flannel jackets would be of use here. Indeed (ignoramuses that we were) we did not harbour a thought that in a country so famous for glowing suns we could ever experience such hyperborean blasts.

In the last village we stopped at, our horses, mules, &c. being quartered at the inn, I paid it a visit, being curious to see what were the comforts accessible to travellers who had not the advantage of claiming military lodgings. I put my head into this ark for man and beast, and found it a most forlorn, dark, dirty hole. One large unpaved room, without even a window, formed the main saloon of the hotel. A sort of recess at one end, where burnt a wood fire (whose light but more gloomily shewed the darkness of the superior apartment), seemed alike the obscure haunt of sorcerers or banditti. Around this hearth sit the guests and family, open to the intrusions of every boor whom curiosity or necessity may lead to make one in the circle.

If by accident a traveller have not his own bedding, a wretched nook is his destiny, and a wooden bench; or, perhaps, if he is to be more highly favoured, he is thrust into a noisome hole, with a window open to the nocturnal roarings of the storm, and furnished with a rotten tester, straw mattress, and filthy sheets, well warmed with vermin of every species. A dusty brass crucifix protects the slumberer; while a cork-stool completes the furniture of an apartment, which the Spaniards think is adequately fitted up for any rank. To this then are all exposed who voyage it in so terrible a country! None are exempt from tasting its miseries but we sous of the sword; and therefore, bad as our present quarters were, a comparison with this blessed hotel made us fancy ourselves in paradise.

Fuenta Olio is four leagues from Aldea Nueva. Its first appearance did not promise very fair; but the respectable air of the church inspired us with a hope that its pastor might be a man of more entertaining means than his flock; so without troubling the chief magistrate of the place, we made directly for his holiness's abode. Our judgment was good. The clergyman received us with hospitality and enthusiasm. He had two nieces in the house who acted as domestics: they were very pretty, and by no means bashful. We found likewise the wife of the village Esculapius, handsome and young; what in England we call buxom; more than could be said of her spouse, who was old

withered, and emaciated—the very picture of the apothecary in Romeo and Juliet.

After thanking our hosts for all their kindnesses, at ten the following morning we took our leave. We passed through a thick mist as we descended rapidly into a plain of great extent, having on our right a high and stupendous range of snowy mountains, whose heads pierced the sea of clouds that rolled before, above, and beneath us-

As the vapour disappeared, we had an opportunity of remarking the face of the country. Cultivation spread on every side; and forests of lignum vitæ covered the sloping descents, leaving openings in the shade for corn, pasture, and other husbandry. Numerous herds of black cattle grazed on the heights which hung over the valley of San Pedro; the spot destined for our next resting-place.

At this part of the country, the male peasantry's dress fully equalled the expectations of their costume with which I had entered Spain. They wear caps of the same form to which heralds give the title of cap of maintenance; their jackets are of the old fashion, with laces, tags, and slash sleeves; their feet and part of their legs are clothed in sandals; broad leathern belts girt their loins: in fact, take any one of them so clad, and you see exactly the original actors in Don Quixote and Gil Blas.

At San Pedro we left one of the cleanest cottages I ever beheld. Such a thing is pleasant in any country; but here it is a rariety and a treasure. After bidding it a wistful adieu, we took our route by a very disagreeable road for near four leagues; but at length the high spires of Salamanca rose before us in Gothic majesty, and seemed to welcome us to a more prolonged and comfortable rest. Several soldiers whom we met told us that the greater part of our army were already assembled there, and hence we did not doubt of a little necessary halting time.

The appearance of the city at a distance is fine in itself, but the approach is unpicturesque, the surrounding country being bleak and treeless. A bridge of beautiful architecture thrown over the Tornes, leads to this little capital.

Here are we then safely arrived and in quarters. Being about to sally forth, not in search of adventures, but of information respecting the curiosities of this once famous place, I bid you a temporary farewell.

LETTER XI.

Salamanca, November, 1808.

ALAS, my good friend, Salamanca is like to prove a too long place of sojourn, I will not say of rest, to us all! We are too auxious, to find any repose in these quarters. But to proceed regularly.

Of course the length of time we were on our march prevented our receiving due information of what was doing around us, and certainly kept us in total ignorance of what was going on at home. We could form no other idea of what we were to meet here, but that we were to find thousands of brave Spaniards in arms, and our own troops ready to assist them. But now, having arrived at head-quarters, how are we disappointed.

It was not, I believe, until the beginning of October that Sir John Moore received his appointment to the command of the troops then at Lishon, and destined for this service. I understand that with you it was fully determined the north of Spain should be the point of rendezvous for our army, leaving the plan for its action to be settled as future circumstances, and the judgment, of

the Spanish commanders, with that of General Moore, should deem adviseable. Our force being the auxiliary one, will, of course, when the chief command of the Spanish troops is disposed of, act according to the orders of the then grand leader.

I have been informed, however, that a plan had been formed at home respecting what was to be done provided the French nid not advance with their usual rapidity. We were to join Blake and the Estremadura army, supported by the Portuguese; and to proceed towards the north, penetrating to the pass of the Pyrennees: whilst the central and southern armies were to advance and oppose the enemy in their quarter. During these movements Sir John Stuart was to be on the alert in Sicily, and render every assistance to our Spanish compaign, by the application of a British force in Catalonia.

In order to give you an idea of the state of the French and Spaniards in arms, before we began our march from Lisbon, I enclose you a list of their respective strengths. In compliment to our allies I shall begain with the Spanish armies.

Blake's army (since defeated, and which was to have been ceded to the command of the Marquis de la Romana, on that nobleman's arrival at its quarters) occupied Bilboa, Frias, Trespaderne, and Ordunna; and amounted to 30,000 men.

Romana (who was expected to disembark at Corunna, but who landed at Saint Ander), with 10,000 men, makes the left of the Spanish grand army about 40,000 strong. This force, we are told, was well appointed with artillery: but independent of Romana's 10,000 there are not more than 12,000 regulars in the whole division; all the rest being armed peasants.

Castanos commands the army of the centre, occupying Madrid, and extending to Soria, being 25,000 men, with upwards of forty pieces of cannon.

The army of Estremadura were then on their march to take up a position beyond Burgos. They were under the command of General Galluzo, and consisted of 12,000 men, the greater part of whom are formed into excellent troops, and are intended to become a line of communication between Blake and Castanos.

The army of Castile, headed by general Cuesta, at Burgo del Osma, comprises 12,000 men.

The army of Valencia, commanded by general Damas, at Barja, Tarazona, and Aguda, consists of 16,000.

The army of Catalonia is blockading Barcelona, and stretches in advance towards the French frontier; being, in all, about 20,000 men.

Several smaller corps are on their march from Arragon and Granada. And, from this computation we may gather, that the whole known military force of Spain with which we are to co-operate amounts to 141,000 men.

Our own force, when joined to General Baird (who now lies between us and Corunna), will not exceed 40,000. Surely, if these numbers were moved by one head (for unity of plan is indispensable when opposed to the military policy of Buonaparte), and if possessed by the euthusiasm which we are led to believe animates the Spanish nation, and we know inspires our own, surely with such an army, so well appointed in body and spirit, much might have been, and may yet be done. The soldier who determines to conquer has already won half the battle. And with nearly 200,000 men so resolved, might we not expect to see Spain swept clear of the French?

The French force is as follows, their right at Miranda, and their left on Milagro: 40,000 infantry, and between 5 and 6,000 cavalry. This is their

force in the north. In Catalonia and Barcelona, 7,000; in Perpignan, 6,000: a force, in point of numbers, hardly worthy to be named. But then the wonderful exertions and rapid support of Buonaparte were at hand; and when opposed to the want of activity, as well as of union in the Spanish councils, the hopeful aspect of patriotic affairs soon changed; and the total defeat of the left wing of the great army under General Blake has now opened a passage to the French, not only to oppose us, but perhaps to cause the re-embarkation of Sir David Baird's division. These measures put me in mind of the fable of the bundle of sticks;—when tied together, hardly any force could break them, but when separated one by one, they were snapped in twain with the greatest ease.

However, Blake's troops fought bravely. The S1st of October beheld their defeat at Soronoza; and after suffering the most terrible miscries, those who survived dispersed, some to their own homes, and a very few, who with difficulty kept together, to seek a junction with the second division under Romana at St. Ander. Indeed, even now the stragglers from the defeated army are coming in by tens and twelves at a time. But they do not halt to accumulate, but, panic-struck, continue moving off to their respective homes. I hope this system will not spread; for, in case of more disasters on their parts, should they all take a passion for flight, we shall be left to stand the brunt of their cause alone.

The French, after so decided an advantage, never forgetting their all-conquering principle of following it up, pushed on, and defeated about 14,000 of the Estremadura army. I before observed, that this force was at Burgos and its vicinity, in order to keep up a communication with the centre. Being nearly annihilated, and their remains flying to Oranda, the enemy found free passage, and spread on all sides. By similar misfortunes the whole Spanish army in this quarter, save Romana's, is defeated and dispersed; so that now our situation is very critical. Under these circumstances, we cannot advance against the enemy until General Hope arrives with the artillery and cavalry. The country in our front is one continued plain, extending nearly to Burgos; so that should the French come up with us here in any force, we must do what is so repugnant to Englishmen, make a retrograde motion, and fall back upon the strong holds of Portugal. But in such a case, what will become of our right column?—I do not like to think upon it.

At present, our hopes are these—that General Hope will pass through Madrid on the 22d of this month; and, of course, we devoutly pray that nothing may prevent his arrival at our quarters, as we have no cavalry with us, and only one brigade of artillery. Besides, our military chest is with the absent column. You will naturally be astonished at the road this latter division of our army has taken; but it arose from the information we received from the Spanish military.—When we applied to them for the best route of march to the place of rendezvous, they said that the artillery and cavalry could not advance by the road which was proper for our infantry to take; we therefore divided: and hence you see into what a dilemma we have fallen.

In the midst of these disagreeables, it is some satisfaction to look upon the state of our army. You have no idea of its high order. The long march seems to have had no other effect on our men but to raise their spirits, and to make them more eager to come up with the foe. Were their numbers but doubled, and had we 7 or \$,000 cavalry in addition, we might then defy

treble the number of French. But without cavalry, I repeat, we can do nothing on these vast plains.—So much are we prisoners, by this unfortunate advice of the Spaniards, that we cannot proceed a step; and should the enemy be still farther victorious (for they will now advance upon Castanos), their patroles may insult us, almost to the gates of Salamanca.

Had we Lord Paget with us at the head of only 2 or \$,000 British dragoons, I think a change in our present halt would instantly be adopted. As it is, we are fixed.

LETTER XII.

Salamanca, Nov. 1808.

My last was on military matters: being in those respects just as we were, I shall change to a more promising subject, and describe the beauties, ancient and modern, of Salamanca.

The city is extensive, containing at least 8,000 well-built houses, besides numerous monasteries, several elegant colleges, and splendid churches.—The cathedral, considered one of the finest in Spain, is a magnificent structure, but ornamented with ridiculous profusion. The west front is crowded with basso relievos, and grotesque figures of every kind, intermixed with saintly legends and the fanciful twinings of the vegetable world. The latter decoration is often adopted to supply the barren invention of the architect.

The interior of this holy structure is much superior to its exterior. It is simply ornamented, being of the latest and best style of Gothic; and is more admirable in this sober garb than were it overcharged with the labyrinth of rich work so commonly introduced in similar buildings. This bad taste injures the harmony of the scene; destroying the fine religious gloom of its vaulted passages, lofty columns, and well-ceiled roofs: but modern affectation and ignorance never fail to ruin these beautiful specimens of antiquity by foolish additions and absurd amendments. Notwithstanding that, in part, this noble church of Salamanca has escaped such fopperies, yet there is sufficient done by the hands of these mistaken reformers sensibly to injure the whole.

Some years ago its old spire fell; and, woeful to relate, a sort of dome supplies its place, fluely fretted and pilastered within, and decorated at all points and corners with every gay colour, besides silver and gold, in a most abominable Greek-Dutch taste.—Such is the crown now placed on the fine and graceful summits of the Gothic arches. The body of the church has suffered in like manner; the choir being enclosed by a similar effort of perverted skill. Were we to separate these two modern works from the cathedral to which they are attached, we might admire their ingenuity; but when applied as they are, the only sentiment they excite is disgust.

Several small chapels in the aisles are enriched with good paintings, carvings, monuments, and other commemorations of our Saviour and the saints. A picture of Leonardi di Vinci, representing the Virgin and the infant Jesus, and executed in his best style, is in one of them. In another chapel, over an altar, is a delightful performance,—the entombing of Christ—large, and in excellent condition, full of beauty, fine colour, and worthy the Venetian school. I should suppose it a Titian—at any rate it would do honour to his pencil when even in the zenith of its power.

So much for the works of art in this sacred building. I intend going to mass soon, that I may also behold those of nature in the beauty of the fair devotees.

A vast range of walls and towers surround the town. On these embattled rains many houses are erected, whose elevated situation, architecture, and grated windows, together with the enriched spires of the religious buildings shooting up behind the city, give it, to the approaching traveller, more the appearance of an eastern capital than of a town in the little kingdom of Leon.

The bridge, which I have before mentioned, is of many arches: one half of the erection is Roman, and the other modern; but both are of great beauty. The city is built on an extensive plain: bleak, and almost treeless: nothing breaks the cheerless monotony, excepting here and there a village, until the eye meets the horizon hemmed in by huge mountains shrouded with snow.

What I have yet seen of the inhabitants does not awaken in me any very glowing idea of their charms. They seem cold and insipid as their landscapes. The nobles dress wretchedly; the females without taste, and no trace of a national custume; being equipped in bad imitation of what the French wore twenty years ago. Waists extremely long, and thinly moulded, measure half the length of their persons (their stature being short); and thus destroying all symmetry, transform the female form divine into that of some nondescript ugly animal. However, if the middle be reduced to a mere nothing in point of thickness, the ladies of all ranks, high and low, make up for the deficiency in another part of their persons. Whether it be natural or artificial I cannot pretend to determine; but certainly that point of their fair bodies which makes such active exertions in the fandango and bullero is most monstrously prodigious.

The men (I mean the hidalgos or gentlemen) are continually involved in their mantles; under which they wear a sort of German great coat. A coloured silk handkerchief binds their neck; and every mark of indolence, dirt, and absence of water, attends them.

I paid a visit the other evening to the house of the Marquis of where I found several females, but not one of them possessed any thing to interest. A little dance, with some music, assisted to enliven the hours which are passed without conversation or refreshment. In one corner of a large saloun sat a groupe of well-dressed donnas; in another, a similar assemblage of dons. Both perties encircled a sort of copper soup-dish, filled high with the embers of suffocating charcoal: the only means the natives have of heating themselves or their apartments. It may be agreeable to them, as "use doth breed a nature in a man;" but it never fails to give strangers a head-ach.

This was my first taste of Spanish society (for the honest folk who entertained us on our march are not to be honoured with so high a title!); and really I found it so stupid, so devoid of female graces on the part of the ladies, and of rational converse on the side of the men, that I have no wish to make a second attempt.

The next day I visited the Irish convent, anciently that of the Jesuits. It is of large extent; and in some of its quadrangles affords quarters for two of our regiments. The Irish attached to its establishment do not at present amount to more than twelve or thirteen; and yet it bears their name. Hence, I suppose the other colleges are not in a more flourishing state with regard to members. In one quarter of the building is a magnificent cloister, protected by windows from the open air. Around this gallery, if so it may be called, are a series of pictures representing the principal events in the life of Ignatius; executed, I should think, by Bouchardon. They are respectably done, and

preserved with great care; the cloister itself is of a beautiful modern architecture.

The hall of argument is extremely large, and not uninteresting; for at each end are portraits, though badly painted, of the ancient professors and most celebrated members.

In passing one of the churches the other day I heard a doleful chant issue from its door. I entered, and found a train of monks saying mass for the soul of a departed lady who lay like a waxen image extended before them on a black bier enveloped in a pall. Innumerable candles blazed around the corpse; and a solemn assembly of Carthusian fathers sung the service for the deceased, whilst several priests in embroidered vestments executed the sacred masses. These parts of the ceremony were very tedious; but I was resolved to see the last act that was to hide her, who had once been animated, admired, and loved, for ever from the world.

Nothing could appear more like wax than she did; her hands met across her breast, and a golden crucifix sanctified them. At her feet stood her own female servant, praying continually, and counting her beads; also occasionally putting out and lighting a little taper. After a considerable time past in prayers and singing, a huge black crucifix was placed by a monk at the head of the grave (which was near an altar), then open to receive the deceased. A ragged, hairy-headed Spaniard, who, I suppose, was the grave-digger, walked up to the bier where the ladylay, and without feeling or decency took her up in his arms, raising her rather high in the air, and carried her thus awkwardly and indelicately to the grave. This groupe had a most extraordinary effect both to the eye and feelings. The contrast is not to be described; and the little ceremony used in the act added still more to my surprise and horror.

The coffin had been previously placed in the cenotaph of death, into which the man and his sacred burthen descended; he laid the lady into her narrow shell, at which instant four monks advanced with a black pall, and covered both from our view. What the man was about he and they best know: whether strewing quick lime on the corpse, or rifling it of the golden crucifix, &c. I cannot tell; but full ten long and silent minutes was he thus hidden in the grave with the dead body in question. This part of his office finished, he pushed his rough hand from beneath the sable covering, and drawing from aloft the coffin-lid with his shovel, which lay at the side of the grave, he soon showered down the earth, and the enshrouded matron was seen no more. An anthem finished the ceremony. The procession of religious retired, preceded by the dark cross, and chanting a deep and melancholy air; while two huge bassoons, groaning in horrid concert, most dismally closed the scene.

In could not help remarking the little feeling, either of regret or of decency, which was exhibited in almost all present; as smiles and conversation amused them during what ought to have been considered the most awful of ceremonies.

HISTORY OF THE WAR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

(Translated from the French of General Sarrazin.)

(Continued from our last.)

THE nineteenth of September proved a glorious day for the garrison of Gerona. The French Marshal thought of overawing the inhabitants by a coup d'éclat; and the breach having been found practicable, he intended nothing less than to take the place by storm. He ordered false attacks with ladders at several points, whilst he marched at the head of six thousand men, to establish himself on the breach. The spirit of the first onset caused the troops, by which the breach was defended, to fall back; but the reserve charged with the bayonet, exclaiming,-" Long live Ferdinand VII!" The French took to flight. Having been rallied by their officers, they thrice renewed their attacks, and every time in vain.—The breaches were repaired, and the siege was converted into a blockade. Augereau, like all new commanders, had wished to distinguish himself, that he might be able to acquaint Buonaparte at once with his arrival, and with a victory which would induce his master to applaud himself for having chosen one of his most famous lieutenants.

On the twenty-ninth of October, Augereau attacked Blake on the heights of Brunola. The Spanish general, who was not strong enough to give battle, had raised his camp in the night of the twenty-eighth, to take the position of Santa Coloma. The object of this manœuvre was to cover his depôt of Hostalrick, where he was preparing a convoy for Gerona. He was attacked by General Souham with superior numbers, and forced to retreat. On the eighth of November, Augereau dispatched Pino's division to attack Hostalrick, and destroy the magazines. The town was taken and plundered; but the fort, to which General Quadrado's column had retreated, forced General Pino to withdraw, with whatever he had taken from the unfortunate inhabitants. On the third and seventh of December, the outworks of Gerona were carried by main force, in spite of the courageous resistance of the besieged, who, being entirely separated from Blake's army, and having no hope of being succoured, surrendered on the tenth. On the eleventh, the French took possession of the town and forts. The garrison and inhabitants were in absolute want of provisions. The Catalonians, however, were not discouraged by this reverse. Barcelona was more closely blockaded; and the guerillas, destined to intercept the communications of the enemy, increased in numbers and activity. The English, on the seas, seconded with all their means, the efforts of the Spamards. Lord Collingwood had dispersed a convoy, that sailed from Toulon for Barcelona. Its escort, consisting of three ships of the line, and two frigates, had been forced on shore on the twenty-fifth of October, except one frigate which escaped into the port of Marseilles. The convoy itself, which had retired to the bay of Rosas, was partly destroyed, and partly captured, on the night of the thirty-first, by a detackment of the English fleet.

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The exploit by which Gerona was provisioned, the victory of Talavera, the evacuation of Gallicia, the advantages gained by La Romana's army against Ney's corps, and the activity of the guerillas, warranted the hope that the third campaign would end in fayour of the Spaniards. But plans, as ill contrived as badly performed, dangerous pretensions, and ridiculous, not to say highly blameable discontents, paralysed alike the zeal of the brave Spaniards, and the generous exertions of their powerful ally. The pride of a few individuals caused the precious blood, spilled with so much glory for the independence of the Peninsula, to have been shed in vain. The English nation, and the English government, as well as the Spanish nation, and the Spanish government, are innocent of the blunders, jealousies, and tardiness of the individuals. who abused the confidence of their employers, by covering their errors and animosities with the specious pretence of the general interest,

Can there be any thing more ridiculous than General Cuesta's stating to the Supreme Junta, in his report of the seventh of August, -" that on the twenty-sixth of July he dispatched an officer to Sir Arthur, and that in consequence of that general's orders, he resolved to make a retrograde movement from Torrijos to Talavera?" What could be the object of such an assertion? Did Cuesta wish to insinuate that he was under Sir Arthur Wellesley's command? His conduct on the twenty-fourth, when he marched only with his own army to Torrijos, proves that he was free to move as he liked. Sir Arthur undoubtedly committed a great fault in not following this movement of Cuesta: but the latter committed a much greater one in separating himself from the English army: and when he saw Sir Arthur determined to continue in the position of Talavera, every consideration ought to have induced his acquiescence in the determination of his ally. The justice of this observation was fully proved by the subsequent events. Sir Arthur Wellesley's letter of the eighth of August, from Deletosa, is likewise a curious document. He says therein, "that he is advantageously posted to defend the passage of the Almarez and the lower Tagus;" whilst on the ninth, the English army began its march for Badajos, through Truxillo and Merida. Surely, to leave ten leagues of a desert and mountainous country between a a river, and the troops intrusted with the defence of its banks, is a new way to defend the passage of that river!

At the time of the sanguinary battle of Ocana, Sir Arthur Wellesley (now Lord Wellington) was at Badajos: he had under his command an army of about twenty-five thousand brave men, who anxiously wished for battle. General Beresford, and the Duke of Albuquerque, were sufficient to keep the French in check upon the right bank of the Tagus. If by a rapid march, which his position allowed him to conceal long enough to attain his object, Lord Wellington had ascended the Guadiana, joined Venegas at Consuegra, and attacked Joseph with eighty thousand fighting men, there is no doubt but he would have gained a complete victory; and by his subsequent movements he would have completely repaired the faults committed at the beginning of this campaign.

It was to a similar manœuvre that the Romans were indebted for the victory obtained by the Consuls Livius, Salinator, and Claudius Nero, over Asdrubal, who was heading a numerous army, with which he intended to reinforce that of Annibal, his brother, in the year of Rome 547. Claudius left his camp, which faced that of Annibal, took with him only the flower of his troops, to the number of ten thousand, and effected his junction with Livius. The want of means of conveyance did not deter him, because, says Livy, Claudianus exercitus nihil ferme, præter arma, secum in expeditionem tulerat. "The troops under Claudius had scarcely any baggage but their arms." Asdrubal was destroyed, with his whole army, consisting of sixty thousand fighting men, and that by thirty thousand Romans. But without recurring to ancient history for examples of that activity, by which strength is increased both numerically, and through the dismay which it occasions, whoever peruses Buonaparte's first campaigns in Italy, will be forced to confess that the generous views of England, and the patriotic intentions of the Spaniards, were not fulfilled. From the month of August to the month of December, the English head-quarters continued at Badajos. The troops under Venegas and Arrizaga were cut to pieces, whilst there was not a single Frenchman opposed to the English and Portuguese. It was also during this interval that Lord Wellington went to Cadiz, on a visit to his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, who was on his return to England. His Lordship rejoined the army on the twelfth of November. The army left Spain to march to the neighbourhood of Almeida, and before the first of January, 1810, all the English troops had re-entered Portugal.

Peace had been concluded between France and Austria on the fourteenth of October, 1809. This great event, which by some observers is perhaps justly attributed less to Buonaparte's victories over the Archduke Charles, than to the influence of his insidious policy with the Emperor Francis, served to discourage in Spain that class of men, who in all countries wait for some peremptory motive to determine their conduct. The party in favour of King Joseph found itself strengthened by this indifference: but the true Spaniards were only the more confirmed in their determination to

obtain their independence by conquest.

The evacuation of the island of Walcheren enabled France to dispose of all her forces against Spain. Several columns of good troops were ordered to Bayonne and Perpignan, to complete the regiments, and reinforce the different armies. In the camp of Boulogne, and in the French garrisons, a fourth battalion had been added to the regiments on service in Spain, for the instruction of the conscripts newly levied. They were formed into provisional half brigades, of three battalions each. When Buonaparte knew that he had nothing more to fear on the Scheldt, he sent those troops to Spain the men were incorporated with their respective regiments, and the officers, as well as the non-commissioned officers, returned to the different depots in France, to superintend the drilling of new recruits. These arrangements were certainly known in England, and in Spain; yet no measures were taken for an effectual resist-

ance to the exertions of the French. In the beginning of August the Marquis of Wellesley had arrived at Cadiz, where he was received as a king. That nobleman, who had made so brilliant a figure in the East Indies, was not equally fortunate in Spain. He approved of all the measures of his brother, when he should have employed both his authority, and his fraternal attachment, to prevent his separation from the Spanish army. He acted with as much circumspection towards the Spaniards, as if he had been treating with the House of Lords, whereas he should have held the language of a master in the name of his government, which was unquestionably entitled to dictate, in order to reap some advantages from the immense sacrifices made by Great Britain for the defence of the Peninsula. But the noble Marquis wanted firmness, or if he evinced any, it was merely to concur in a disastrous measure, that of marching the English army to the neighbourhood of Almeida. where its presence was perfectly useless; as this part of the frontiers of Portugal was defended by two strong places, by General Beresford's division, and by La Romana's army, under the orders of the Duke Delparque. The French, besides, had no forces on that point but Ney's corps, which was not above fourteen thousand men strong, as it had not yet received the reinforcements by

which it was to be completed.

To conclude these observations on the military operations of 1809 in Spain, Marshal Soult must also be arrainged for an enormous fault, which, had the allies known how to avail themselves of it, would have given them a very decisive advantage in the third campaign. After the Duke Delparque had forced the corps of Ney, on the eighteenth of October, to fall back to Toro and Valladolid, the Spaniards were masters of Salamanca, and consequently possessed the passes of Estremadura to the north of that province. Soult's corps, of about twelve thousand men, then under the command of General Laborde, was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Coria and Placentia. General Beresford, at the head of the Portuguese, was guarding the frontiers from the right banks of the Tagus up towards Almeida. The Duke of Albuquerque was posted with ten thousand Spaniards on the left of the Tagus. Mortier, Victor, and Sebastiani, were manœuvring, in the middle of November, against Arrizaga, in the environs of Toledo: and yet the French continued to occupy Estremadura, though, as it were, surrounded by eighty thousand men. Lord Wellington might have collected his army at Merida, passed the Tagus at Almaraz, and taken post at Naval-Moral, to cut off all communication of the French with their main army. Had they been attacked on the right by General Beresford, in the rear by the Duke Delparque, and on the left by Lord Wellington, whilst they were harassed in their front by the Duke of Albuquerque, the loss of these twelve thousand men was indeed inevitable, as they would undoubtedly have been forced to lay down their arms.

This observation is not built upon vague supposition, but upon clear and precise calculations. The English army was only four miles distant from Naval-Moral, and the French could certainly have been kept in ignorance of its moving, as the advanced posts

on the Tagus were occupied by the Duke of Albuquerque. General Beresford, and the Duke of Delparque, required each only two marches to attack the French in their respective directions. and effectually contribute to the success of the principal attack under Lord Wellington, who, by this able manœuvre, would have destroyed that very same corps of Soult, which had escaped him six months before in the north of Portugal. It is, therefore, merely to the want of union in the allied generals, and the absence of an enterprising leader, capable of combining a great operation, that the French, who were left in so hazardous a situation, at a distance of nearly two hundred miles from Madrid, were indebted for the tranquillity which they were allowed to enjoy in their cantonments. Had they been opposed to an active and enterprising adversary, they would have been so completely surrounded, that not one man would have escaped to carry the news of this disaster The application of this epithet to the geto the fortunate Soult. neral, who suffered the English army to escape, and embark at Corunna, and who was induced to abandon all his artillery on his retreat from Oporto, will perhaps be disallowed. But where is the man whose star always shone unclouded? The question was indeed agitated by the staff of the English army, on the eve of the battle of Corunna, whether a parley should be demanded, to obtain an armistice, during which the embarkation of the troops should not be molested. The design was not carried into execution, because some irresolution was perceived in the manœuvres of the French. The English would, in fact, have been forced to lay down their arms, had Buonaparte adopted the wise precaution of hastening onwards with Marshal Ney, to support Marshal Soult's attacks.

In the next Book we shall behold Marshal Soult again crowned by Fortune, and again neglecting to avail himself of her favours.

BOOK III.

THE joy which Buonaparte felt, on hearing of the misunderstanding between Lord Wellington and the Spanish generals, may easily be imagined; and it may be supposed that a circumstance, so prejudicial to the cause of the Peninsula, was partly effected by the agents of the cabinet of the Thuilleries, stationed at the seat of the Spanish government. But be this as it may, when Buonaparte was acquainted with the return of Lord Wellington to Portugal, he hastened to avail himself of a retreat, which would evidently have delivered Granada, Cordova, Seville, and even Cadiz. into his hands, had he been present with the army, or had not king Joseph's indolence prevented Marshal Soult's punctuality, as to fulfilling his master's intentions. On the south of the Guadiana are the famous mountains called Sierra Morena; at the foot of which lie the fine plains of Andalusia, watered by the Guadalqui-Buonaparte ordered Marshal Soult to make arrangements for crossing the Sierra at the head of fifty thousand men. The Spanish forces in the Sierra did not exceed twenty thousand; and

these still dismayed by their rout at Ocana. In order to diminish the resistance, by obliging the enemy to divide his forces, the French commander caused several movements to be made in the middle of January, towards the principal passes of the Sierra, especially the two extremities, with a view of inducing the Spaniards to weaken their centre at the pass, which is in the high road from Madrid to Cadiz. On the twentieth of January Soult made a general attack. His right was commanded by Victor, his centre by Mortier, and his left by Sebastiani. Victor set out from Almaden, for the purpose of marching to Andujar, by Torre-Campo. Villaneuva de la Jarra, and Montoro. Mortier marched by the high road; while General Gazan's division was turning, and overthrowing the Spaniards in their intrenchments. The mines, intended to render the roads impassable, had been badly contrived, and were scarcely of any use. Mortier halted at Carolina; and on

the twenty-first marched to Andujar.

Sebastiani and Victor were equally successful in their attacks, though they met with greater resistance. The Spanish general had dispatched the flower of his troops to his two flanks, in order that he might not be turned. He was, besides, persuaded that his centre was secure from danger, being fortified both by nature and But finding himself deceived in his calculations, Arrizaga retreated towards Granada, for the purpose of making a diversion in favour of Seville and Cadiz, and of affording to these two important places time for preparations to avoid a surprise. Marshal Soult, indeed, sent the fourth corps in pursuit of the Spaniards towards Granada. Sebastiani attacked Arrizaga in the neighbourhood of Alcala-La-Real. He was so superior in number to the Spaniards, that victory was not long doubtful. Arrizaga took the road to Mercia, and Sebastiani entered Granada on the twenty-But Joseph, instead of moving his troops onwards, lost his time in issuing proclamations. The one which he published at Cordova on the twenty-seventh, declared-"that the issue of the war in Spain has never been doubtful; that the inhabitants of Cordova ought to make use of their reason, which will shew them in the French soldiers so many friends ready to defend them, &c." It must be confessed, that Joseph, though rather a sensible man, selected a very improper time and place to inculcate his principles. How could he hold such language in a city, which in 1808 had been sacked by the French, and through which they had seen a body of fourteen thousand prisoners pass, at the very time that they heard that the same King Joseph was obliged to fly full speed from his capital, that he might not fall into the hands of General Castanos? On the twenty-eighth Victor was at Carmona, and Mortier at Exija. On the thirty-first Joseph and Soult were at Carmona: they had marched thirty leagues in ten days.

On the twenty-ninth, Victor had arrived before Seville, and had summoned this place; the inhabitants of which were resolved to surrender, but on favourable terms. Two deputies were sent to Victor on the thirty-first of January. They demanded that the Cortes should be assembled at Seville, to settle the laws of the country. The French general promised them, in his hand-writing,

extracts.

that they should be protected,—that the past should be buried in oblivion,-and that they should be exempt from all illegal contributions. This promise induced the magistrates to open the gates of their city to the French army. When Joseph was apprised of this fortunate event, he came in great haste, on the first of February, to date a proclamation from the Alcazar of Seville. He also lost some time in returning thanks to the soldiers; but at length announced—" as the will of the King of Spain, that a third pillar should be erected between the pillars of Hercules, which shall make known to the remotest posterity, and to the navigators of the two worlds, the names of the French chiefs and armies who have conquered Spain." Instead of amusing himself with inditing fine praises, the Duke of Albuquerque, who had hastened from Estremadura, judged that there was not a moment to be lost in taking measures for the safety of Cadiz. On the fourth of February he threw himself into that place, with all the troops under his command: and on the fifth the French reached Chiclana. From the twenty-ninth of January, till the third of February, the French might have entered Cadiz without any obstacle, had they marched only six leagues a-day. Mortier's corps was more than sufficient to overawe Seville, which was left without troops. The French paid dearly for this neglect of five days, as the delay made them lose Cadiz; and this city being then the seat of government, it ought to have been considered as the focus of patriotism, which would animate the resistance of the provinces against their conquerors.

Soult came when it was too late. On the tenth of February he wrote from Chiclana to the Duke of Albuquerque, for the purpose of inducing him to admit the French troops into the isle of Leon and Cadiz. The answer of this nobleman was firm and energetic. As it throws some light upon anterior events, I shall quote a few

" My Lord Duke, the unanimity of the sentiment, which has simultaneously induced all the kingdoms and provinces of Spain to defend themselves against an unjust domination, and to avenge the unparalleled usurpation of the crown, appertaining to their beloved and lawful sovereign, Ferdinand VII, is sufficiently apparent, without pointing out the justice of the cause which I defend. You may therefore be convinced that the Spaniards, in spite of the misfortunes of war, arising from causes no longer in existence, such as their inexperience, and their not having the intimate connexion with the English nation which exists at this day, are firmly resolved never to lay down their arms, till they have obtained the just recovery of their legitimate rights------The fortress of Cadiz has nothing to fear from an army of one hundred thousand men. There is no comparison between its present state of defence, and the situation in which it was a few days ago!!!------Consequently, and as a return for the interest which your Excellency takes in the fate of the inhabitants of this isle, and the fortress of Cadiz, I advise you to renounce the useless sacrifice of your soldiers; knowing the advantages derived by my troops, not only from the nature of the

ground, and of the positions which they occupy, but also from the fraternal union which animates them in executing every species of service jointly with the English, our close allies. It is also my duty to inform your Excellency, that the illustrious British nation, not less generous than great and brave, have no intention, as your Excellency insinuates, to take possession of Cadiz. Their only object is to assist in its defence, with all the means which they abundantly possess; and which the Spaniards solicit, and ac-the prisoners will be such as it ought to be between civilized nations. We shall not follow the example set by the French troops, of cruelly butchering the Spaniards, as insurgents-----Finally, I cannot consent to a conference with your Excellency, under existing circumstances, nor till the deliverance of Spain from the presence of all foreign troops, and the restoration of our beloved Ferdinand VII. shall have enabled me to accept, with pleasure, your obliging----&c. &c.

(Signed) The Duke of Albuquerque."

(Signed) THE DUKE OF ALBUQUERQUE."
Isle of Leon, February the 10th, 1810.
To His Excellency the Duke of Dalmatia.

This language, very different from that held by Morla to Buonaparte, at the capitulation of Madrid, left Soult no hope of reducing Cadiz otherwise than by famine, or by the fear of a bombardment. His troops occupied San Lucar de Barameda, at the mouth of the Guadalquiver, Rota, Puerto de Santa Maria, Puerto Real, and Chiclana. He placed a strong garrison in Medina Sidonia.-He had sent Marshal Mortier into Estremadura, for the purpose of subduing that province, gaining possession of Badajos, and opening a communication with the second corps, of which General Reynier had taken the command. The French had occupied Zafra on the ninth of February; and on the twelth they summoned Badajos to surrender. The governor refused to open the dispatches; and dismissed the bearer of the flag of truce, with a declaration that in future he should order such couriers to be fired upon. Mortier, who was not prepared to besiege the town, cantoned his troops between Lerena and Almendraleyo, establishing his head-quarters at Lossantos, as the most central part of his cantonments. The intelligence that Badajos too had not been taken, caused some vexation to Soult. He perceived that he had been too sanguine, when, on the third of February, he thus addressed Prince Berthier from Seville,-" To judge by the conduct of the inhabitants, we may consider the war as almost ended."

(To be continued.)

THE LIFE OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM WINDHAM,

(Continued from our last.)

DURING the time that he was employed in this arduous undertaking, it happened most unfortunately, that, by a fall, he received a blow on the hip, but not of so painful a nature as to occasion any relaxation of his efforts. The next day the author of this narrative called on him, and found him complaining, not of the hurt he had received, but of a cold which was the consequence of his exposure to the weather, the night having been very rainy. He seemed to enjoy the whimsical association in the newspapers of "Mr. Windham and the volunteers," but lamented that two of the persons who had assisted him had received considerable injury. To those unfortunate persons (one of whom afterwards died) he shewed the most kind and unremitting attentions. His cold continued to be very troublesome to him for some time, but from the blow on his hip, he, for many months, appeared to suffer no inconvenience whatever, though it occasioned a tumour which, in the following spring, had increased to a considerable size.

In May 1810, Mr. Windham found it necessary to give his serious attention to the tumour which had been thus collected. Mr. Cline (whom he had consulted upon it two months before), gave it as his opinion, that, in order to prevent dangerous consequences, an immediate operation was necessary;—and his advice was confirmed by that of four out of six eminent surgeons whom Mr. Windham separately consulted. The two who thought that an operation was not required were Mr. Wilson, the anatomical lecturer, and Mr. Phillips, of Pall-Mall. Dr. Blane (Mr. Windham's own physician) and Dr. Bailie, coincided in this opinion with the majority of surgeons, so that, in fact, seven out of nine professional men recommended the operation. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that Mr. Windham, whose courage was on all occasions remarkable, should have determined on submitting at once to the dangers of the knife, rather than linger on in doubt and apprehension.

Before his decision was acted upon, he took pains to inform himself concerning some cases of persons who had died under operations, or from the effects of them; and he requested this writer to make a particular enquiry respecting an instance supposed to be of the latter kind, which had recently occurred in Norfolk. He communicated his intention to very few persons, besides the professional men whom he had consulted; and the deepest anxiety with which he seemed to be impressed, was that of sparing Mrs. Windham the terrors which a knowledge of the event could not fail to excite in a mind of extraordinary sensibility and tenderness. He conveyed her to Beaconsfield, on a visit to her friend Mrs. Burke, with whom he left her, on a plea of business, and arrived in town on Friday the 11th of May. On the following Sunday, he at-

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tended at the Charter-house, and received the sacrament, which was administered to him privately by the Reverend Dr. Fisher, the master of that institution, with whom he had been intimately acquainted from his youth. The remaining days before the operation was to take place he employed in arranging papers, in making a codicil to his will, and in writing many letters, some of which were addressed to his nearest relatives. The following letter has been obligingly communicated to the author by Colonel Harvey, of Catton, in Norfolk, to whom Mr. Windham addressed it the day before he underwent the operation. It contains an allusion, as the reader will perceive, to the question of parliamentary reform, which was intended to be brought forward in the House of Commons in the course of a few days.

" DEAR SIR.

Pall Mall, May 16, 1810.

"I would very gladly attend the business which you mention, and with every disposition to find the merits such as you describe, but I am afraid I must to-morrow go through an operation which will disable me from attendance in the house till long after the business in question will be decided, as well as others which, without disparagement to yours, I should have been still more anxious to attend to. If our reformers carry their madness and folly now or in any subsequent year. there is an end, be assured, of the stability of this constitution, and we shall fall from confusion to confusion till we are either sunk in complete revolutionary anarchy, or are settled under Buonaparte. We shall probably enjoy the blessings of both; and after the taste of the former. namely of republican and revolutionary anarchy, or government as they will call it, there are many who will think even a government like Buonaparte's a blessing.

"These are my sentiments ;-I may also say, my last and dying sentiments; for though the operation itself which I am about to submit to is not a dangerous one, there cannot be so great pain as must, I fear, be gone through, without some danger. It is, as far as I should recollect, something of the same sort as that which poor John Gurney underwent.

and fell a victim to.

"I had thought at one time to defer it till I might have entered my last process against such madness, and have tried what I could do to satisfy men's minds that it was madness. But I found so long a delay could not be incurred; so I must only hope the best for the country and myself. Your's, dear Sir.

"With great truth, &c. &c.

"W. WINDHAM."

On Thursday, the 17th of May 1810, the operation was performed by Mr. Lynn, in the presence of Dr. Blane, Mr. Home, and Mr. Pilliner, Mr. Windham's apothecary. The tumour was skilfully extracted, but having been very deeply seated, and attached to the ligaments of the hip joint, the operation was necessarily painful. Mr. Windham, however, bore the pain with the greatest resolution; and during a pause, oc-

casioned by a consultation upon the necessity of making a further incision, he even joked with his perilous situation. The tumour proved to be schirrous, of the shape of a turkey's egg, but even larger. The successful performance of the operation was immediately announced to Mr. Windham's intimate friends by Mr. Edmund Byng (Mrs. Windham's nephew), of whose friendly offices he had taken the precaution to avail himself. Mrs. Windham, according to an arrangement which he had previously made, returned to town the next morning, and was informed of what had taken place. For a few days appearances were not unfavourable, though the wound did not heal with what is called the first intention, and though Mr. Windham suffered greatly from restlessness and an irritable state of the nerves. But the hopes even of his most sanguine friends soon began to give way. A symptomatic fever came on, and upon the ninth day he was pronounced to be in great danger. On the following day the symptoms were judged to be less unfavourable, but others of an alarming kind soon succeeded, and the medical attendants (to whom were now added Dr. Baillie and Sir Henry Halford) no longer entertained hopes of his recovery. From this time, the fever abated, the pulse became firmer and better, and the patient even began to take and enjoy nourishment; yet in spite of these otherwise flattering circumstances, the state of the wound, which had never suppurated, and the total inability of nature to make any effort towards relieving it, were symptoms that excited no feelings but those of despair. Mr. Windham himself considered his case to be hopeless very soon after the performance of the operation, and when, at a later period, the attending surgeon, availing himself of some favourable circumstances, endeavoured to impress him with a less gloomy opinion, he said, "Mr. Lynn, you fight the battle well, but all wont do." He perfectly well knew the feebleness of his own constitution. Though he had possessed great muscular strength, and had lived a life of temperance and activity, he had never overcome the internal debility left by the fever which had attacked him at the age of twenty-eight. The complaint too, affecting his hip. which he had laboured under in the autumn of 1808, has been supposed to be materially connected with that from which he was now suffering. So slight a contusion as that which he received could not have caused such disastrous effects, had it not met with a frame and constitution previously disposed to produce them.

While he lay in this hopeless condition, nothing could exceed the concern which was expressed by almost all classes of the inhabitants of London; nor was this sentiment narrowed by party feelings, for every man who spoke of him seemed to be his friend. From the commencement of his illness, the number of auxious enquirers who had thronged the door to obtain a sight of the daily reports of the physicians, would almost be thought incredible. The watchful solicitude of his professional attendants ought not to pass unnoticed; and in mentioning the unceasing anxiety of personal friends, it would be unpardonable to omit the names of Lord Fitzwilliam and Mr. Elliot. The latter was the kind and south-

ing companion of the sick chamber. It is gratifying to add, that, among those who shared in these feelings, was His Majesty, who took every opportunity of making enquiries of the physicians concerning the progress of Mr. Windham's illness, pronouncing him (as he had done on a former occasion) to be a "real patriot, and a truly honest man."

On the 26th of May, notwithstanding his debility, Mr. Windham was able to maintain a long conference with his nephew, Mr. Robert Lukin, during which he expressed himself on many topics with his usual felicity and spirit. Upon this occasion he pointed out to Mr. Lukin his mathematical manuscripts, explained generally the nature and object of them, and expressed a wish that they might be carefully examined, with a view to ascertain whether some parts of them might not be found worth preserving.

Oil Sunday, the 3d of June, his dissolution appeared to be fast approaching. It was on the evening of that day that the physicians and surgeons assembled in his chamber for the last time. Soon after they had left it, I had an afflicting opportunity of witnessing his dying condition, in which, however, none of the terrors and few even of the milder signs of death were visible. Though his articulation was a little imperfect, his voice was not deficient in strength; and though his countenance was slightly altered, it retained much of its peculiar animation. He was evidently free from pain, and cheered by feelings of tranquil resignation. During about twenty minutes, he spoke many times, not without vivacity; and when I was about to leave the chamber, he pressed my hand with a degree of firmness which seemed at variance with the intimation which he too plainly meant to convey to me-that I should see him no more. It was about half past ten o'clock when I left him, and after that time he is represented as having spoken but little. Being placed by Mr. Lynn in a favourable situation for sleep, he said, "I thank you; this is the last trouble I shall give you." It is added, that he then fell into a doze, or stupor, and expired without pain or emotion the next morning (Monday, June the 4th) at about twenty-five minutes past eleven.

Some apology, perhaps, is necessary for the minuteness with which the above circumstances have been detailed. It may be confidently hoped, however, that those who knew and loved Mr. Windham's character will not think it uninteresting in the hours of sickness and of death. That he died as every good man and sincere christian might wish to die, is a fact that may furnish grateful and useful reflections to all.

He had just completed the sixtieth year of his age. By his will, which was made some years before his death, and by two codicils which he had recently added to it, he gave to Mrs. Windham, for her life, his whole real estate, including a venerable mansion, with an extensive and finely-situated park at Felbrigg, besides a considerable property in that neighbourhood, and at Sudbury, on the borders of Suffolk and Essex. At Mrs. Windham's decease, de directed that his property, charged with

some temporary provisions in favour of other relations, should devolve on Captain William Lukin, of the royal navy, the eldest son of the Dean of Wells, Mr. Windham's half brother. On his accession to the estates, Captain Lukin is to assume the name and arms af Windham; and in favour of his male issue, there is a remainder in tail in favour of Mr. Windham's early and very intimate friend, G. J. Cholmondeley Esq. with further remainders to the Earl of Egremont and other distant relations. The executors named in the will were, the Honourable H. Legge and William Palmer Esq.

The loss which the country had sustained in Mr. Windham, was impressively noticed in both houses of parliament. On the 6th of June, in the House of Lords, Earl Grey pronounced an eulogium on his deceased friend's character, in a manner which reflected the greatest honour on his feelings. And on the following day, Lord Milton (for whom Mr. Windham had a high regard) distinguished himself in the other house, by an eloquent and affectionate delineation of those public and private virtues which Mr. Windham so eminently possessed, and to which also Mr. Can-

ning bore a generous and powerful testimony.

His funeral was directed by his will to be private, and without osten-Accordingly, his remains were attended into Norfolk by no other friends than Mr. Robert Lukin, his nephew (Captain Lukin being at sea), Mr. Edmund Byng, nephew to Mrs. Windham, and Mr. Budd. who was Mr. Windham's solicitor and land agent. They were joined at Norwich by Mr. Hudson and Captain Browne. At that city, where the corpse rested for one night, a general feeling of regret was strongly excited, and the procession was accompanied through the streets the next morning by a very numerous train of spectators. Onits way to Felbrigg, it was joined by the tenants (not one of whom was absent) and by other respectable persons in the neighbourhood, on horseback, amounting in all to about ninety. The attendance of these persons, though it did not strictly accord with the directions of the will, could not have been refused without great unkindness. The corpse was at length deposited in the family vault at Felbrigg church, the funeral service being performed by the Reverend George Way. The park was then thronged with spectators, anxious to pay the last tribute of respect to the memory of one who, though distinguished in the great world by his talents and accomplishments, was better known to his neighbours in the endearing character of a kind landlord and a good man.

[To be continued.]

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THE LIVES OF THE. GREAT CAPTAINS OF MODERN HISTORY.

IT is our purpose under this head to execute a tash very much wanted, that of giving a complete collection of The Lives of the Great Captains of Modern History. As far as respects France this has been already executed by Brantome, but we have no English Writer who has attempted it. The materials of these Lives will be as follows: 1. Where the subjects themselves have left their own Memoirs, they shall be given in full. 2. Where these Lives have been written by any author of authority, they will likewise be given in full,—such work being translated or reprinted. 3. In want of such materials, the best will be selected rom the annals and memoirs of the age in which they lived.

THE LIFE OF JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

BOOK III.

To the Battle of Ramillies, and the Reduction of Brahant and Flanders.

(Continued from our last.)

The forces of the allies in Portugal were not so successful as had been expected. However they took Salvaterra and Marvan, and wrested from the enemy Valencia d'Alcantara and Albuquerque: And had not the earl of Gallway had the misfortune to have his right hand shot off by a cannon-ball before Badajos, that place too, in all likelihood, would have been taken. If their success on that side fell short of the expectation of the allies, the taking of Barcelona, and the reducing of the whole principality of Catalonia under the obedience of king Charles, exceeded their hopes. We will but just mention the perpetual endeavours of the queen and the states, to pacify the troubles in Hungary, having hinted at those things before. The death of the emperor Leopold seemed to render an accommodation more practicable; but, after the efforts of the maritime powers, nothing more was done than to sign a cessation of arms, and leave the points in debate to future conferences.

The imperial and French armies on the Upper Rhine having been in sight several times, and drawn up in battalia, it was expected there would have happened an action. But the marshal de Villars having had advice of the approach of 10 battalions, and 20 squadrons, of the troops of the king of Prussia, to reinforce the army of prince Lewis of Baden, that general thought fit, the 13th of September in the night, to decamp in great secrecy, and retire towards Strasburg. Prince Lewis of Baden, being reinforced by these troops, likewise decamped the next day from Daudorp, and came to Wierschiem. The same day 9 squadrons and 9 battalions, with a detachment of grenadiers, under the command of the count de Frise, were ordered to besiege Drusenheim. The trenches were opened the 19th, and that place was attacked with so much vigour, that the garrison, consisting of 3 or 400 men, surrendered the 24th prisoners of War. There was found in the place 400 sacks of meal, 4

small pieces of cannon, 400 muskets, and 12 barrels of gunpowder. The 28th Hagnenau was invested by a strong detachment, commanded by general Thungen, having under him the generals Erffa and Arnhein. The infantry of the king of Prussa, the king of Poland, and the duke of Wirtemberg, were employed in the siege, with 20 squadrons. The garrison made but a short resistance; for they beat a parley the 5th of October, and offered to surrender the place upon terms: but none being allowed them but to be prisoners of war, they resolved to quit the town in the night, and retire to Savern. Haguenau not being invested on that side, they had an opportunity to do it: but the prudence and care of the Germans were not much to be commended. They little expected the garrison would take that resolution, and the dissatisfaction prince Lewis of Baden expressed on that subject, was very justifiable. This was the situation of the war at the end of the year 1705.

The forces of the states were ordered to canton by the middle of April, and towards the latter end they began to form a camp near Tongeren, where they expected the junction of the English. The duke of Marlborough, being arrived in Holland, was daily in conference with the deputies of the states, to concert the operations of the campaign, the projects of which were kept with an unusual secrecy. The affairs of Italy were the chief matter of these conferences, and England and Holland resolved to do their utmost to assist the duke of Savoy. The duke of Marlborough, more concerned for the common cause than for his own reputation, proposed to go in person to the support of that prince, or to stand on the defensive part in the Netherlands, in order to send a greater body of forces into Italy. But the states, fearing they should be exposed by his absence, prevailed with him to stay in Flanders, and continue the main stres of the war on that side.

The army of the states began to encamp near Tongeren the beginning of May, and the duke of Marlborough and M. d'Auverquerque set out the 9th from the Hague for Maestricht, where they arrived the 12th. The Dutch general went the same day to the camp, and the next his grace arrived there to review the troops. Mean time the English troops were ordered to march from their quarters to join the army. They arrived at Bilsen the 20th, and on the 21st joined the Dutch between Borkloen and Gros Warem. The 22d the Danes in the service of England and Holland also joined the army; and the French, confiding in their superiority, came out of their lines about the same time, and encamped between Tirlemont and Judoigne. This occasioned that memorable action on the 23d, since called the battle of Ramillies. The following account of it, given by colonel Richards, aide-de-camp to the duke of Marlborough, with what we shall add to it from other relations, may give a full idea of this glorious victory.

"On Saturday the 23d instant, the confederate army decamped from Borkloen, and marched to Gros Warem. The Danish troops came up with our rear, and encamped at a small distance from us. Here we had advice, that the enemy, being joined by the horse of marshal Marsin's

army, and depending on the superiority of their numbers, were lately come out of their lines, and had made a motion, putting their right towards Judoigne.

My lord duke, and M. d'Auverquerque, relying upon the goodness of their troops, resolved to advance towards the enemy; and accordingly on Sunday the 23d, about three in the morning, the army marched in 8 columns towards Ramillies, a village where the Gheete takes its source, that we might avoid the inconveniency of passing that river. Being advanced near the said village, we found the enemy getting into the camp of mount St. André, and placing their right to the Mehaigne. This river flows about half a league from Ramillies, the ground between them being open and level: the Gheete runs from Ramillies to Autreglise, through a marshy ground; and beyond Autreglise the river grows wide, and the ground is impassable.

The enemy had posted a brigade of foot next to the Mehaigne, and filled the space betwixt that and Ramillies with upwards of 100 squadrons, among which were the troops of the French king's household. At Ramillies they had about 20 battalions, of foot, with a battery of about 12 pieces of treble cannon; from theuce to Autreglise they had formed a line of foot along the Gheete, with a line of horse at some distance behind them.

His grace judging, by the situation of the ground, that the stress of the action would be on our left, ordered, that besides the proportion of horse belonging to that wing, the Danish squadrons, being 20 in number, should also be posted there. It was about two in the afternoon before our army could be formed in order of battle, and then we began the attack on our left with 4 battalions, which pushed the brigade of foot above mentioned from their post on the Mehaigne. M. d'Auverquerque, about the same time, charged with the horse of that wing. The success was doubtful for about half an hour; which the duke of Marlborough perceiving, ordered the rest of the horse of the right wing, (except the English, who were 17 squadrons) to support those on the left.

Here, while his grace was rallying some, and giving his orders for others to charge, he was in very great danger, being singled out by several of the resolutes of the enemy: and falling from his horse at the same time, he had either been killed or taken prisoner, if some of our foot that were near at hand had not come very seasonably to his assistance, and obliged the enemy to retire. After this, my lork duke had still a greater escape, a cannon-ball having taken off colonel Bringfield's head as he was remounting his grace.

The village of Ramillies was attacked by a detachment of 12 battalions of foot, commanded by lieutenant general Schultz, which entered at once with great vigour and resolution. His grace hastened our line of foot thither to support them; which, though it was at great distance, yet came up soon enough to beat the enemy quite out of the village, and at the same time charged the rest of their foot that were posted behind the

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Gheete, as above mentioned; and my lord duke ordered the English horse to support them.

By this time the enemy's right wing of horse being entirely defeated, the horse of our left fell upon the foot on their right, of whom they slew great numbers, cutting to pieces about 20 of their battalious, whose colours they took, and likewise their cannon. The rest of the enemy's foot were entirely broke. The horse of their left wing seemed to make a stand, to gain time for their foot to retire; but were charged so quick, and with so much bravery, by the English horse, that they entirely abandoned the foot; and our dragoons pushing into the village of Autreglise, made a terrible slaughter of them. The French king's own regiment of foot, called the Regiment du Roy, begged for quarter, and delivered up their arms and colours to the lord John Hay's dragoons.

We pursued the enemy all night, by the way of Judoigne, as far as Meldre, being 5 leagues from the place where the action happened, and 2 from Louvain. There the author of this narrative left the army, on Monday night the 24th, preparing to march so early as to be at the Dyle the next morning by break of day; and to secure the pass of Neder Ysche, which would give his grace an opportunity of further improving this great and glorious success.

Thus we gained an entire and compleat victory, that, next to the blessing of God upon the justice of our cause, must be ascribed to the great courage, prudence and vigilance of the duke of Marlborough, who was personally present in the hottest of the action, giving his orders with wonderful sedateness and presence of mind. M. d'Auverquerque acted with the valour and conduct becoming a great general: the rest of our generals likewise distinguished themselves; and all our troops, both officers and soldiers, fought with the greatest bravery and resolution.

A right judgment could not be made of the exact number of the slain, by reason we did not stay on the field of battle; but the enemy are generally supposed to have had about 8000 men killed, among whom are numbered the prince de Monbazon, and another called prince Maximilian, with divers other persons of note. We took about 6000 prisoners, among whom are two major-generals; two brigadier-generals; a son of the marshal de Tallard; a nephew of the duke of Luxemburg; a nephew of the late lord Clare, and several other officers of distinction, whose names are not yet known. We have likewise taken all their artillery, all the baggage they had with them, and their bread-waggons, besides a great number of colours, standards, and kettledrums: and a great part of their heavy baggage, which they had sent away before the action, was also soized by our troops at Judoigne. This army consisted of the best of the enemy's forces, particularly the gendarms, and others of the French king's household, which are entirely ruined."-- Thus far the colonel's relation.

In the account published by order of the states, we have the following particulars: ——" All things being disposed, it was resolved to attack the village of Ramillies, which was the enemy's principal post. In

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order to that, 20 pieces of cannon, 24 pounders, were brought up; and 12 battalions, who were to be supported by the whole line, were commanded for that attack. About two in the afternoon the cannon began to play against the enemy. Four battalions were, at the same time, detached to dislodge them from the valley of Taviers, where they had posted 6 battalions to cover their right wing; our left wing not being able to push on any further, before the taking of that post. Hereupon the enemy caused some dragoons to advance to support the 6 battalions. All the horse of the left wing of the confederate army marched likewise to attack the enemy's right, which advanced at the same time towards them. It was then that the fight began with a great deal of fury, and continued with great obstinacy, till the horse of our left wing had gained ground enough to attack the enemy in flank; whereupon they began to give way.

While we were engaged on that side, our foot attacked likewise the village of Ramillies, which was also forced about four o'clock, after a vigorous resistance. The enemy endeavoured to retire from the village; but being got out, they were broke, and entirely destroyed, or taken by our horse; whereupon their army retired a large half league beyond the village, where they drew up again in order of battle, behind a hollow road, and some hedges: but our army having advanced between the Yause and the Mehaigne, and extended themselves further in the plain to renew the attack, their right wing retired immediately further off; and their left wing gave ground likewise, before we could come up with them, as we wished. The enemy were afterwards pursued by the whole army."—

"The glory of this action, say the dutch deputies in their letter to the states-general, is so much the greater, because the enemy were possessed of a very advantageous post; and that, according to the report of prisoners, they were 76 battalions, and 140 squadrons strong, including the French king's household; so that their army was superior in number to that of the allies. The battle was fought for two hours and a half with extreme eagerness and fury, and our troops sustained a dreadful fire; but by their bravery and good order they surmounted all difficulties, and obtained a very great and glorious victory over the enemy."

Two days after the battle, the duke of Marlborough, in a letter to the states, tells them, "that he thought fit to delay his congratulations for the victory till that day; that he might, at the same time, acquaint their high mightinesses with the success of his design of passing the Dyle. We had resolved, says he, to force our passage this morning by break of day; but the enemy have saved us the trouble, having left us an open field by their retreat towards Brussels; so that with double joy I give myself the honour to write this letter to you from Louvain, where I have a long time wished to be, for the good of the common cause. 'Tis certain, that all the generals, officers, and soldiers, have done all that was possible for men to perform on that glorious day; and their conduct and bravery cannot be sufficiently praised. I have made choice of colo-

nel Chanclos to carry this agreeable news to your high mightinesses, both by resaon of his merit in the last campaign, and of his services in this. He will acquaint your high mightinesses with the particulars of all that has passed, and the present posture of the enemy, whom we are resolved to pursue."

The passage of the Dyle, and the following successes, till the entire reduction of Brabant and Flanders, are fully related in the subsequent

pieces,

"On Monday the 24th, (says a narrative published by captain Pitt,) the duke, having ordered the army to encamp at Bavechien, for the refreshment of the troops, and disposed all things for their march the next morning by break of day, in order to force the passage of the Dyle, received advice in the night, that the enemy had quitted their camp, and abandoned Louvain, being retired towards Brussels. Hereupon bridges being laid over that river near Louvain, the allies put a detachment of 500 men into that town. The whole army passed over the next day, about noon, and took the camp of Bethlem, from whence they continued their march the 26th towards Brussels. His grace soon had notice, that the enemy had likewise quitted that place, and Mechlin, and were retired towards Alost. About ten o'clock his grace had a letter from the marquis of Deinse, governor of Brussels, intimating, that the states of Brabant were desirous to wait on him at such time as he should appoint: upon which the duke sent them a compliment by colonel Panton, in his own name and that of the deputies, letting them know that he should be glad to see them at four o'clock in the afternoon. Accordingly there came a deputation from the states of Brabant, another from the sovereign council, and a third from the magistrates of the city. They all expressed great satisfaction at the happy success of the allies, and their arrival in that neighbourhood. His grace wrote letters to all the three bodies, to invite them to consider their own interest, and to own their lawful sovereign king Charles the third. In the evening the magistrates of Mechlin came likewise to compliment his grace, and make their submission. Colonel Durell, adjutant-general, was sent with a detachment of 200 horse to take possession of that town: the governor of which staid in the place, and surrendered himself prisoner. The army encamped that night at Dighem; and the next morning continued its march, and, having passed the canal, came to Grimberg. From thence the duke sent general Churchill, with 4 battalions of foot and 2 squadrons of horse, to command in Brussels.

The retreat of the enemy in such consternation, the great number of officers and soldiers who were discovered to be prisoners, and of those who were left wounded in several places through which they marched, together with their abandoning the whole country, now made their loss much greater than it was at first thought to be. By the speedy pursuit of the allies, the French were obliged to leave many wounded officers at Brussels, who all became prisoners of war; among others, the count de-

Horne, lieutenant-general; and the earl of Clare, major-general; the latter of whom died of his wounds

The 27th, in the evening, the deputies, who were at the camp the day before, returned, and brought his grace three several instruments in due form; one from the sovereign council, and the third from the city of Brussels, owning king Charles III. as their lawful sovereign; repeating likewise, in a most respectful manner, the grest sense they had of her majesty's goodness, in reheving them, by her victorious arms, from the oppressions they had so long laboured under by the French government. They likewise made their acknowledgments to his grace; and there seemed to be an universal joy among the people. Several of the Spanish troops likewise shewed a great inclination for the house of Austria; and declared, that the animosities between them and the French were grown to such a heighth, that it was impossible they should act any longer in conjunction.

The same day, the magistracy of Lierre sent a deputation to my lord duke, to make their submission, and desire his grace's protection. The French retired to Gavre beyond Ghent, not above 24,000 strong, and those not half of them armed, having thrown down their arms in their flight. The duke of Marlborough appointed a day of thanksgiving to be observed throughout the army, to return thanks to Almighty God for the glorious victory wherewith heaven had blest the arms of her majesty and the states-general in the late battle of Ramillies, and the wouderful successes which had since followed, in reducing so great a country to the obedience of his catholick majesty king Charles III.

The duke having thought fit, after the great fatigue the troops had undergone in pursuit of the enemy, to give them two days repose at Grimberg; his grace went the 28th in the afternoon to Brussels. The chief magistrates of the city met his grace at the gate, and presented him with their keys; which he returned, with repeated assurances of her maje-ty's protection: and, after having received the compliments of the nobility, who expressed at the same time their affection and fidelity to king Charles III. his grace returned in the evening to the camp; where he received advice, that the enemy, having carried away their cannon and ammunition from Lierre, had quitted that place: upon which his grace, the day following, sent thither a detachment of 200 men to take possession of it. The duke of Wirtemberg also was detached with 2000 grenadiers, 1000 horse, and 6 pieces of cannon, to take post at Alost.

The 30th, the army marched from Grimberg, and encamped near Alost; the duke of Wirtemberg advancing with his detachment towards Gavre, with the pontons for laying bridges over the Scheld near that place, in order to intercept the enemy's retreat towards their own frontiers: but as soon as they heard of the motions of the allies, they quitted their camp between St. Dennis and Ghent, and marched, the 31st at 3 o'clock, towards Courtry. His grace had advice of this upon the march; and that they had evacuated Ghent, leaving only a Spanish battalion in the castle, with the prince of Vintimille, governor of the town. The magistrates of

Ghent came the same day to compliment my lord duke, and make their submission; and a letter arrived from the states general to his grace, in which, they express themselves thus: "Since your glory, after the battles of Schellenberg, Hockstedt, and Ramillies, can receive no addition by the greatness of your victories, we desire it may by their number. We desire you to believe, that the esteem which we have for your excellency's person, and rare merit, cannot be greater."

In the two following answers, which his grace returned, he gives an account of the transactions before Ghent.

"Yesterday," says he, "after our arrival in this camp, in the afternoon, the magistrates of the city came to make their submission, and we have written to them in concert with messieurs the deputies, a letter to the same effect, as we did to the city of Brussels; and we doubt not but they will follow their example. The prince of Vintimille, governor thereof, who has been left in the castle with a battalion of Spaniards, had sent to me proposals; but I am persuaded he will surrender, as well as the marquis de Deinse, governor of Brussels. We are sending a detachment to Bruges, to receive their submission; and I have just now written two letters, one to the marquis de Terracina, governor of the citadel of Antwerp, wherein are 4 Spanish battalions; and the other to the magistrates, to exhort them to submit. Quarter-master general Cadogan is entrusted with those letters, from which I expect a good success."

This letter was dated the first day of June, 1706. In another, two days after, his grace tells them: "That according to what he did himself the honour to write to their high mightinesses, the castle of Ghent was obliged to surrender the next day: the Spanish battalion, consisting of 400 men, with the colonel, the marquis de Los Rios, and all the officers, being made prisoners of war; but that all the soldiers, except 50, declared for king Charles. The summons, says he, we sent to Bruges, and the country of Francq, has had the desired effect. The magistrates came hither this morning to make their submission, and acknowledged their lawful sovereign in due form. We caused a battalion of the troops of Flanders to march thereinto, and another was sent to Damme, which the enemy had abandoned: but what is more surprising still, is, that having yesterday caused Oudenarde to be summoned, and upon their refusal ordered that day lieutenant-general Scholten to march thither with 7 battalions, 4 pieces of cannon and 2 mortars, the garrison, consisting of three battalions, immediately capitulated, and a French battalion therein has obtained leave to retire. The other 2 battalions, being Spaniards, and the governor, have declared for king Charles; and at this instant I am informed, that our men have got into the place. This morning I received a letter from brigadier Cadogan, whom I had sent to summon Antwerp, whereby it appears, that we had not been rightly informed of the strength of that garrison; since he informs me, that there are 5 French, and as many Spanish battalions therein. However, he acquaints me, that they seemed disposed to surrender upon honourable terms; whereupon, having advised with messieurs the deputies and M. d'Auverquerque, and considered the importance of that place, and how precious time is to us, we have sent a full power to the brigadier to grant them reasonable terms, of which we expect an account to-morrow.

"The hand of God appears visibly in all this, striking the enemy with such a terror, as obliges them to deliver up so many strong places, and

large countries, without offering the least resistance.

"This has encouraged me to summon the towns of Dendermode and Ostend; and for that purpose I have sent detachments with letters for the governors. We have made our bridges, and the necessary disposition to pass the Lys to-morrow. I am informed from M. Scholten, that the 3 battalions of the garrison of Oudenarde are all marched away, the French to Courtray, and the other towards Mons."

The 4th the army marched from Marlebeck, and having passed the Scheld and the Lys, came between Deinse and Nivelle. The 5th they advanced to Arzelle, where they continued the 6th. That day the garrison of Antwerp surrendered upon articles; and 9 French and as many Spanish battalions, in garrison there, obtained leave to march out with all the marks of honour, and to be conducted to Quesnoy. They were to march out the 19th; which was accordingly executed. The marquis de Terracina, governor of the citadel, declared for king Charles; and his example was followed by a great many other officers, and most of the soldiers of the Spanish nation.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR,

From the year 1792 to 1814; in which the Military Transactions of each Campaign are related separately and in detail.

CAMPAIGN OF 1793.

BOOK II. CHAP. V. (continued.)

IN the meantime general Clairfayt, who had so recently distinguished himself at the battle of Nerwinden, attacked the heights of Anzain, at the head of a strong column of Imperialists. It was here that most resistance was experienced on the part of the enemy, who defended themselves with an uncommon degree of obstinacy; but the Austrians at length proved victorious, and thus obtained a post, which not only overlooked the citadel of Valenciennes, but enabled the prince de Cobourg to complete the investment of that fortress, the camp of Famars being now occupied by the English and Hanoverians.

Thus ended one of the most bloody engagements that had hitherto been fought in the course of the war. It is evident that, upon this occasion, the combined forces, by acquiring the possession of the en-

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trenched camp and the heights of Anzain, obtained the chief objects they had in view. On the other hand, it is undeniable that the French did not intend upon this occasion to fight a pitched battle; for in that case they would have defended the passage of the Ronelle instead of abandoning the fords; but it would have been unwise in the present state of affairs to have shut themselves up between two rivers, and staked the fortune of the empire on a decisive engagement. The redoubt behind the village of Famars was, however, maintained until night, when the enemy evacuated it, and after throwing a body of troops into Valenciennes, effected their retreat across the Scheldt. The Imperialists, Hanoverians, and English, particularly the brigade under major-general Abercromby, conducted themselves with distinguished bravery on this occasion; the killed and wounded on the part of the British did not exceed thirty-two; and on the whole the allies did not lose more than seven hundred men. On the other hand, nine pieces of cannon, eight baggage waggons, upwards of three hundred prisoners, and a great number of horses, were taken by them; the amount of the slain, which must have been considerable on the part of the French. was carefully concealed.

This victory enabled the combined forces to undertake the siege of Valenciennes, and press Conde still closer than before; while general Lamarche, finding himself incapable of directing the operations of the army of the north, and apprehensive, perhaps, of fresh defeats, was desirous of resigning the command. As he was entirely destitute of military talents, and did not possess the confidence of the nation, Custine was recalled from the army of the Moselle, and nominated to succeed him. But notwithstanding he had at one period displayed considerable talents in Germany, that general now found himself incapable of acquiring glory by means of troops dispirited by successive defeats, and opposed to a numerous and victorious foe. He was therefore obliged to abandon the fortresses in his vicinity to their fate; and as the enemy was provided with a formidable train of heavy artillery, their progress was rapid, and the speedy surrender of the neighbouring garrisons inevitable. Conde, after a blockade of three months by the Imperial forces, was accordingly taken possession of (July 10th) by the Prince of Wirtemburg; and the garrison, which had been greatly reduced by famine and disease, made prisoners of war.

The eyes of all Europe were fixed in the mean time upon Valenciennes, the capture of which, at this critical moment, appeared decisive of the fate of France. Some difference is said to have occurred upon this occasion relative to the mode of conducting the military operations, and an English engineer of acknowledged abilities is reported to have proposed that the body of the place should be attacked at once. But the opinion of Feld-Zeugmeister Ferraris, who had distinguished himself at the capture of the camp of Famars, and possessed the confidence of the Austrian general, prevailed; and the fortifications, erected under the direction of the great Vauban, were approached according to the es-

tablished forms. This decision, although it ensured the capture of the place, tended not a little to procrastinate the siege; and no less than forty-one days had elapsed after opening the trenches before the attack became serious. At length (July 25th), notwithstanding some vigorous sallies on the part of the enemy, the covered way, the horn-work, and the advanced fleche, were carried and taken possession of during the night. Three separate attacks, by nine hundred men each, commanded by major-general Abercromby, under the superintendance of lieutenant-general Erbach, took place upon this occasion; and after a lodgment had been effected, the necessary measures were adopted for battering the counter-guard between the horn-work and the body of the place.

Next day his royal highness summoned both the commander and the municipality, declaring at the same time that their answer would irrevocably decide the fate of the city, and that no capitulation would be afterwards granted. General Ferrand the governor, and Landu president of the sections, having demanded a truce of twenty-four hours, a negociation took place, and Valenciennes surrendered to the emperor, the garrison being allowed the honours of war.

In the course of a few days more, the French army, after a sharp engagement, was obliged to abandon the strong position behind the Scheldt, called Cæsar's camp, on which Cambray was immediately summoned; and to complete the misfortunes of France, nearly about the same time Mentz was forced to capitulate. The king of Prussia, after seizing on Costheim, and foiling an army under general Houchard, which had marched to the succour of the garrison, took such effectual measures for the reduction of this important city, that both it and Cassel were delivered up to him. The garrison was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and also to carry away their arms and baggage; it was specified, however, "that they should not serve during the space of a year against the armies of the allied powers; but as this stipulation did not extend to the insurgent departments, these troops were immediately employed against the Vendeans.

The loss of Mentz was immediately announced to the convention by Barrere; who, in his report on that occasion, attributed the misfortune solely to the treachery and intrigues of Custine, and obtained a decree that proved fatal to that general. Merlin, who had acted as one of the commissioners during the siege, after praising the gallantly of the soldiers, stated the scarcity of provisions to have been such, "that a pound of horse-flesh had been sold at two, and a dead cat at six livres." He added, "that one thousand nine hundred men were sick in the hospitals, that five thousand had fallen in the defence of the place, which could not possibly hold out three days longer; and that although the capitulation was infamous, it was the tenth that had been proposed, and the first accepted."

1815.7

A COMPLETE COLLECTION

OF

BULLETINS OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, THROUGH THE CAMPAIGNS IN THE PENINSULA.

IT is not perhaps generally known to Military Readers, that it is the annual custom of the Gazette Office, for the use of His Majesty's Ministers, to reduce all the Military and Naval Dispatches of the Year (in short all the Gazettes) into the form of Bulletins, and to publish them in a portable volume for the use of the Government. In this reduction of the Gazettes to the form of Bulletins, no other alteration is made in the original Gazette or Dispatch than that of substituting the third person instead of the first,—as instead of "I ordered the Army to march," it is changed into "the Lieutenant-General ordered the Army to march." It is greatly to be regretted, that the utility of this publication is so much limited, a few copies only being printed for the use of the Ministers of State, and none being sold or given except to those great Officers.

CAMPAIGN IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN, 1808, & 1809.

FIRST PART.—SIR JOHN MOORES CAMPAIGN.

FIRST BULLETIN

OF THE ARMY OF PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.
(Sir John Moore in command.)

Lisbon, Oct. 26, 1807.—HAVING received his Majesty's commands to put the greater portion of the army in Portugal under the orders of Sir John Moore, Sir Harry Burrard, by a General Order of October the 8th, transferred to the Lieutenant-General as follows:—

18th Light Dragoons; 3d do. do. K. G. L.; 2d Foot; 4th do.; 5th; 1st battal.6th; 9th; 20th; 1st batt. 28th; 32d; 36th; 38th; 40th; 42d; 43d; 52d; 60th; 5th batt. 71st; 1st do. 79th; 91st; 92d; 5 companies of 1st battal. 95th; 4 comps. 2d do. do; 1st light battal. K. G. L.; 2d do. do.—2 companies of staff corps.

Upon which Lieutenaut-General Sir John Moore directed that the army should be brigaded as follows:—

18th Light Dragoons, 3 do. K. G. L .- Brig. Gen. Hon. C. Stewart.

Lient. Gen. Frazer.

4th Foot, 28th ditto, 42d ditto, and 5 companies of 60th-Major-Gen. Lord W. Bentinek.

9th, 1st battal. 43d, 2d do. 52d-Major-Gen. Beresford.

Lieut.-Gen Sir John Hope.

36th, 71st, 92d, and 5 companies of 60th—Brig.-Gen. Crawford, 2d and 6th—Brig.-Gen. Acland.

5th, 32d, and 91st-Major-Gen. Hill.

Major-Gen. Hon. E. Puget.

38th, 79th, and 4 companies of 2d battal. 95th—Brig.-Gen. Fanc.

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20th, 1st battal. 52d, and 5 companies 1st battal. 95th-Brig.-General Austruther.

1st light Battal. K. G. L., 2d do. do.—Colonel Alten.

The Lieutenant-General then proceeded to execute His Majesty's orders to put his army in movement with as little delay as possible towards the north of Spain. It was in command to the Lieut.-General to send the cavalry by land, but the Lieut.-General was to use his discretion with respect to the infantry and artillery. The Lieut.-General, considering the advanced state of the season, deemed it necessary that they should move by land; and the state of the roads, and the insufficiency of the means of subsistence, rendered it equally necessary that the army should be divided, and that the divisions should move by different routes. It was accordingly determined that the army should move from Lisbon in four routes,—that Lieut.-General Hope should march by Elvas and Badajos on the Madrid road to Espinar; that Maj.-Gen. Paget should march by Elvas and Alcantara,—Maj.-Gen. Beresford by Coimbra and Almeida, and Lieut.-General Frazer by Abrantes and Almeida.

The greater part of the troops have left Lisbon at this date; and the Lieut.-General departs to-morrow. He travels by Santarem, Abrantes, and Almeida*.

SECOND BULLETIN.

Almeida, Nov. 8.—The Lieutenant-General quitted Lisbon on the 27th (October). He reached Atalaya the 5th, and Almeida this day.

In passing through the Portuguese territory, the troops have behaved with the greatest order and regularity. The people received them as became them, but considerable difficulties occurred respecting the provisioning the troops. But the activity of the Brigadier-Generals surmounted the obstacle.

Though the army, as a body, distinguished itself by its orderly conduct upon its march, some daring disorders were committed by individuals, and the Lieutenant-General found it necessary to make an example of the effects of such misconduct. One of the soldiers, being sentenced to death by a court-martial, suffered the punishment due to his crime. The Lieutenant-General lamented the necessity of discharging what belonged to him. It would have been pleasing to him to have shewed mercy to a soldier of good character, inadvertently led to a crime, but it would have been a neglect of duty to have pardoued deliberate villainy.

The Lieut-General has been in active correspondence with Colonel Graham, Mr. Stuart, and Captain Whittingham. The Lieutenant-General has to lament that their reports represent the state of the Spanish affairs to be less favourable than has been believed. He has to lament that the relative state of the French and Spanish armies is not in the favour of the latter. The French force on the Ebro is not less than 45,000, who are waiting their reinforcements behind the cover of that river. Their position is strong, their right being at Bilboa, and their left at Aybar. To oppose this force, there are two Spanish armies; the one under Castanos, hanging on the left flank of the French at Aybar, the other under Blake in Leon. These armies are destitute of every thing. Their total inactivity at the present moment is indeed no good promise of a fortunate issue. If the Spanish armies are so totally incapable of encountering the remains of the French, what is to be expected of them, when the successive reinforcements from France shall again bring

The ten first of these Bulletins were nut published in the Gazettes.

a formidable army into the field. General Blake's army in Leon, called the Army of the Left, from its position with respect to Madrid, does not exceed 18,000 men; and the army under Castanos, consisting of the united armies of Centre and Right, does not exceed 40,000.

THIRD BULLETIN.

Salamanca, Nov. 24.—The Lieutenant-General proceeded on his road without delay,—arrived at Ciudad Rodrigo on the 11th, and at Salamanca on the 19th

The Lieutenant-General was here met with the intelligence that the Estremaduran army had been routed and totally destroyed at Burgos. This army consisted of 6,000 men under the Conde Belvidere. The Count had advanced to Burgos, an open town, in front of the French army; the French had immediately followed him, and being superior in numbers and discipline, completely routed him.

On the 15th, two days after the preceding intelligence, the Lieut.-General received an express from Pignatelli, the governor of the province, that the enemy had advanced, and were already in possession of the city of Valladolid-

On the following day, the 16th, the further intelligence arrived, that General Blake's army in Biscay had been defeated and dispersed. Two armies have thus been destroyed since the arrival of the Lieutenant-General in Salamanca. Under such circumstances the junction of this army has become extremely precarious. Should the French advance before it is effected, Sir David Baird will have to fall back upon Corunna, and the commander of the forces must either fall back upon Portugal, or join Lieutenant-General Hope, and return upon Madrid.

The regiments began to arrive in Salamanca on the 13th, and have continued to come in daily by corps in succession. The three divisions of infantry, which marched with Lieutenant-General Frazer, Major-Generals Paget and Beresford, are now all here, together with one brigade of artillery, which with infinite difficulty, followed the road by Abrantes and Castel Branco.

The troops have performed their march well, in spite of the worst weather and roads. Their appearance now is as good, and their fitness for service better, than when they left Lisbon. Their conduct both here and on the road has been exemplary. This is equally honourable to themselves and to the Generals and officers who conducted the marches.

Lieutenant-General Hope, with the corps which marched from Badajos in the direction of Madrid, will arrive with the head of his division at Arevalo on the 25th (to-morrow); the Lieut.-General has ordered it to halt and close up in that town. The first of the troops under Sir David Baird, from Corunna, reached Astorga on the 13th, and the whole will be assembled there about the 5th of December, before which time Lieutenant-General Hope's corps will also be collected at Arcvalo.

The Lieutenant-General therefore expects the junction of the army to be effected early in the ensuing menth.

The French, having defeated the Estremaduran army, and General Blake, are at Burgos, and already overrun the country in our front. There is but one Spanish army now remaining—that of Castanos.

FOURTH BULLETIN.

Salamanca, Nov. 29.—The Lieut.-General received yesterday evening a letter from Mr. Stuart, inclosing one from Lieut-Col. Doyle, from Aranjues, announcing the total defeat of the army of Castanos and Palafox. This intelligence has necessarily altered the previous plan of the campaign. The Lieutecant-General understands that the British troops were sent in aid of the Spanish armies, but not singly to resist France, if the Spaniards make no efforts. By persevering longer he would sacrifice the army without benefitting Spain. He has therefore resolved to retire. He has ordered Sir David Baird to fail back on Corunna, and General Hope, by forced marches, to join him at this place. The Spaniards have failed not so much from any fault, or weakness in the people, as from the want of energy and ability in the government. Sir David Baird, when embarked, is to proceed to the Tagus.

FIFTH BULLETIN.

Salumanca, December 5.—Lieut.-Gen. Hope, having received the orders of the Commander of the Forces given in consequence of the defeat of Castanos, marched to Aviia, and reached Alba de Tormes, four leagues from Salamanca, yesterday: his junction is thus secured, and the army, upon his arrival, will fail back on Cindan Rodrigo. The enemy has directed his whole force towards Madrid, by which the army will have time to reach Portugal unmolested.

Buonaparte is at Aranda de Duero. Reinforcements join him daily. The French attacked and carried the pass of Somo Sierra on the 27th, which opens to them that of the Guadarrama, and they are in possession of Segovia. The few Spanish corps opposed to them are composed of fugitives collected from the beaten armies.

The Lieutenant-General's last communication with Madrid was on the 30th of November; the inhabitants had then taken up arms, were barricading the streets, and expressed a determination rather to die than to submit.

As long as there remained an army, and any hope or means of resistance on the part of the Spaniards, the Lieut.-Gen. was resolved to persevere at all risks. But the total defeat of all the Spanish armies has left 'he British army to stand aloue, and the Lieut.-Gen. therefore feels it his duty not to expose it to so perilous a contest. It may fairly be said that the British army never reached Spain; it cannot in the true sense be called an army until it is united and prepared to act; the Spanish forces were defeated, and the cause lost, before the British so constituted could come up to their assistance.

Since the former part of this Bulletin was written, a letter has been received from Mr. Frere, in which he expresses very considerable hopes from the enthusiastic manner in which the people of Madrid resist the French. The Lieut.-General cannot concur in these hopes, but in deference to the general opinion, and he has ordered Sir David Baird to suspend his march. But he will not feel himself justified in leading his army towards Madrid till he shall have learned with more certainty the force of the enemy.

SIXTH BULLETIN.

Salamanca, Dec. 10, 1808.—Colonel Graham, whom the Lieut.-General had sent to Madrid, returned to the army last night. He could only get as far as Talayers de la Reina, where he found two members of the Supreme Junta, who informed him that Madrid had capitulated on the third. The Duke of

Castelfranco and M. Morla, who were at the head of the Junta established at Madrid, are accused by the people of betraying them. Castellar, the Captain-General, and all the military officers of rank, refused to ratify the treaty, and left the town with ten pieces of cannon. The people refuse to give up their arms, but the French have the gates. Saragossa still holds out, and they repulsed the French in a general attack on the 1st.

As this state of affairs seems to afford a chance, the Lieut-General deems it his duty to support it. He feels himself moreover very differently situated from what he was when Castanos was defeated. He has now been joined by General Hope, the artillery, and all the cavalry; his junction with Sir David Baird is likewise secure. Madrid, though it has capitulated, must still engage a considerable part of the enemy's force; Saragossa is also a considerable diversion, and the force collecting in the south cannot be neglected. The enemy, therefore, cannot direct against us all his force.

Under these circumstances, it is the intention of the Lieut-General to move upon Valladolid. This movement he will begin to-morrow, by sending two corps to join Lord Paget at Toro. Generals Hope and Frazer will move on Tordesillas.

The army, for its number, is excellent, and will do its duty.

The object of this movement upon Valladolid is to threaten the French communications, and to create a diversion, of which it is hoped that the Spaniards will avail themselves. But it will remove the British army from its communication with Almeida, and therefore compel us to attend to our other line,—that from this place towards Corunna. If the army be forced to retreat, it will be upon the Gallicias. The road is good, and the country capable of heing defended. Whatever ships are sent from England for the purpose of withdrawing the army, should call at Corunna for orders, and then rendezvous at Vigo.

The actual French force in Spain is 80,000 men, besides what are in Catalonia. The British is 28,000.

SEVENTH BULLETIN.

Toro, December 16.—The army moved from Salamenca to Alaejos, in its march to Valladolid, on the 13th. It would have proceeded another march in that direction on the following day, when a letter was intercepted from Marshal Soult. The contents determined the Lieut.-General to prefer the speedy union of the army to every other consideration; and therefore, instead of Valladolid, the army has proceeded to Toro. Sir David Baird is pushing on his corps by brigades, to Benavente; the first arrived there yesterday, and the brigade of Guards will reach it this day. The army marches from Toro to-morrow, and will take up a position within six or seven miles of Benavente. This will effect the union with Sir David Baird. Marshal Soult will then either await in his position at Sahagun, or approach us. The army will feel itself indebted to him for either. But too much effect must not be expected from any success of this kind. It will be more honourable to the army than useful to the Spaniards: The cause is too far gone.

Our advanced posts have already met. Gen. Charles Strart, with a detachment of the 10th Light Dragoons, on the night of the 12th, surprised a detachment of the cavalry and infantry in the v llage of Rueda, and killed and took prisoners the greatest part of them. The affair was conducted by the Erig. General with much address, and was executed with spirit by the officers

and men. The enemy's troops were a detachment from Valladolid, where General Franchesi commanded with about 300 cavalry. He had no knowledge of our being so near, and would not believe one of the men who escaped from the village in the dark, and carried to him the report of the surprise and defeat of the detachment.

The Marquis Romana is still at Leon. His army consists of about 20,000 men, but three thousand of them are unarmed, and all in a bad condition The fugitives of the Spanish armies are spread over the country.

EIGHTH BULLETIN.

Benavente, December 28th, 1808.—Since the 16th, the army has been constantly marching through snow, and with cold that has been very intense. The weather within these few days has turned to rain, which is much more uncomfortable than the cold, and has rendered the roads almost impassable. On the 21st the army reached Sahagun, and halted there to refresh the men.

The Lieut.-General here received information, that Marshal Soult was at Saldanha with about 16,000 men, having his posts along the river from Guarda to Carrion. Upon this, the Lt.-General, resolving to attack him without delay, ordered the army to hold itself in readiness to march in two columns at eight o'clock in the evening of the 23d. But at six in the evening he received information that considerable reinforcements had arrived at Carrion from Palencia; as likewise a letter from Marquis Romana, informing the Lt.-General that the French were advancing from Madrid either to Valladolid or Salamanca. It was seen therefore that it was now too late to prosecute the attempt upon Marshal Soult; and that it was necessary to secure a retreat.

It was accordingly immediately commenced. On the following morning, Lt.-Generals Hope and Frazer, with their divisions, marched to Mayorga. Sir David Baird was sent to pass the river at Valentia, and on the 25th the Commander of the forces followed with the reserve and light brigades by Mayorga and Valderas, to Benavente. The cavalry, under Lord Paget, followed the reserve on the 26th, and both of these latter corps entered Benavente yesterday. The march upon Astorga will be continued without delay.

The infantry of the enemy, though very near, have not as yet come up, but their cavalry is round us in great numbers. They are kept in check by our cavalry, which, by their spirit and enterprize, have obtained a great ascendency over that of the Freuch.

The roads are bad, and the means of carriage scanty. It will be difficult to save the stores. The force moving against us is at least double that of our own. We shall be about 27,000 when we reach Astorga; the enemy about 50,000. Buonaparte, with 10,000 of his guards, is said to be with them.

The cavalry has been the only part of the army which has been engaged with the enemy, The Lt.-General speaks of it in the warmest terms. B. General Stuart has continued greatly to distinguish himself. Lord Paget has had a most important affair. On the march to Sahagun his Lordship had information of six or seven hundred cavalry being in that town. On the night of the 20th he marched to attack them with the 10th and 15th Hussars. The 10th marched straight to the town, whilst Lord Paget, with the 15th, endeavoured to turn it. Unfortunately, he fell in with a patrole, one of whom escaped, and gave the alarm. By this means the French had time to form the outside of the town, before Lord Paget got round. He immediately charged them; beat them, and took from 140 to 150 prisoners, amongst whom were two Lt.-Colo-

nels, and eleven officers. The loss on our part has been six or eight men killed, and about twenty wounded.

Since our march from Salamanca, the cavalry has taken about four or five hundred from the French. On his march from Sahagun, on the 26th, Lord Paget attacked a detachment of their cavalry at Mayorga; he killed twenty and took an hundred prisoners. Our cavalry is very superior in quality to any of the French, and the right spirit has been infused into them by the example and instruction of their two leaders, Lord Paget and B. General Stuart.

NINTH BULLETIN.

Astorya, December 31st, 1808.—The Commander of the Forces arrived here yesterday. He found the Marquis Romana and army in the town. The state of his troops is wretched beyond description. The Lt.-General had requested him to destroy the bridge of Mansanilla. The Marquis preferred to post some troops upon it to defend it. They were taken prisoners by the French.

The army continues its retreat. The Lt.-General pushes on the troops by divisions without stopping. Lt.-General Frazer will be at Villa Franca this day, and will proceed on Lugo. General Hope, with his division, stopped yesterday at Astorga, and proceeds this morning, followed by Sir David Baird. The two flank companies will go by the road to Ponferada. The Lt.-General, with the reserve and cavalry, will follow to morrow to Villa Franca.

There is no means of carriage, and the Commander of the Forces has in consequence been obliged to destroy great part of the ammunition and military stores. For the same reason he has been compelled to leave the sick. The sole object is now to save the army.

The morning the head-quarters left Benavente, some squadrons of Buonaparte's guards passed the river at a ford above the bridge. They were attacked by B. General Stuart at the head of the picquets of the 18th, and Sd German Legion, and driven across the ford. Their Colonel, a General of Division, Lefebvre, was taken, together with about 70 officers and men. The affair was well contested. The numbers with which General Stuart attacked were inferior to the French. It is the corps of the greatest character in their army; but the superiority of the British was very conspicuous.

The French General Lefebvre is sent to Corunna to be forwarded to England. It is impossible to deny that the discipline of the army is affected by the effects of the retreat; the shoes and necessaries are destroyed, and for some time after it reaches the coast the men will be in the worst state.

TENTH BULLETIN.

Cornna, January 13th, 1809.—The army has effected its retreat to this place. The effects of the late movements certainly greatly injured its discipline, but when there was a prospect of fighting the enemy, the men became orderly, seemed pleased, and determined to do their duty.

The French came up with the reserve in front of Villa Franca. They attacked it Calcabelos. The Lt.-General retired covered by the 95th regiment, and marched that night to Herrerias, and thence to Nogales and Lugo, where the Commander of the Forces had ordered the different divisions which preceded to halt and collect.

At Lugo the enemy again came up; they attacked our advanced posts on the 6th and 7th, and were repulsed in both attempts with little loss on our side. The Commander of the Forces was informed by the prisoners, that three divisions of the French army, commanded by Marshal Soult, were come up. He therefore expected to be attacked on the morning of the 8th. It was his wish to come to that issue. He had perfect confidence in the valour of his troops, and it was only by crippling the enemy that he could hope either to retreat or to embark unmolested. He therefore made every preparation to receive the attack, and drew out the army in the morning to offer battle. But this was not the object of the French Marshal; he either did not think himself sufficiently strong, or he deemed it a surer and more military measure to attack us on our march or during our embarkation. And the country being intersected, and his position very strong, the Commander of the Forces did not deem it prudent to make the attack himself against a superior force. The want of provisions rendered it impossible to wait longer. The army accordingly marched in the night; and in two forced marches, bivouacking for six or eight hours in the rain, reached Betanzos on the 10th instant.

The Commander of the Forces reached Corunna on the 11th; he had gained several marches on the French, and if the transports had arrived, could have effected the embarkation with little interruption. The French have now come up with us, and the position is a bad one. Corunna, if we are forced to retire into it, is commanded within musquet shot, and the harbour will be so commanded by cannon on the coast that no ship will be able to live in it.

It has been recommended to the Commander of the Forces to make a proposal to the enemy to induce him to allow the army to embark without molestation, in which case he gets us out of the country soon, and gets this town with its stores, &c. complete; whilst otherwise we may make a long defence, by which the town will be destroyed. The Commander of the Forces is averse to make any such proposal; and is exceedingly doubtful whether it would be attended with any good effect. In all events he will accept no terms which are in the least dishonourable to the army, or to the country.

The Commander of the Forces has sent B. General Stuart to England to explain this state of the army to the Government.

ELEVENTH BULLETIN.

Ville de Paris, at sea, Jan. 18, 1809.—By the much-lamented death of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who fell in action with the enemy on the 16th it has become the duty of Lieut.-Gen. Baird to inform His Majesty's Government, that the French army attacked the British troops in the position they occupied in front of Corunna at about two o'clock in the afternoon of that day.

A severe wound, which compelled Lieut.-General Baird to quit the field a short time previous to the fall of Sir John Moore, obliges the Lieut.-Gen. to refer his Majesty's Government for the particulars of the action, which was long and obstinately contested, to the inclosed report of Lieut.-General Hope, who succeeded to the command of the army, and to whose ability and exertions, in the direction of the zeal and unconquerable valour of His Majesty troops, is to be attributed, under Providence, the success of the day, which terminated in the complete and entire repulse and defeat of the enemy at every point of attack.

REPORT.

Audacious, off Corunna, Jan. 18, 1809.—Sir,—In compliance with the desire contained in your communication of yesterday, I avail myself of the first

moment I have been able to command, to detail to you the occurrences of the action which took place in front of Corunna, on the 16th inst.

It will be in your recollection, that about one in the afternoon of that day, the enemy, who had in the morning received reinforcements, and who had placed some guns in the front of the right and left of his line, was observed to be moving troops towards his left flank, and forming various columns of attack at the extremity of the strong and communding position, which, on the morning of the 15th, he had taken in our immediate front.

This indication of his intention was immediately succeeded by the rapid and determined attack which he made upon your division, which occurred the right of our position. The events which occurred during that period of the action you are fully acquainted with. The first effort of the enemy was met by the Commander of the Forces, and by yourself, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Major-General Lord William Bentinck.

The village on your right became an object of obstinate contest.

I lament to say, that soon after the severe wound which deprived the army of your services, Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able dispositions, fell by a cannon-shot. The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dismoved, but by the most determined bravery not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged.

The enemy, finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement, which was made by Major-General Paget, with the reserve, which had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, by a vigorous attack, defeated this intention. The Major-General having pushed forward the 95th (rifle corps) and 1st battalion 52d regiments, drove the enemy before him, and in his rapid and judicious advance, threatened the left of the enemy's position. This circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-General Frazer's division, (calculated to give still further security to the right of the line) induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter.

They were, however, more forcibly directed towards the centre, where they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-General Manningham, forming the left of your division, and a part of that under Major-General Leith, forming the right of the division under my orders. Upon the left, the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon our pickets, which, however, in general maintained their ground. Finding however his efforts unavailing on the right and centre, he seemed determined to render the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line. From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the 2d battalion 14th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholis; before five in the evening we had not only repelled every attack made upon the position, but had gained ground in almost all points, and occupied a more forward line than at the commencement of the action, whilst the enemy confined its operations to a cannonade, and the fire of his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing entirely ceased. The different brigades were re-assembled on the ground they occupied in the marning, and the pickets and advanced posts resumed their original stations.

Notwithstanding the decided and marked superiority which at this moment the galiantry of the troops had given them over an enemy, who from his number, and the commanding advantages of his position, no doubt expected an easy victory; I did not, on reviewing all circumstances, conceive that I should be warranted in departing from what I knew was the fixed and previous determination of the late Commander of the Forces, to withdraw the army on the evening of the 16th, for the purpose of emberkation, the previous arrangements for which had already been made by his order, and were, in fact, far advanced at the commencement of the action. The troops quitted their position about ten at night, with a degree of order that did them credit. The whole of the artiflery that remained unembarked having been withdrawn. the troops followed in the order prescribed, and marched to their respective points of embarkation in the town and neighbourhood of Corunna. The pickets remained at their posts until five on the morning of the 17th, when they were also withdrawn with similar orders, and without the enemy having discovered the movement.

By the unremitted exertions of Captains the Hon. H. Curzon, Gosselin, Boys, Rainier, Serrett, Hawkins, Digby, Carden, and Mackenzie, of the royal navy, who, in pursuance of the orders of Rear-Admiral de Courcy, were entrusted with the service of embarking the army; and in consequence of the arrangements made by Commissioner Bowen, Captains Bowen and Shepard, and the other agents for transports, the whole of the army were embarked with an expedition which has seldom been equalled. With the exception of the brigades under M. jor-Generals Hill and Beresford, which were destined to remain on shore, until the movements of the enemy should become manifest, the whole was affoat before day-light.

The brigade of Major-General Beresford, which was alternately to form our rear-guard, occupied the land fronting the town of Corunna; that under M-jor-General Hill was stationed in reserve on the promontory in rear of the town.

The enemy pushed his light troops towards the town soon after eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th, and shortly after occupied the heights of St. Lucis, which command the harbour. But notwithstanding this circumstance, and the manifold defects of the place, there being no apprehension that the rear-guard could be forced, and the disposition of the Spaniards appearing to be good, the embarkation of Major-General Hill's brigade was commenced and completed by three in the afternoon; Major-General Beresford, with that zeal and ability which is so well known to yourself and the whole army, having fully explained, to the satisfaction of the Spanish governor, the nature of our movement, and having made every previous arrangement, withdrew his corps from the land front of the town soon after dark, and was, with all the wounded that had not been previously moved, embarked before one this morning.

Circumstances forbid us to include the hope that the victory with which it has pleased Providence to crown the efforts of the army, can be attended with any very brilliant consequences to Great Britain. It is clouded by the loss of one of her best soldiers. It has been achieved at the termination of a long and harassing service. The superior numbers, and advantageous position of the enemy, not less than the actual situation of the army, did not admit of any advantage being reaped from success. It must be however to you, to the army, and to our country, the sweetest reflection, that the lustre of the British arms has been maintained, amidst many disadvantageous circum-

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stances. The army which had entered Spain, amidst the fairest prospects, had no sooner completed its junction, than, owing to the multiplied disasters that dispersed the native armies around us, it was left to its own resources. The advance of the British corps from the Duero, afforded the best hope that the south of Spain might be relieved, but this generous effort to save the unfortunate people, also afforded the enemy the opportunity of directing every effort of his numerous troops, and concentrating all his principal resources for the destruction of the only regular force in the north of Spain.

You are well aware with what diligence this has been pursued.

These circumstances produced the necessity of rapid and harassing marches, which had diminished the numbers, exhausted the strength, and impaired the equipment of the army. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, and those more immediately attached to a defensive position, which the imperious necessity of covering the harbour of Corunna for a time had rendered it indispensable to assume, the native and undannted valour of British troops was never more conspicuous, and must have exceeded what even your own experience of that invaluable quality, so inherent in them, may have taught you to expect. When every one that had an opportunity seemed to vie in improving it, it is difficult for me, in making this report, to select particular instances for your approbation. The corps chiefly engaged were the brigades under Major-Generals Lord William Bentinck, Manningham, and Leith; and the brigade of guards under Major-General Warde.

To these efficers, and the troops under their immediate orders, the greatest praise is due. Major-General Hill, and Colonel Catin Crawford, with their brigades on the left of the position, ably supported their advanced posts. The brunt of the action fell upon the 4th, 42d, 50th, and \$1st regts, with parts of the brigade of guards, and the 26th regiment. From Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, quarter-master-general, and the officers of the general staff, I received the most marked assistance. I had reason to regret, that the illness of Brigadier-General Clinton, adjutant-general, deprived me of his aid. I was indebted to Brigadier-General Slade during the action, for a zealous offer of his personal services, although the cavalry were embarked.

The greater part of the fleet having gone to sea yesterday evening, the whole being under weigh, and the corps, in the embarkation, necessarily mixed on board, it is impossible, at present, to lay before you a return of our casualties. I hope the loss in numbers is not so considerable as might have been expected. If I was obliged to form an estimate, I should say, that I believe it din not exceed, in killed and wounded, from seven to eight hundred; that of the enemy must remain unknown, but many circumstances induce me to rate it at double the above number. We have some prisoners, but I have not been able to obtain an account of their number; it is not, however, considerable. Several officers of rank have fallen, or been wounded, among whom I am only at present enabled to state the names of Licutenant-Colonel Napier, 92d regiment, Majors Napier and Stanhope, 50th regiment, killed; Lieutenant-Colonel Winch, 4th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, 26th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Griffith, guards, Majors Miller and Williams, 81st regiment, wounded.

To you, who are well acquainted with the excellent qualifies of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, I need not expatiate on the loss the army and his country have sustained by his death. His fail has deprived me of a valuable friend, to whom long experience of his worth had sincerely attached me. But

it is chiefly on public grounds that I must lament the blow. It will be the convers tion of every one who loved or respected his manly character, that, after conducting the army through an arduous retreat, with consummate firmness, he has terminated a career of distinguished honour by a death that has given the enemy additional reason to respect the name of a British soldier. Like the immortal Wosse, he is snatched from his country at an early period of a life spent in her service; like Wolse, his last moments were gilded by the prospect of success, and cheered by the acclamation of victory; like Wolse, also, his memory will for ever remain sacred in that country which he loved, and which he had so faithfully served.

It remains for me only to express my hope, that you will speedily be restored to fine service of your country, and to lement the unfortunate circumstance that removed you from your station in the field, and threw the momentary command into far less abler hands. I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN HOPE, Lieut.-Gen.

Lient.-Gen. Sir David Baird, &c. &c.

OFFICIAL NARRATIVES

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS OF BUONAPARTE,

SINCE THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

BEING A COMPLETE COLLECTION OF THE WHOLF OF THE BULLETINS
PUBLISHED BY BUONAPARTE TO HIS ABDICATION.

IT is the well known opinion of some of our ablest Generals, that the French Bulletins of Buonaparte contain the most complete practical lessons of modern warfare, and with a due allowance for some exaggeration, include the fullest narrative of the most memorable campaigns on record. A wish, therefore, has often been expressed that they were all published in one form, so as to form a portable manual as well for future reference as for present study. It is our present purpose to effect this. In this, and in the following numbers of the Chronicle, we shall accordingly give a complete collection of the whole of the Bulletins published by Buonaparte. This began only in the first Campaign after he was Emperor. The form of a Bulletin being considered in foreign Cabinets as belonging only to Sovereigns.

CAMPAIGN IN PRUSSIA OF 1806-1807.

TREATY BETWEEN PRUSSIA AND FRANCE.

Conditions of Peace between his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and his Majesty the King of Prussia. Done at Tilsitz, July 9, 1807.

HIS Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, animated with the same desire of putting an end to the calamities of war, for that purpose appointed plenipotentiaries, namely; on the part of his Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, M. Ch. Maurice Talleyrand, Prince of Beneveuto, his Great Chamber-

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lain, and Minister for Foreign Affairs, &c. &c.; and on that of his Majesty the King of Prassia, M. Marshal Count de Kalkreuth, Knight of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, and Count Von Golz, his Privy Counsel or, Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and Knight of the Prussian Order of the Black Eagle; who after the exchange of their several full powers, have agreed on the following articles:—

: Art. I. From the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, there shall be perfect peace and anity between the King of Prussia and the Emperor of France.

II. The part of the Duchy of Magdeburg which lies on the right bank of the Elbe; the Mark of Preignitz, the Ukermark, and the new Mark of Brandeaburg, with the exception of the Circle of Colbus, in Lower Lusatia; the Duchy of Pomerania; Upper, Lower, and New Silesia, with the County of Glotz; the part of the district of Mess which lies to the road from Driesen to Schneidesmuhl, and to the north of a due passing from Schneidesmuhl, by Wood u, to the Vistuta, and to the frontier of the Circle of Bromberg Pomerelia; the Island of Nogat, and the country on the right bank of the Vistula and the Nogat, to the west of Old Prussia; and to the Circle Culmer: finally, the kingdom of Prassia, as it was on the 1st of January, 1772, shall be restored to his Mejesty the King of Prussia, with the fortresses of Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Glogau, Brestew, Schweidnitz, Niesse, Brieg-Cosel, and Glaz; and, in general, all the places, citadels, castles, and forts of the above mentioned, shall be restored in the state in which they at present are: the town and citadel of Graudentz, with the villages of Neudorf, Parschken, and Schwierkorzy, shall likewise be restored to his Majesty the King of Prussia.

III. His Majesty the King of Prussia acknowledges his Majesty the King of Naples, Joseph Napoleon, and his Majesty the King of Holland, Louis Napoleon.

IV. His Majesty the King of Prussia in like manner acknowledges the Confederation of the Rhine, and the present state of the possessions of the sovereigns of which it is composed, and the titles which have been bestowed on them, either by the act of confederation, or by the subsequent treaties. His said Majesty likewise engages to acknowledge those sovereigns who, in future, shall become members of the said Confederation, and the titles they may receive by their treaties of accession.

V. The present Treaty of Peace and Amity shall be in common for his Majesty the King of Naples, Joseph Napoleon, for his Majesty the King of Holland, and for the Sovereigns of the Confederation of the Rhine, the allies of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

· VI. His Majesty the King of Prussia, in like manner, acknowledges his Imperial Highness Prince Jerome Napoleon as King of Westphalia.

VII. His Majesty the King of Prussia cedes, in full right of property and sovereignity to the Kings, Grand Dukes and Dukes, and Princes, who shall be pointed out by his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, all the Duchies, Margravates, Principalities, Counties, and Lordships, and in general, all the territories and domains, and all territorial property of whatever kind, or by whatever title possessed, by his Majesty the King of Prussia, between the Rhine and the Elbe, at the commencement of the present war.

VIII. The kingdom of Westphalia shall consist of the provinces ceded by his Majesty the King of Prussia, and of other states which are at present in possession of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

IX. The arrangements which his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall make in the countries alluded to in the two preceding articles, and the occupation of the same by those sovereigns in whose favour he shall make such arrangements, shall be acknowledged by his Majesty the King of Prussia in the same manner as if they were contained and stipulated in the present treaty.

X. His Majesty the King of Prussia renounces for himself, his heirs, and successors, all actual or future right which he has or may require. 1. To all territory without exception situated between the Elbe and the Rhine, and in general to all not described in Article VII. 2. To all possessions of his Majesty the King of Saxony and of the House of Anhalt, situate on the right bank of the Elbe. On the other hand, all rights or claims of the states situate between the Rhine and the Elbe to the possession of his Majesty the King of Prussia, as they are defined by the present Treaty, shall be for ever extinguished and annulled.

XI. All negociations, conventions, or treaties of alliance, that may have been publicly or privately concluded between Prussia and any States on the left bank of the Elbe, and which have not been broken by the present war, shall remain without effect, and be considered as null and not concluded.

XII. His Majesty the King of Prussia cedes the Circle of Colbus, in Lower Lusatia, to his Majesty the King of Saxony, with full right of proprietorship and sovereignty.

XIII. His Majesty the King of Prussia renounces for ever possession to all the provinces which formerly constituted parts of the kingdom of Poland, have at different periods come under the dominion of Prussia, excepting Ermeland, and the country to the west of Ancient Prussia, to the east of Pomerania and the Newark, to the north of the Circle of Halm, and a line which passes from the Vistuia by Waldau to Schneidesmuhl, and passes along the boundaries of Bromberg and the road from the Schneidesmuhl to Driesen, which provinces, with the town and citadel of Graudentz, and the villages of Neudorf, Parschken, and Swiethorzy, shall in future be possessed, with all rights of proprietorship and sovereignty, by his Majesty the King of Prussia.

XIV. His Majesty the King of Prussia renounces in like manner, for ever, possession of the city of Dantzic.

XV. The provinces which his Majesty the King of Prussia renounces in the 13th article, with exception of the territories mentioned in the 18th article, shall be possessed with right of property and sovereignty by his Majesty the King of Saxony, under the title of a Dukedom of Warsaw, and governed according to a constitution which shall secure the liberties and privileges of the people of that duchy, and be conformable to the tranquillity of the neighbouring states.

XVI. To secure a connection and communication between the kingdom of Saxony and the duchy of Warsaw, the free use of a military road shall be granted to the King of Saxony through the states of his Majesty the King of Prussia. This road, the number of troops which shall pass through it at one time, and the places at which they shall halt, shall be settled by a particular agreement between the two sovereigns, under the mediation of France.

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XVII. The navigation of the river Ness, and the canal of Bromberg, from Driesen to the Vistula and back, shall remain free from any toll.

XVIII. In order to establish, as much as possible, natural boundaries between Russia and the duchy of Warsaw, the territory between the present boundaries of Russia, from the Berg, to the month of the Lassosna, and a line which passes from the said mouth, and along the channel of that river, the channel of the Bobro to its mouth, the channel of the Narew from its mouth to Suradz, the channel of the Lisa to its source near the village of Mien, and of the two neighbouring arms of the Nurzuck, rising near that village, and the channel of the Nurzuck itself to its mouth; and lastly, along the channel of the Rug, up the stream to the present boundaries of Russia, shall for ever be incorporated with the Russian empire.

XIX. The city of Dautzic, with a territory of two miles circumference, shall be restored to its former independence, under the protection of his Majesty the King of Prussia and the King of Saxony, and be governed by the rules by which it was governed when it ceased to be its own mistress.

XX. Neither his Majesty the King of Prussia, nor his Majesty the King of Saxony, shall obstruct the navigation of the Vistula by any prohibition, nor by any customs, duty, or imposts whatsoever.

XXI. The city, port, and territory of Dantzic, shall be shut up during thepresent maritime war against the trade and navigation of Great Britain.

XXII. No individual of any rank or description whatsoever, whose property and abode are situated in such provinces as formerly belonged to the kingdom of Poland, or which the King of Prussia is henceforth to possess; and no individual of the duchy of Warsaw, or residing within the territory incorporated with Russia, or possessing any landed property, rents, annuities, or any income whatsoever, shall either with regard to his person, his estates, rents, annuities, and income, nor with respect to his rank and dignities, be prosecuted on account of any part which he may have taken, either in a political or military point of view, in the event of the present war.

XXIII. In the same manner, no individual residing or possessing landed property in the countries which belonged to the King of Prussia, prior to the 1st of January, 1772, and which are restored to him by virtue of the preceding second article; and, in particular, no individual of the Berlin civic guard or of the gens d'armes, who have taken up arms in order to maintain tranquillity, shall be prosecuted in his person, his estates, rents, annuities, or any income whatsoever, on account of any part which he may have taken in the events of the present war, or be subjected to any inquiry.

XXIV. The arrangements, debts, or obligations of any nature whatsoever, which his Majesty the King of Prussia may have contracted or concluded, prior to the present war, as possessor of the countries, dominions, and revenues, which his Majesty cedes and renounces in the present treaty, shall be performed and satisfied by the new possessors, without any exception or reservation whatsoever.

XXV. The funds and capitals which belong to private persons, or public religion, civil or military associations, countries of his Majesty the King of Prussia, or, which he renounces by the private treaty, whether the said capitals be vested in the Bank of Berlin, in the chest of the territory of Noviltrade, or in any other manner, in the dominions of the King of Prussia, shall neither be confiscated nor attached by the proprietors of the funds or capitals, shall be at liberty to dispose of the same, and they are to continue to enjoy the interest

thereof, whether such interest be already due, or may yet become due at the periods stipulated in the conventions or bonds; the same shall, on the other side, be observed with regard to all funds and capitals which are vested by private individuals, or public institutions whatsoever, in such countries which are ceded or renounced by his Prussian Majesty by virtue of the present treaty.

XXVI. The archives which contain the titles of property, documents, and in general all the papers which relate to the countries, territories, dominions, as well as the maps and plans of the strong places, citadels, castles, and forts seated in the above-mentioned countries, are to be delivered up by commissioners of his said Majesty, within the time of three months next ensuing the exchange of the ratification of this treaty, to commissioners of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, with regard to the countries sented on the left bank of the Rhine; and to commissioners of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, of the King of Saxony, and of the city of Dantzic, with regard to all the countries which their said Majesties and the city of Dantzic are in future to possess, by virtue of the present compact.

XXVII. Until the day of the ratification of the future definitive treaty of peace between France and England, all the countries under the dominion of His Majesty the King of Prussia, without any exception whatsoever, shall be shut against the trade and navigation of the English. No shipment to be made from any Prussian port for the British Isles or British colonies; nor shall any ship which sailed from England, or her colonies, be admitted in any Prussian port.

XXVIII. The necessary arrangements shall immediately be made to settle every point which relates to the manner and period of the surrender of the places which are to be restored to his Majesty the King of Prussia, and to the civil and military administration of the said countries.

XXIX. The prisoners of war taken on both sides are to be returned without any exchange and in mass, as soon as circumstances shall admit.

XXX. The present treaty is to be ratified by his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and by his Majesty the King of Prussia, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Kænigsberg by the undersigned, within the time of six days next ensuing the signing of the treaty.

Done at Tilsitz, the 9th of July, 1807.

(Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND, Prince of Benevento. Count Kalkreuth, Field-Marshal.

AUGUSTUS COUNT GOLTZ.

The ratifications of this treaty were exchanged at Kœnigsberg, on the 12th July, 1807.

End of the Campaign in Prussia of 1806-1807.

LONDON GAZETTES .- CAMPAIGN OF 1815.

AS the strong interest for present events renders it impossible to defer the Gazettes of the Campaign of 1815, which is now commenced, we have accordingly begun them. The interrupted thread of the former Gazettes will shortly be continued in a few pages set aside for the purpose.



The London Gazette.

Published by Authority.

Tuesday, July 4, 1815.

Downing-street, July 4.—EXTRACT of a dispatch from the Duke of Wellington, dated Orville, June 28.

THE citadel of Cambray surrendered on the evening of the 25th inst. and the King of France proceeded there with his Court and his troops on the 26th, I have given that fort over entirely to his Majesty.—I attacked Peronne, with the 1st brigade of guards, under Major-gen. Maitland, on the 26th in the afternoon. The troops took the hornwork, which covers the suburb on the left of the Somme, by storm, with but small loss; and the town immediately afterwards surrendered, on condition that the garrison should lay down their arms and be allowed to return to their homes.—The troops on this occasion behaved remarkably well; and I have great pleasure in reporting the good conduct of a battery artillery of the troops of the Netherlands. I have placed in garrison there two battalions of the troops of the King of the Netherlands.—The armies under Marshal Blucher and myself have continued their operations since I last wrote to your Lordship. The necessity which I was under of halting at Cateau, to allow the pontons and certain stores to reach me, and to take Cambray and Peronne, had placed Marshal Blucher one march before me; but I conceive there is no danger in this separation between the two armies. He has one corps this day at Crespy, with detachments at Villars Coterets and La Ferte Milon; another at Senlis; and the fourth corps, under Gen. Bulow, towards Paris: he will have his advanced guard to-morrow at St. Denis and Gonasse. The army under my command has this day its right behind St. Just, and its left behind Taub, where the high road from Compeigne joins the high road from Roye to Paris.—The reserve is at Roye.—We shall be upon the Oise to-morrow.—It appears by all accounts, that the Enemy's corps collected at Soissons, and under Marshal Grouchy, have not yet retired upon Paris; and Marshal Blucher's troops are already between them and that city.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE

Of TUESDAY, July 4.

Foreign-Office, July 5.—Extract of a Dispatch from Wm. A'Court, esq. his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the King of the Two Sicilies, to Viscount Castlereagh, dated Naples, June 17.

His Sicilian Majesty made this day his public entry into his capital, after an absence of nine years. The crowd that througed the road all the way from Portici was immense, and nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of the people on the appearance of the legitimate Monarch. It was impossible to mistake the public feeling upon this occasion. The theatrical processions of Murat drew crowds, as I am told, of curious spectators; but curiosity was not the inducement here: in every countenance might be read the honest expression of heartfelt joy at the return of a beloved and native Sovereign. His Majesty was received, on his arrival at the Palace, by all the principal Nobility of the country, the great majority of whom appeared to partake of the enthusiasm which had been previously demonstrated by the lower classes. In fact, never was national joy so unequivocally and so universally displayed.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Burghersh to Viscount Castlereagh, dated Naples, June 17:

Having received the commands of his Majesty, King Ferdinand IV. to attend him from Portici, in his entry into his capital, I had this day the honour of being present with his Majesty, and of witnessing the enthusiasm with which he was received by his people. The King entered Naples at the head of his own troops, together with the Austrians and British, who defited before him on his arrival at his Palace. The constant attachment the Neapolitan people are known to have ever borne their legitimate Sovereign, makes it unnecessary to detail to your Lordship their joy at his return. His Majesty reassumes the Government of his country, beloved and respected by all classes of his subjects.

Downing-street, July 6.—Dispatches from the Duke of Wellington, dated Louvres, 30th June, and Gonasse, 2d July.

Lowers, June 30.—I have now the honour of inclosing to your Lordship the returns of killed and wounded of the army on the 16th, 17th, and 18th; lists of officers, &c. Brig.-gen. Hardinge, who was employed by me with the Prussian army, is not included in these returns; but he received a severe wound in the battle of the 16th, and has lost his left hand. He had conducted himself during the time he was so employed, in such a manner as to obtain the approbation of Marshal Prince Blucher and the officers at the Prussian head-quarters, as well as mine; and I greatly regret his misfortunc.—I have the honour, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Allied Army, under the Command of Field-Marshal his Grace the Duke of Wellington, K. G. and G. C. B. in action with the Enemy at Les Quatre Bras, on the 16th day of June, 1815.

General staff -1 general staff, 1 cornet or ensign, killed; 4 captains, 1 lieutenant, wounded.

Royal artillery-9 rank and file and 19 horses, killed; 2 lieutenants, 17 rank and file, 14 horses, wounded; 1 horse missing.

1st guards, 2d batt.—1 licutenant, 1 ensign, 1 serjant, 22 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 licut. 2 ensigns, 6 serjants, 250 rank and file, wounded.

1st guards, 3d batt.—1 lieut. 2 serjeant, 1 drummer, 17 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 9 serjeants, 1 drummer, 225 rank and file, wounded.

3d guards, 2d batt .- 7 rank and file wounded.

Royal Scots, 3d batt —1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 2 serjeants, 18 rank and file, killed; 3 captains, 8 lieutenants, 1 staff, 13 serjeants, 167 rank and file,

28th foot-11 rank and file killed; 2 captains, 2 licutenants, 4 serjeants, 56 rank and file, wounded.

30th foot, 2d batt —1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 lieut 2 serjeauts, 26 rank and file, wounded; 5 missing.

32d foot—1 captain, 21 rank and file, killed; 5 captains, 11 licutevants, 4 ensigns 1 staff, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 148 rank and file, wounded.

33d foot-1 captain, 2 licutenants, 1 serjeant, 15 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 3 licutenants, 2 ensigns, 3 serjeants, 64 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, missing.

42d foot— 1 licutenant-colonel, 1 licutenant, 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 40 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 5 captains, 6 licutenants, 2 ensigns, 1 staff; 14 serjeants, 1 drummer, 213 rank and file, wounded.

44th foot, 2d batt—1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 1 drummer, 9 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 captains, 6 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 12 serjeants, 82 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, 2 drummers, 14 rank and file, missing.

69th fort, 2d batt -: lieutevant, 4 scripants, 33 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 3 lieutenauts, 6 serjeants, 1 drummer, 103 rank and file, wounded.

73d foot, 2d batt.—1 drummer, 3 rank and file, killed; 2 lieutenauts, 2 ensigns, 1 serjeant, 43 rank and file, wounded.

79th foot—1st batt.—1 staff, 28 rank and file, killed; I lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 6 captains, 6 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 10 serjeants, 248 rank and file, wounded; 1 captain missing.

92d foot—1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 ensigns, 2 serjeants, 33 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonet, 1 major, 3 captains, 11 lieutenants, 4 cusigns, 1 staff, 13 serjents, 1 drummer, 212 rank and file, wounded.

95th foot, 1st batt -1 lieutenant, 2 serjeauts, 6 rank and file, killed; 3 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 3 serjeauts, 48 rank and file, wounded.

Total British Loss—1 general staff, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 captains, 11 lieutenauts, 9 ensigns, 1 staff, 17 serjeants, 3 drummers, 269 rank and file, 19 horses, killed; 4 lieutenaut colonels, 7 majors, 36 captains, 68 lieutenauts, 23 eusigns, 4 staff, 100 serjeants, 5 drummers, 1989 rank and file, 14 horses, wounded; 1 captain, 2 serjeants, 2 drummers, 27 rank and file, 1 horses, missing.

Total loss of Hanoveriaus—2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 29 roak and file, killed; 3 captains, 6 lieutenants, 5 ensigns, 11 serjeants, 198 rank and file, wounded; 1 captain, 2 ensigns, 4 serjeants, 142 rank and file, missing

Grand Total—1 general staff, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 captains, 13 lieutenants, 9 ensigns, 1 staff, 19 serjeants, 4 drummers, 298 rank and file, 19 horses, killed; 4 lieutenant-colonels, 7 majors, 30 captains, 74 ligutenants, 28 ensigns, 4 staff, 111 serjeants, 5 drummers, 2107 rank and file, 14 horses, wounded; 2 captains, 2 ensigns, 6 serjeants, 2 drummers, 169 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

(Signed) JOHN WATERS, Lieut,-Col. and A. A. G.

N. B. The names of Officers, killed, wounded and missing, on the 16th of June, were published in the London Gazette of the 1st July.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Allied Army, under the command of Field Marshal his Grace the duke of Wellington, K. G. and G. C. B. on the 17 June:

General staff—1 captain missing.

1st Life Guards—8 rank and file, 9 horses, killed; 1 captain, 2 serjeants, 7 rank and file, wounded.

Royal Horse Guards (Blue)-3 rank and file, 8 horses, killed; 5 rank and file wounded.

1st or Royal Dragoons-1 rank and file, 2 horses, killed.

7th Hussars—6 rank and file, 17 horses, killed; 1 lieutenaut, 5 serjeants, 16 rank and file, 20 horses, wounded; 1 major, 1 captain, 1 lieutenaut, 1 drummers 14 rank and file, 22 horses, missing.

11th Light Dragoons-4 horses killed; 1 lieutenant wounded; 2 rank and file missing.

13th Light Dragoons-1 rank and file missing.

18th Hussars-1 rank and file killed, 1 rank and file wounded.

23d Light Dragoous-1 serjeant, 5 horses, killed; 3 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file, 8 horses, missing.

2d or King's German Leg on-1 rank and file killed, 2 rank and file wounded, 1 rank and file missing.

1st Hussars King's German Legion—1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, 3 horses, missing. 30th Foot, 2d Battalion—1 rank and file killed, 2 rank and file wounded, 8 rank and file missing.

33d Foot, 2d Battalion-3 rank and file wounded, 1 serjeant missing.

69th foot, 2d batt .- 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, wounded.

73d foot, 2d Batt .- 1 lieutenant, 3 rank and file, killed.

Total British Loss—1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 24 rank and file, 45 horses, killed; 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 8 serjeants, 41 rank and file, 20 horses, wounded; 1 major, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 30 rank and file, 33 horses, missing.

Total Hanoverian Loss-9 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 2 ensigns, 5 scrieants, 71 rank and file, wounded; 1 scrieant, 1 drummer, 32 rank and file, missing.

Total British and Hanoverians—1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 33 rank and file, 45 horses, killed; 1 major, 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 13 serjeants, 112 rank and file, 20 horses, wounded; 1 major, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, 62 rank and file, 33 horses, missing.

(Signed) JOHN WATERS, Lieut. Col. and A. A. G.

N. B. The Names of Officers killed and wounded were inserted in the Supplement to the London Gazette, of the 1st July, published the 3d July.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Allied Army, under the command of Field-Marshal his Grace the Duke of Wellington, K. G. and G. C. B. in action with the Enemy at Waterloo, on the 18th day of June, 1815.

General Staff-2 general staff, 1 colonel, 1 heutenant-colonel, 6 captains, killed; 10 general staff, 3 colonels, 6 lieutenant-colonels, 5 majors, 12 captains, 4 lieutenants, wounded;—1 captain, 1 lieutenant, missing.

1st Life-Guards—1 major, 1 captain, 2 troop quarter-masters, 2 serjeants, 12 rank and file, 39 horses, killed; 1 captain, 2 cornets, 1 troop quarter-master, 3 serjeants, 36 rank and file, 21 horses, wounded; 4 rank and file, 25 horses, missing.

2d Life Guards—1 captain, 2 serjeants, 14 rank and file, 100 horses, killed; 5 serjeants, 1 trumpeter, 34 rank and file, 20 horses, wounded; 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 94 rank and file, 53 horses, missing.

Royal Horse Guards (Blue)—1 major, 2 serjeants, 14 rank and file, 54 horses, killed; 2 lieutenants-colonels, 2 lieutenants, 2 troop quarter-masters, 3 serjeants, 51 rank and file, 15 horses, wounded; 1 captain, 20 rank and file, 34 horses, missing.

1st Dragoon Guards—2 captains, 1 staff, 3 serjeants, 37 rank and file, 55 horses, killed; 3 captains, 1 lieutenant, 4 serjeants, 2 trumpeters, 94 rank and file, 13 horses, wounded; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 cornet, 9 serjeants, 115 rank and file, 243 horses, missing.

1st (or Royal) Dragoons—1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 cornet, 1 staff, 6 serjeants, 79 rank and file, 161 horses, killed; 2 captains, 7 lieutenants, 6 serjeants, 1 trumpeter, 81 rank and file, 35 horses, wounded; 1 cornet, 9 rank and file, missing.

2d (or R. N. B.) Dragoons—1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 3 corpets, 3 serjeants, 1 trumpeter, 92 rank and file, 179 horses, killed; 2 majors, 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 9 serjeants, 80 rank and file, 47 horses, wounded; 2 horses missing.

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6th Dragoons—1 staff, 5 serjeants, 1 trumpeter, 66 rank and file, 105 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 10 serjeants, 2 trumpeters, 99 rank and file, 49 horses, wounded; 1 lieutenant, 27 rank and file, 53 horses, missing.

7th Hussars—1 serjeant, 55 rank and file, 84 horses, killed; 3 captains, 3 lieutenants, 9 serjeants, 1 trumpeter, 83 rank and file, 116 horses, wounded.

10th Hussars—1 major, 1 lieutenant, 20 rank and file, 40 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant colonel, 3 captains, 2 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 1 trumpeter, 38 rank and file, 35 horses, wounded; 1 trumpeter, 25 rank and file, 41 horses, missing.

11th Light Dragoons—I lieutenant, I serjeant, 10 rank and file, 17 horses, killed; I captain, 3 lieutenants, 4 serjeants, 30 rank and file, 38 horses, wounded; I serjeant, 2 trumpeters, 20 rank and file, 18 horses, missing.

5 12th Light Dragoous—I lieutenant, I cornet, 6 serjeants, 39 rank and file, 28 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, I captain, I lieutenant, 4 serjeants, I trumpeter, 56 rank and file, 22 horses, wounded; 60 horses missing.

13th Light Dragoons—1 lieutenant, II rank and file, 15 horses, killed; I lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 6 heutenants, 10 serjeants, 2 trumpeters, 57 rank and file, 46 horses, wounded; 18 rank and file, 52 horses missing.

15th Hussars—I major, I lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 19 rank and file, 31 horses, killed; I lieutenant colonel, 2 captains, 3 serjeants, 45 rank and file, 52 horses, wounded; 5 rank and file, 22 horses, missing.

16th Right Dragoous—1 captain, 1 cornet, 2 serjeants, 6 rank and file, 35 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant colonel, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 16 rank and file, 20 horses, wounded.

18th Hussars-12 rank and file, 19 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 staff, 9 serjeants, 62 rank and file, 41 horses, wounded; 17 rank and file, 37 horses, missing.

23d Light Dragoous—3 serjeants, 10 rank and file, 20 horses, killed, 1 major, 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 23 rank and file, 26 horses, wounded; 1 lieutenant, 31 rank and file, 33 horses, missing.

1st Light Dragoons, K. G. L.—1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 1 trumpeter, 26 rank and file, 42 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 3 captains, 3 lieutenants, 2 cornets, 1 staff, 7 serjeants, 1 trumpeter, 91 rank and file, 93 horses, wounded; 10 rank and file, 14 horses, missing.

2d Light Dragoons, K. G. L—1 captain, 1 cornet, 1 trumpeter, 17 rank and file, 29 horses, killed; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 5 serjeants, 47 rank and file, 14 horses, wounded; 2 rank and file, 25 horses, missing.

1st Hussars, K. G.L. -- 1 rank and file, 9 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant, 5 rank and file, 13 horses, wounded.

2d Hussars, K. G L.—2 captains, 1 cornet, 1 staff, 2 serjeants, 1 trumpeter, 37 rank and file, 63 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 3 cornets, 7 serjeants, 71 rank and file, 24 horses, wounded; 15 horses missing.

Royal Artillery-4 captains, 1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 51 rank and file, 337 horses, killed; 1 major, 9 captains, 14 lieutenants, 13 serjeants, 198 rank and file, 123 horses, wounded; 10 rank and file, 35 horses, missing.

Royal Engineers-I lieutenant wounded.

Royal Stuff Corps-1 captain, I lieutenant, wounded.

1st Foot Guards, 2d Batt -1 captain, 50 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 7 serjeants, 89 rank and file, wounded.

1st Foot Guards, 3d Batt .- 2 captains, 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 79 rank and, killed; 2 captains, 2 licutenants, 2 ensigns, 7 serjeants, 238 rank and file, wounded.

2d Coldstream Guards—I lieutenant, I serjeant, 53 rauk and file, killed; 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 13 serjeants, 229 rank and file, wounded; I drummer, 3 rank and file, missing.

3d Foot Guards, 2d Batt.—3 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 37 rank and file, killed; 3 captains, 3 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 10 serjeants, 178 rank and file, wounded.

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18 Foot, 3d Batt —I lieutenant, I ensign, I scrieant, 12 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 3 captains, 6 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, I staff, 4 serjeants, 111 rank and file, wounded.

4th Foot, 1st Batt.—2 serjeants, 10 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 5 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 1 staff, 6 scripants, 107 rank and file, wounded.

14th Foot, 3d Batt .- 7 rank and file killed; I ensign, 5 serjeants, 16 rank and file, wounded.

23d Foot-3 captains, I lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 9 rank and file, killed; I colonel, I major, I captain, 3 lieutenauts, 7 serjeants, 71 rank and file, wounded.

27th Foot, 1st Batt — r captain, I ensign, 7 serjeants, 96 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 8 heutenants, 3 ensigns, 10 serjeants, 2 drummers, 348 rank and file, wounded.

28th Foot-I captain, I serjeant, 17 rank and file, killed; I major, 3 captains, 9 licutenants, I ensign, I staff, 6 serjeants, I drummer, 136 rank and file, wounded.

asth Foot, 2d Batt.—I major, I captain, 2 lieutenants, 2 corners, 3 serjeants, I drummer, 41 rank and fite, hi led; 2 majors, I captain, 8 lieutenants, I staff, 6 serjeants, 145 rank and fite, wounded; 2 drummers, 12 rank and fite, missing

32d Foot-28 rank and file, killed; I captain, 4 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 1 staff, 11 serjeants, 136 rank and file, wounded.

33d Foot—2 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 31 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 5 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 1 staff, 8 serjeants, 84 rank and file, wounded; 3 drummers, 45 rank and file, missing.

40th Foot, 1st Batt.—1 major, 1 captain, 5 serjeants, 25 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 6 licutenants, 2 ensigns, 16 serjeants, 1 drummer, 142 rank and file, wounded; 18 rank and file missing.

* 42d Foot-5 rank and file killed; I captain, 4 lieutenants, Istaff, 6 serjeants, 33 rank and file, wounded.

44th Foot, 2d Batt.—4 rank and file killed; 1 major, 1 lieutenant, 1 staff, 3 serjeants, 54 rank and file, wounded.

51st Foot-1 drummer, 8 rank and file, killed; I captain, I lieutenant, 20 rank and file, wounded.

52d Foot, 1st Batt -1 ensign, 16 rank and, killed; 1 major, 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 1 staff, 8 serjeants, 166 rank and file, wounded.

69th Foot, 2d Batt.—I lieutenant colonel, 2 captains, 14 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 2 ensigns, 50 rank and file, wounded, 3 drummers, 13 rank and file, missing.

71st Foot, 1st Batt.—1 ensign, 1 serjeant, 23 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 4 captains, 7 lieutenants, 1 staff, 7 serjeants, 3 drammers, 150 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file, missing.

73d Foot, 2d Batt.—2 captains, I heutenant, 2 ensigns, 3 serjeants, I drummer, 43 rank and file, killed; I lieutenant-colonel, I major, 3 captains, 3 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, I staff, 13 serjeants, 2 drummers, 160 rank and file, wounded; 41 rank and file, missing.

79th Foot, 1st Batt -2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 27 rank and file, killed; 3 captains, 6 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 7 serjeants, 4 drummers, 121 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.

92d Foot,-I serjeant, 13 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 93 rank and file, wounded.

(To be continued.)

ROYAL

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OR,

BRITISH OFFICER'S

MONTHLY REGISTER, CHRONICLE, AND MILITARY MENTOR.

FOR OCTOBER, 1815.

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NOTICE.

The Second Part of the Second Journal of the Campaigns in the Peninsula, being the Campaign of the Duke of Wellington in 1309, will be published on the 10th of this month.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE MI-

This day is published, price Two Shillings and Sixpence, A Narrative of the Battle of Waterloo, with all the Official Reports, a Plan of the Battle, &c. being the Supplement to the Third Volume of the New Series of the Military Chronicle.

ROYAL MILITARY CHRONICLE.

Vot. Iii.

NEW SERIES, OCTOBER, 1815.

[No. 18.

ORIGINAL REPORT

OF THE COMMISSION APPOINTED TO CONVOY NAPQ-LEON BUONAPARTE TO THE ISLAND OF ELBA.

HAVING in pursuance of our instructions arrived at Fontainebleau on the evening of the 16th of April, we were invited by Generals Bertrand and Drouet to take up our residence in the palace. As soon as Mass was finished, we Commissioners, viz. the Austrian General Koller. the Russian General Schuwaloff, the English Colonel Campbell, and myself, together with Major Count Clam Martiniz, who attended Geneneral Koller as first Adjutant, were presented to Napoleon in a private audience. Our reception was rather cool, and his confusion and indignation were evident at discovering a Commissary of the King of Prussia, whom in his former plans he seemed to intimate a design to strike out of the list of Sovereigns. Amongst other matters, he enquired of the Commissioners if there were any Prussian troops on the route we were destined to take; and upon my answering in the negative he said, Mais en ce cas vous ne devriez pas vous donner la peine de m'accompagner. I replied, that far from being a trouble, I should rather coasider it an honour. He still, however, persisted in his opinion, and, as I observed, that as the King had been pleased to appoint me to the office, it was an honour I could not and would not renounce, he left me, with a countenance expressive of displeasure and confusion. His reception of Colonel Campbell was more friendly. He kindly enquired after his wounds, of the battles wherein he had obtained his insignia, and from hence took occasion to speak of the war in Spain, passed many encouniums on the Duke of Wellington, and made enquiries relative to his habits, character, &c. Having been informed that Colonel Campbell was a Scotchman, he turned the conversation to the poems of Ossian, and praised them for the noble and warlike spirit which they breathed. Our departure had been fixed for to-day (June 17th), but the Emperor found a pretext for postponing it, by declaring he wished rather to take the road of Briare, Raonne, Lyon, Valence, and Avignon, than that of Auxerre, Lyon, Grenoble, Gap, and Digne. This request, which was made known to us by letter through General Bertrand, was founded upon the following reasons: that agreeably to the treaty, the Emperor might be allowed to be escorted by his own guards, and these were stationed upon the road pointed out by him; a road which, besides, was better provided with horses, and had not been the seat of

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war; and, secondly, that his equipage which had arrived from Orleans had already been directed thither, and awaited him at Briare, where he likewise wished to take another carriage for himself, and unpack many conveniences he had not then at hand. We were therefore obliged to obtain from Paris orders for postponing our journey, and General Caulincourt, who had taken leave of the Emperor and was returning thither, was charged with our dispatches. At the Emperor's desire, we likewise required a copy of the order transmitted by the French government to the Commandant of Elba, relative to the Emperor's reception, without which he declared he would not expose himself to the danger or possibility of not being received. On the 18th, at night, we received permission to accede to the Emperor's wishes as to our route, together with a transcript of the order for evacuating the island of Elba. This, however, in his opinion, was not expressed sufficiently explicit; he was fearful the artillery of the island would be taken away, and he should then be entirely deprived of all means of defence. It therefore became necessary to send it back again to Paris: but General Koller having assured the Emperor every thing should be arranged according to his wishes, our departure was consequently fixed for the 20th. In the mean time Napoleon had dispatched nearly a hundred baggage waggons with money, furniture, bronzes, pictures, statues, and books, and perhaps on this account alone had prolonged his stay at Fontainebleau.

On the 19th he sent for the Duke of Bassaño, and said to him, "On vous reproche que vous m'avez toujours empêché de faire la paix; qu'en dites vous?" Bassano replied, " Votre Majesté sait très bien qu'elle ne m'a jamais consulté, et qu'elle a toujours agi d'apres sa propre sagesse, et sans prendre conseil des personnes qui l'entouraient; je ne me suis donc pas trouvé dans le cas de lui en donner, mais seulement d'obeir à ses ordres." " Je le sais bien," replied the Emperor, quite contented : " mais je vous en parle pour vous faire connaître l'opinion qu'on a de vous. Beillard, Ornano, Petit, Dejean, and Korsakowski, Colonels Montesquiou, Bussy, and De la Place, the Chambellan Turenne, and the Minister Bassano, were the persons of most consideration who remained with him till his departure. They then returned to Paris. General Bertrand and Drouet alone accompanied and remained with him. General Lefebvre Desnouettes went forward as far as Nivers, in order to await and take leave of him there.

His Mameluke Rustan, and his chief valet Constant, had left him a few days before, after each had received from him a considerable sum of money. It is impossible to regard them without contempt.

On the 20th of April, at ten o'clock in the morning, the carriages were drawn up for departure in the court-yard of Fontainebleau, when the Emperor sent for General Koller, and addressed him in these words:—

45 J'ai reflêchi sur ce qu'il me restait à faire, je me suis decidé à ne pas partir. Les allies ne restent pas fidèles aux engagemens qu'ils ont pris envers moi. Je puis donc aussi révoquer mon abdication, qui n'était toujours que conditionelle. Plus de mille adresses me sont parvenues

1815.] cette nuit, où l'on me conjure de reprendre les rênes du gouvernement; je n'avoit renoncé à tous mes droits à la couronne, que pour epargner à la France les horreurs d'une guerre civile, n'ayant jamais eû d'antre but que sa gloire et son bonheur; mais connaissant aujourd'hui le mécontentement qu'inspirent les mésures prises par le nouveaux gouvernement; voyant de quelle manière on remplit les promesses qui m'ont été faites; je puis expliquer maintenant à mes gardes, quels sont les motifs, qui me font révoquer mon abdication, et je verrai comment on m'arrachera les cœurs de mes vieux soldats. Il est vrai, que le nombre des troupes, sur lesquelles je pourrai compter, n'excedera guere trente mille hommes; mais il me sera très facile de l'augmenter en peu de jours jusqu'à cent trente mille. Je pourrai tout de même sans compromettre mon honneur, dire à mes gardes que, ne considérant que le répos et le bonheur de la patrie, je renonçais à tous mes droits, et les exhortais à suivre, ainsi que moî, le vœu de la nation." ral Koller, who hitherto had not been able to speak a word, seized the moment of a short pause after this last observation, to tell him that his noble abdication was the most distinguished of all his actions. since, by this proof of his patriotism, he had set the crown upon all his former great and noble deeds. With regard to another observation he had made, General Koller was totally ignorant in what particulars the Allies had broken their engagements to him. The Emperor replied, he alluded to the carrying off of the Empress, who, according to the treaty, was to have accompanied him to St. Tropez, General Koller assured him, she had by no means been taken away, but of her own free-will had determined not to accompany him. " Eh bien," concluded the Emperor, " je veux encore rester fidèle à ma promesse; mais si j'ai de nouvelles raisons de me plaindre, je me verrai dégagé de tout ce que j'ai promis."-It was now eleven o'clock, and the Emperor's Adjutant, M. De Bussy, entered to announce, that the Grand Marshal informed his Majesty it was already eleven, and every thing was ready for departure. " Le grand maréchal ne me connoit-il donc pas?" exclaimed the Emperor; depuis quand dois-je me régler d'apres sa montre? Je partirai quand je voudrai, et peut-être pas du tout." Thus dispatched, M. De Bussy left the room; and the Emperor continued incessantly exclaiming against the injustice which had been done him; charged the Emperor of Austria with being a man totally destitute of religion, who did every thing he could to dissolve the marriage of his daughter, instead of doing, as he ought, every thing to preserve the best understanding amongst his children. The Emperor of Russia he accused of want of delicacy; who, after being the sole cause that the Empress had been deprived of the regency, had visited her in Rambouillet to scoff at her misfortune, and had even taken the King of Prussia with him. General Koller's remark, that both these monarchs rather wished to show a bounden courtesy towards the Empress, he was willing to admit on the part of Alexander, but on no account on the part of the King, against whom his exasperation was most violent. He strove to convince the

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general that Austria had placed herself in a much more dangerous situation, by her present political relation with Russia and Prussia, than she formerly stood in; since the preponderance of France had ever kept within due limits Russia's plans of conquest. That the peace of Frankfort would really have been advantageous for Austria; and that the present treaty, notwithstanding the extension of the Austrian boundaries. exposed her to the greatest dangers from her natural enemies. Russia and Prussia, whose cabinets had ever been celebrated for their breach of faith and insidious projects: whilst, on the other hand, whatever he (the Emperor Napoleon) had once promised, might implicitly be relied on. He likewise stated, that ever since the Russian campaign, his views had been directed to no other peace than such an one as the Allies had tendered him in Frankfort. General Caulincourt, indeed, had from good motives misused his powers, if he had ever given hopes that he (the Emperor) would have subscribed to the conditions proposed to him by the Allies in Chatillon. He had, however, for some time before, renounced all claims upon Germany and Italy. General Koller observed, that, under these circumstances, he could not repress his astonishment that the Emperor had not signed the peace in Prague or Dresden, where much more advantageous terms were offered him than in Frankfort. " Que voulez-vous?" replied the Emperor, without considering the contradiction of his assertions: "j'ai eu tort; mais j'avais alors d'autres vues, parceque j'avais encore beaucoup de ressources;" and then breaking abruptly off-" Mais dites-moi, Général, si je ne suis pas reçu à l'isle d'Elbe, que me conseillez-vous de faire?" General Koller was of opinion there was no cause for anxiety as to his being refused; but that, in any case, the way to England was open for him. 66 C'est ce que j'ai pensé aussi; mais comme je leur ai voulu faire tant de mal, les Anglais m'en conserveront toujours du ressentiment." Koller thought, that as he had not been able to carry into execution his injurious plans against England, there could be no reason why he should not be well received. At the same time, he drew his attention toward the circumstance, that if any further procrastination of his departure was made, he would endanger those advantages which had been secured to him by the treaty of the 11th of April. At length the Emperor dismissed him with these words: "Vous le savez je n'ai jamais manqué à ma parole; ainsi je ne le ferai pas non plus à present; à moins qu'on ne m'y force par de mauvais traitemens."

Amongst many other singular remarks made by the Emperor during this conversation, the following is particularly worthy of notice. Having observed, he well knew many persons had censured him for not having destroyed himself, he added, "Je ne vois rien de grand à finir sa vie comme quelqu'un qui a perdu toute sa fortune au jeu. Il y a beaucoup plus de courage de survivre à son malheur non-merité. Que je n'ai pas craint la mort, e est ce que j'ai prouvé dans tant d'affaires, et encore dernièrement : Treis-sur-Aube, on m'a tué quatre chevaux sous mon corps." He chen continued, "Je n'ai pas de reproche à me fuire; je

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n'ai point été usurpateur, parceque je n'ai accepté la couronne que d'apres la vou unanime de toute la nation, tandis que Louis XVIII. l'a usurpée, n'étant appelé au trône que par un vil Sénat, dont plus de dix membres ont voté la mort de Louis XVI. Je n'ai jamais été la cause de la perte de qui que ce soit; pour la guerre c'est différent; mais j'ai die la faire, parceque la nation vouloit que j'aggrandisse la France." After General Koller had quitted him, he sent for Colonel Campbell, conversed with him about his plan of seeking protection in England, admitted General Schuwaloff and myself to a short audience, in which the conversation ran only upon indifferent topics,-and about twelve o'clock descended into the court-yard of the palace, where the grenadiers of his guard were drawn up. He here collected around him the officers and serjeants of the guard, to deliver the celebrated speech so universally known, and which he did with so much dignity and warmth. that all who stood near were moved by it. After he had embraced General Petit, and kissed the standard, he exclaimed with a broken voice, " Adieu, mes enfans! mes vœus vous accompagnerout toujours; conservez-moi mon souvemir' -extended his hand to be kissed by the officers standing round him, and then with his Grand Marshal ascended his carriage.

General Drouet took the lead in a close carriage; immediately after the Emperor came General Koller; General Schuwaloff followed next; then Colonel Campbell; and lastly myself: each in his own caleshe. My adjutant was followed by General Schuwaloff's, and eight carriages with the Emperor's suite closed the procession. A loud " Vive l'Empereur!" attended his departure, and received him in every town and place through which our route lay; whilst we, on the other hand, were obliged to endure the painful task of hearing from the mob their discontent at our presence and the object of our journey, and which, for the most part was couched in the lowest terms of abuse. Attended by his guards as far as Briare, we here passed the night. From this place five of his carriages were immediately dispatched forwards, the scarcity of horses having rendered it necessary that we should proceed in two divisions. The Emperor, however, we Commissaries, and his four other carriages, did not quit Briare till about twelve o'clock of the 21st, and not till after he had held a long conversation with General Koller, which he commenced with these words: "Eh bien! vous avez entendù hier mon discours à la vielle garde; il vous a plù, et vous avez vu l'effet qu'il a produit. Voilà comme il s'unt leur parler et agir avce eux; et si Louis XVIII. ne suit pas cet exemple, il ne fera jamais rien du soldat Français." He then passed many encomiums on the Emperor Alexander, for his friendship in offering him an establishment in Russia; a kindness which he with more right, but fruitlessly, had expected from his father-in-law. He likewise declared that he never could forgive the King of Prussia for having given the first example of revolt; and asked, how it had been possible to awaken this spirit in the Prussian nation? In other respects, however, he felt disposed to do them perfect justice.

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From this he again turned to the danger which Austria was exposed to from such a neighbour, whose good understanding with Russia so intimately united these two states, that they properly formed but one.

With Colonel Campbell, whom he this day detained to breakfast, he spoke much about the Spanish war, and praised beyond measure the English nation and Lord Wellington. He then entered into conversation with the Orderly in waiting, Colonel De la Place, on the subject of the last war. Amongst other remarks he observed, "Sans cet animal de général, qui m'a fait à croire que c'etait Schwarzenberg qui me poursuivait à St. Dizier, tandisque ce n'etait que Winzingerode, et sans cet autre bête, qui fut cause que je marchais après à Troyes, où je comptais manger quarante mille Autrichiens, et n'y trouvais pas un chat, j'eusse marché sur Paris, y serais arrivé avant les alliés, et je n'en serais pas la où j'en suis; mais j'ai toujours été mal entouré: et puis ces flagorneurs de préfets qui m'assurèrent que la levée en masse se faisait avec le plus grand succès; enfin, ce trâitre de Marmont a achevé la chose; mais il y a encore d'autres marechaux, qui sont tout aussi mal-intentionné, entr' antres Suchet que j'ai, au reste, toujours connu, ainsi que sa femme, comme des intrigans." He now vehemently abused the Senate, and censured the new Government for not having applied the war-chest taken from him to the payment of arrears due to the Army, instead of considering it, as they had done, the property of the Crown. Near Briare we met the imperial state equipage, together with several baggage-waggons and led horses heavily laden, who in consequence of the Emperor's orders were now to proceed by way of Auxerre, Lyon, and Grenoble to From thence they were to be shipped for Elba. journey of to-day, which extended as far as Nevers, both his and our reception fully corresponded with that of the day preceding, and in Nevers itself the populace loudly threatened and abused us under the On the 22d, at six o'clock in the morning, we again moved forwards. Count Klamm had likewise arrived from Paris with the corrected order of the French Government to the Commandant of Elba; in pursuance of which all the artillery and ammunition then on the Island was to be secured to the Emperor. The Count now remained with General Koller, and continued the journey with us. tachments of the guards were only posted as far as Nevers, the Emperor was attended by the last of these to Villeneuve-sur-Allier, and from henceforward we found in the various places, first Cossacks, and then Austrian troops. Napoleon refused however to be escorted by either, in order to avoid the appearance of being a state prisoner, and said, " Vous voyez bien que je n'en ai aucunement besoin." He passed the night at Baonne, and left it at nine o'clock in the morning of the 23d. From the spot where the French troops ceased, the cry of Vive l'Empereur! likewise had an end. Already in Moulins we saw the white cockade. and the inhabitants saluted us with Vive les Allies !" In Lyons, which we passed through about eleven o'clock at night, a few people collected who received the Emperor with "Vive l'Empereur!" As he had ex1815.]

pressed a wish to be escorted by an English frigate to the Island of Elba, Colonel Campbell left us at Lyons for the purpose of procuring one, either from Toulon or Marseilles. About mid-day on the 24th, on this side Valence, Napoleon met Marshal Augereau. Both alighted from their carriages. The Emperor saluted the Marshal, embraced him, and took off his hat to him. Augereau returned none of these civilities. The Emperor, as he asked him, "Où vas-tu comme ça? Tu vas à la cour?" took the Marshal by the arm and led him forwards. Augereau replied, his present journey extended only to Lyons. They walked together for a quarter of a league on the road towards Valence. At length, tired of the discourse, the Emperor turned suddenly towards the Marshal, embraced him, again took off his hat to him, and got into the carriage. Augereau, who stood with his hands behind him, with an insolence which no one can commend, did not move his cap from his head, but as Napoleon was already in the carriage, drew one hand forward in order to wave a kind of farewell. He now returned to his carriage, saluting very politely the Commissaries as he passed. Emperor said to General Koller about an hour afterwards, "Je viens d'apprendre l'infame proclamation d'Augereau; si je l'eusse connue plutôt, je lui aurais joliment lavé tête."

In Valence we found French troops belonging to Augereau's corps, who with white cockades received the Emperor with the appropriate honours. The indignation of the soldiery was evident as they perceived us in his suite. But this triumph was his last. "Vive l'Empereur!" resounded no more, and at two o'clock in the morning, as we arrived at Orange, we were received with "Vive le Roi! Vive Louis XVIII!" On the same morning close to Avignon where the relays of horses awaited us, the Emperor found a crowd assembled, who with tumultuous cries saluted him with "Vive le Roi! Vivent les Allies! A bas Nicolas! A bas le Tyran, le Coquin, le manvais Guenx!" and still coarser abuse. In compliance with our instructions we did every thing in our power to lighten the evil, but could only partially effect it; and Napoleon endured with the greatest patience every term of abuse uttered The people however, as they constantly greeted us with "Vivent les Alliés, nos Liberateurs! le généreux Empereur de Russie, et le bon Roi Guillaume!" likewise conceived we should not deny them the liberty of venting their indignation against the man who had made them so unhappy, and even had the intention of rendering them still more miserable. They wanted to compel the Emperor's postillion to cry "Vive le Roi!" and one fellow who was armed drew a sword to cut He was however prevented, and the horses being speedily changed, the carriage rolled so rapidly forward that we did not overtake it till a quarter of a league on the other side of Avignon. In every village, and from all kinds of people whom the Emperor met on the road, he was received in a similar manner as at Avignon. In Orgon, the next place where we changed horses, the conduct of the populace was most outrageous. Exactly on the spot were the horses were taken out a gal-

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lows was erected, on which a figure in French uniform sprinkled with blood was suspended. On its breast it bore a paper with this inscription:

"Tel sera tôt ou tard le sort du Tyran!"

The rabble pressed around his carriage, and elevated themselves on both sides in order to look and cast in their abase. The Emperor pressed into a corner, looked pale and disfigured, and us at length through our assistance he was happily brought off and had proceeded a quarter of a league from Orgon, he changed his dress in his carriage, pht off a plain blue great coat and a round hat with a winte cockade, mounted a post horse; and rode on before as a confier. As it was some Mime ere we overtook him, we were perfectly ignorant of his being no longer in the carriage, and in St. Canat, where the horses were again changed, we still believed him to be in the greatest danger; for the peo-*ple attempted to break open the doors, which however were fortunately locked. Had they succeeded they would certainly have destroyed General Bertrand, who sat there alone. We prevented it however, and in spite of the stones which the people cast against the carriage, Bertrand happily escaped. Characteristic is the prayer with which some of the women assailed me : " pour l' amour de Dieu, veuillez-le nous livrer au pillage: il l'a si bien merité envers vous et envers nous, qu'il n'y a rien de plus juste que notre demande."

Having overtaken the Emperor's carriage about half a league on the other side of Orgon, it shortly afterwards entered a miserable public house, lying on the road-side, called La Calade. We followed it. and here first learnt Buonaparte's disguise, who in this attire had arrived here, accompanied by one courier only. His suite, from the generals to the scullions, were decorated with white cockades, which he appeared previously to have provided himself with. His valet-de-chambre, who came to meet us, begged we would conduct ourselves towards the Emperor as if he were Colonel Campbell, for whom on his arrival he had passed himself. We entered, and found in a kind of chamber this former ruler of the world, buried in thought, sitting with his head supported by his hand. I did not immediately recognize him, and walked towards him. He started up as he heard somebody approaching. His countenance was bedewed with tears. He made a sign, that I might not discover him, requested me to sit down beside him, and as long as the landlady was in the room, conversed upon indifferent subjects. As soon, however, as she was gone out, he resumed his former position. We left him alone; he sent, however, to request we would pass backwards and forwards, to prevent any suspicion of his being there. We informed him it was known Colonel Campbell had passed through here the day before, on his way to Toulon; on which he determined on assuming the name of Lord Burghersh. Here we dined, but as the dinner had not been prepared by his own cooks, he would not partake of it. He felt ashamed, however, at seeing us all eat both with good appetites and good consciences; and therefore helped himself from every dish, but without swallowing the least morsel. A little bread, and a bottle of wine 1815.7

taken from his carriage, and which he divided with us, constituted his whole repast. In other respects he was conversable and extremely friendly towards us. Whenever the landlady, who waited upon us at table, left the room, and he perceived we were alone, he repeated to us his apprehensions for his life, and assured us the French Government had indisputably determined to destroy or arrest him here. A thousand plans ran through his brain how he might escape, and what arrangements ought to be made to deceive the people of Aix, whom he had learnt awaited him by thousands at the post-house. The most eligible plan in his estimation would be to go back again to Lyons, and from thence strike into another road by way of Italy to the island of Elba. This, however, we should on no account have allowed, and we therefore endeavoured to persuade him to proceed either directly to Toulon, or by way of Digne to Frejus. We assured him, that without our knowledge it was impossible the French Government could entertain such insidious intentions against him, and although the people allowed themselves the greatest improprieties, they would never charge themselves with a crime of the nature he feared. In order to inform us better, and to convince us the inhabitants of that part of the country meditated his destruction, he related to us what had happened to him as he arrived here alone. The landlady, who did not recognize him, asked him, "Eh bien, avez-vous rencontré Buonaparte?" He replied in the negative. "Je suis curieuse," continued she, " de voir, s'il pourra se sauver; je crois toujours que le peuple va le massacrer : aussi faut-il convenir, qu'il l'a bien mérité, ce coquin-la! Dites-moi donc, on va l'embarquer pour son île, n'est ce pas ?-Mais, oui-Ah! mais on le noyera, j'espere!" "Oh, sans doute!" returned the Emperor. " Vous voyez donc," he added, turning towards us, " à quel danger je suis exposé;"-and now again, with all his apprehensions and indecision, he renewed his solicitations of counsel. He even begged us to look around, and see if we could not any where discover a private door through which he might slip out, or if the window, the shutters of which upon entering he had half closed at the bottom, was too high for him to jump out at in case of need. On examination, we found the window on the outside was provided with an iron trellis-work, and threw him into evident consternation as I communicated to him the discovery. At the least noise he started up in terror and changed colour. After dinner we left him alone, and as we went in and out found him frequently weeping. In the mean time, a great number of persons, chiefly from Aix, had collected in the inn, who conjectured our detention could only be occasioned by the presence of the Emperor. We endeavoured to make them believe that he was already gone on before. They would not, however, credit the assertion; assured us they had no evil intention against him, and only wished to behold him that they might observe how he looked in misfortune, or at farthest to make him some verbal reproaches, and tell him what he had so seldom heard—the truth. We strove to turn them away from their purpose, and a respectable citizen undertook, with a written commission from us to the mayor of Aix, to

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restore order and tranquillity in that town. In consequence of this proposal, which General Koller communicated to the Emperor, and which the latter approved of, Count Klamm was sent forwards with a note to the Mayor of Aix. As soon as the Count was returned with the cheerful intelligence of the Mayor's acquiescence, and General Schuwaloff's Adjutant had likewise announced that the major part of the populace assembled on the road were dispersed, the Emperor, towards midnight, determined on proceeding. For greater precaution, however, another disguise was assumed. General Schuwaloff's Adjutant was obliged to put on the blue great coat and round hat in which the Emperor had reached the inn, that in case of necessity he might be regarded, insulted, or murdered for him.

Napoleon, who now pretended to be an Austrian colonel, dressed himself in the uniform of General Koller, with the order of Theresa, wore my camp cap, and cast over his shoulders General Schuwaloff's mantle. After the Allies had thus equipped him, the carriages drove up, and we were obliged to march to them through the other rooms of the inn in a certain order, which had been previously tried in our own chamber. The procession was headed by General Drouet; then came as Emperor General Schuwaloff's Adjutant; upon this General Koller, the Emperor, General Schuwaloff, and lastly myself, to whom the honour of forming the rear guard was assigned. The remainder of the Imperial suite united themselves with us as we passed by, and thus we walked through the gaping multitude, who vainly endeavoured to distinguish their tyrant amongst us. Schuwaloff's Adjutant, Major Olewieff, placed himself in Napoleon's carriage, and the latter sat beside General Koller in his calêche. A few gens d'armes who had arrived from Aix scattered the rabble, and the procession now proceeded happily forwards. Whenever we appeared, we still found people who saluted their former ruler with "Vive le Roi!" and some terms of abuse against himself; but nothing like violence was attempted. Still however he was constantly in alarm. He not only remained in General Koller's caleche, but even begged he would allow the servant to smoke who sat before, and asked the General himself if he could sing! in order that he might dissipate, through such familiar conduct, any suspicion in the places where we stopped, that the Emperor sat with him the carriage. As the General could not sing, Napoleon begged him to whistle; and with this singular music we made our entry into every place; whilst the Emperor, fumigated with the incense of the tobacco-pipe, pressed himself into the corner of the caleche and pretended to be fast asleep. On the open road he renewed the conversation. He spoke freely of a plan which he till now had entertained, of deposing the present King of Naples and restoring the legitimate dynasty; of indemnifying the King of Sardinia for that island in Italy, and obtaining Sardinia as a future establishment for himself. This, however, he said he no longer wished for; to him every thing which could happen in the political world would be perfectly indifferent, and he felt himself extremely happy in anticipating the solitary and tranquil life he should lead in Porto Ferrajo, in full enjoyment of the sciences. Yes! the throne of Europe might now be boldly offered him, for he should reject it. He added, "Je n'ai jamais estimé les hommes, et les ai toujours traités comme ils le méritent; mais cependent les procédés des Français envers moi sont d'une si grande ingratitude que je suis entièrement dégoûté de l'ambition de vouloir gouverner."

In Maximin he breakfasted with us, and having learnt that the Sub-Prefect of Aix was there, he ordered him into his presence, and received him with these words: "Vous devez rougir de me voir en uniforme Autrichien, que j'ai dû prendre pour me mettre à l'abri des Provenceaux. J'arrivais avec pleine confiance au milieu de vous, tandis que j'agrai pu emmener avec moi 6000 hommes de ma garde, et je ne trouve qu'un tas d'enragés, qui mettent ma vie en danger. C'est une méchante race que les Provençeaux, qui ont commis toutes sortes d'horreurs et de crimes dans la révolution, et qui sont touts prêts à recommencer: mais quand il s'agit de se battre avec courage, alors ce sont de lâches : jamais la Provence ne m'a fournit un seul regiment, dont j'aurais pu être content. Mais tout-autant qu'ils paraissent aujourdhui contre moi, ils le seront peut-être demain contre Louis XVIII.; ils crovent qu'ils n'auront plus rien à payer, et quand ils verront que les contributions ne changeront que de nom, ils seront tout aussi enclins à la révolution que dans l'anné 1790 .- Vous n'avez donc pas pu contenir cette populace!"

The Prefect, who did not know if, and in what manner, he should excuse himself in our presence, only said, "Je suis tout confus, Sire!" The Emperor then asked him if the Droits reunis were already taken off, and if the Levée en Masse would have encountered many difficulties here? The Prefect assured him this could have been still less effected since he had not been able to bring together one half of the conscription. Napoleon now renewed his abuse of the Provencals in the most inconsiderate manner, and dismissed the Prefect.

To us he again spoke of Louis XVIII, and said he would never effect any thing with the French nation if he treated them with too much forbearance. He would from necessity be obliged to lay large imposts upon them, and hence cause himself to be immediately hated. likewise told us that "Eighteen years before he had marched through this place with some thousand men, to liberate two Royalists who were to have been executed for wearing the white cockade. In spite, however, of the fury of the populace with which he had had to contend, he fortunately saved them, and to day, (he counned) would that man be murdered by this same populace who should refuse to wear a white cockade-so contradictory and vacillating are they in every thing they do." Having learnt that two squadrons of Austrian hussars were stationed at Luc, an order was sent at his request to the commanders, to await our arrival there, in order to escort the Emperor to Frejus. tranquillized him extremely. Still however he retained his rigid incognito, and was quite rejoiced at General Koller's being taken for the

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Emperor in a conversation he held with a French officer, a native of Koller was obliged to put various questions to him, which Napoleon whispered in his ear, and which led the officer to conclude it must be the Emperor who spoke with him, since no Austrian General could have such an infinite knowledge of Corsica. As Napoleon observed this, he begged the General would on no account undeceive him. Shortly after mid-day we reached a country house in the neighbourhood of Luc, belonging to the Legislator Charles, where the Princess Pauline Borghese, the Emperor's sister, was residing. We understood she was exceedingly shocked at seeing her brother in his disguise; but immediately determined upon accompanying him to Elba. Upon receiving intelligence a few days before of the recent extraordinary events, she would at first on no account credit them; and at last convinced of their truth, she enquired, "Meis en ce cas mon frère est mort?" Being assured that on the contrary he had signed his abdication, that he had obtained a pension for himself, and was already on his way to Elba, she exclaimed, "Comment, il a pu survivre à tout cela? C'est là la plus mauvaise des nouvelles que vous venez de me donner." She then sank down in Asteric fits, which were much more severe than usual. Her interview with her brother to-day had also much injured her; but notwithstanding this, she set off the same evening for Nuits, from whence she had but two miles to travel on the following day to Frejus. Previous to her departure she sent us an invitation to wait upon her. presented by General Bertrand. She conversed with us with that grace so peculiar to her, and said she hoped to have the pleasure of seeing us again the next day in Frejus.

We left this on the morning of the 27th, and arrived at Frejus early. The Austrian troops who had escorted us hither remained here, and did the duty of the place till the Emperor's departure. From the moment Napoleon saw himself in safety from the Austrian escort, he again resumed his uniform, and sat in his own carriage. In Luc he likewise found his other carriage, which had gone on before from Briare, and had arrived here a day before us. They had passed through Avignon on Sunday the 24th of April, and had only saved themselves from the danger of being maltreated by the mob, and seeing the carriage plundered, by taking from the latter, as well as their own clothes, every mark of the imperial eagle and name, sticking up a multitude of white cockades and lilies, scattering handsful of money among the populace, and crying, "Vive le Roi! Vive Louis XVIII! à bas l'Empereur! à bas Nicholas!" They had likewise found means of communicating this scene to their master, so that he was already informed of what awaited him prior to his arrival in Avignon.

In Luc several persons in the Emperor's service quitted him, and it was probably one of these who in the night of the 28th stole a chest, containing 60,000 francs, from the Maitre d'Hotel, with which the expences of the journey were to be discharged.

In Frejus we found Colonel Campbell, who had brought round from Marseilles the Undaunted, an English frigate, commanded by Captain Usher, for the purpose of escorting our distinguished companion, and securing his ship from any attack. In pursuance of the treaty this latter was to have been a corvette, and it was now discovered that the French Government had only sent a brig, (L'Inconstant) which was to receive their deposed ruler, and remain his property. A French frigate in addition was destined as escort. Napoleon was extremely displeased at receiving a brig instead of a corvette, and we not unwillingly saw that he had formed the determination of shipping himself on board the English frigate, and making no use of the brig. He said, "Si le Gouvernement cût scu ce qu'il se doit a lui même et à celui qui à été son chef, il lui aurait envoyé un bâtiment à trois ponts, et non pas un vieux Brick pourri, à bord duquel il serait au dessous de ma dignité de monter." The Captain of the French frigate, offended at the Emperor's disdain. sailed with his ship and the brig back again to Toulon, and the Emperor now invited us Commissaries, Count Klamm, and Captain Usher, to dinner. Here again he was all the Emperor. He conversed for the most part with Captain Usher, and as the latter understood but little French, Campbell was obliged to officiate as interpreter. He told us with singular frankness the plans he had still contemplated of aggrandizing France at our expence; how he intended to have made Hamburgh a second Antwerp, and to have remodelled the harbour of Cuxhaven, in a similar manner to that of Cherbourg, &c. He even communicated to us what was hitherto completely unknown; the Elbe had precisely the same denth with the Scheldt, and like this was completely adapted for laying a road at its embouchure. He had already prepared a project for introducing into his empire a particular conscription for his marine, in the same manner as for his land forces. Had it not been for the misfortunes he had encountered by land, every means had stood at his command for the execution of this great plan, and within two years, with such enormous powers at his command, he could not have failed in reducing England. for against her alone had all his previous efforts been directed. He could now speak of these plans, since his present situation rendered the execution of them totally impossible. In his zeal he became so animated that he spoke of his fleet in Toulon, Brest, and Antwerp; of his army in Hamburgh; of his mortars lying at Hieres with which he could cast bombs above three thousand paces; and of all as if they were yet his own.

After dinner he took leave of General Schuwaloff and me, thanked us for the personal services we had rendered him, and in general terms spoke of the French Government with indignation and contempt. To General Koller in particular he complained of the wrongs he had experienced. They had left him only a single service of silver plate, only six dozen of shirts; had retained, contrary to the agreement, the remainder of his plate and linen; had acted precisely in the same manner with regard to a quantity of furniture, which he had purchased with his own money, and amongs other things had refused to acknowledge his

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exclusive right to the Regent-diamond, although he had redeemed it with four (?) millions of his own private property (?) from the Jews in Berlin, to whom the French government had pawned it. He begged General Koller would communicate these grievances to his own and the Russian Emperor, in order that they might be relieved, and he might have justice done him. On the evening of this day we signed two notes to the Governor of Elba, requesting him, in compliance with the order of his Government, to deliver up the island to the Emperor Napoleon,

together with all the artillery and ammunition then upon it. Early on the morning of the 28th be was to have departed, and had ordered his equipage to be shipped; he pretended, however, to be indisposed, and did not quit his chamber till about nine o'clock in the evening, after having previously requested to speak with General Schuwaloff and me. As the General was already driven forwards towards the harbour, he took leave of me alone; thanked me again for the personal services I had rendered him, but did not commission me with any message for the King. General Schuwaloff went on board the frigate after the Emperor was there, and of him he begged "de presenter ses hommages à l'Empereur Alexandre." The Austrian hussars attended him with all military honours to the harbour St. Raphor, where fourteen years before he had landed on his return from Egypt. On board the frigate he was received with a discharge of four and twenty pieces of cannon. In two hours the frigate got under weigh. General Koller, Colonel Campbell, Count Klamm, and General Koller's Adjutant, attended the Emperor to the island of Elba. His own suite consisted of Generals Bertrand and Drouet, the Polish Major Germanofsky, two Fourriers du Palais, one officier payeur, Mons. Pyrrhus, one physician, Mon. Fourreau, two secretaries, one maitre d'hôtel, one valet de chambre, two cooks, and six servants. General Betrand was much affected. General Drouet evinced more firmness and stability. The Emperor had wished to present him with 100,000 francs, but he declined it, with the assurance that if he accepted the money he could not attend him, since his conduct would then be considered as having originated solely in selfishness. General Schuwaloff and I left Frejus the same night, the former directly for Paris, and I by way of Toulon and Marseilles.

SUPPLEMENT.

General Koller and Colonel Campbell, who had been commissioned to attend Napoleon to the island, obtained hence frequent opportunities of becoming more intimately acquainted with this extraordinary man. During the five days they passed at sea (contrary winds, storms, and calms, having rendered it impossible to sail quicker), Napoleon was constantly in good humour, of singular condescension and courtesy, and impatient of reaching the place of his destination. Both the Commissaries, Captain Usher, Count Klamm, and Lieutenant Smith (of the Undaunted, were daily invited to his table; but his confidence was exclusively given to General Koller. To him he expressed his regret of what had occured on his road. "Quant à vous, mon cher Général, je me suis montré cul-nud; mais dites-moi franchement si vous ne croyez pas aussi que tontes ces scènes scandaleuses ont été sourdement excité par le gouvernement Français." Koller assured him, that on the contrary, he was convinced the government never would have allowed itself a conduct so opposite to the intentions of the allied powers. The Emperor's apprehensions as to his reception still continued; and on the 4th of May, as the island came in sight, General Drouet, Count Klamm, and Lieutenant Smith, were dispatched on shore. The former acted as commissary of Napoleon: the two latter bore a summons, signed by us, to the French commandant, to deliver up, in compliance with the order of his government, to the Emperor Napoleon as his property, and pro tempore to General Drouet as his agent, the island and the fort, together with all the arms, artillery, and warlike stores, upon it. These deputies found the inhabitants of Elba in a state of complete anarchy. In Porto Ferrajo waved the white, in Porto Lungano the tri-coloured flag, and in other parts of the island the people wished to maintain their independence. As soon, however, as the intelligence had spread itself of Buonaparte's arrival, and the treasures he had brought with him, the several factions quickly united into a common acknowledgment of their ruler. The French officers delivered up to General Drouet the island, the fort, and the military stores, amongst which were three hundred and twenty-five pieces of cannon, chiefly brass. The new imperial standard being planted on the watch-tower of Porto Ferrajo, Count Klamm and Lieutenant Smith returned to the Undaunted, to bring the Emperor the joyful tidings. Captain Usher had already saluted the fort of Porto Ferrajo with the customary discharge of cannon, and received its salute in return, which Napoleon again believed to be given in honour of himself. As General Drouet had now taken possession of the fort, he ordered a hundred pieces of cannon to be discharged on the Emperor's landing; and the municipality welcomed him with a suitable oration. In reply, Napoleon assured them, that "The mildness of the climate, and the gentle manners of the inhabitants of the island, had induced him to select this alone of all his extensive possessions, in the hope they would know how to estimate the distinction, and constantly to love him as obedient children, whilst he should ever conduct himself towards them as a provident father and sovereign." An orchestra, consisting of three violins and two violoncellos, which had accompanied the deputation, now burst upon this tender Prince; who, under a cancer, decorated with old scarlet and new gilt paper, held his solemn entry into. his residence. He was carried to the House of Government, which, in the hurry of the moment, had been prepared for his reception. The hall, destined for a ball-room for public occasions, and whose walls were decorated with small glass chandeliers, had in haste been provided with an imperial throne, covered with scarlet and gold paper. The musicians, who had attended him hither, now ascended the gallery with all possible speed, and sounded forth such furious tones of joy, that the Prince, quite overpowered, requested to be led to his dwelling apartments, in order to tranquillize his emotions. These were so miserably arranged, that he immediately held a council with General Koller upon the best means of bringing over the furniture of his sister Eliza from Lucca and Piombino. General Koller wrote to the officer of the Grand Duke of Tuscany on the subject, who immediately transported them to Porto Ferrajo in a number of small craft. It was this which gave rise to the report that Napoleon had confiscated a ship laden with the effects of his brother-in-law Prince Borghese, under the pretext that it was the dower of his sister Paulina.

Immediately after his arrival the Emperor inspected the fortifications, and was so well pleased, both with their present condition and their susceptibility of some few improvements, that he declared he could and would engage to defeud himself here against every possible attack.

General Koller remained ten days in Elba, daily gaining upon the confidence of Napoleon, who undertook nothing without asking his advice. Amongst other things, he once disclosed to him, "that within four-and-twenty hours he should have from three to four thousand men at his disposal: for he had issued a proclamation to the French garrison then quitting the island, stating that he would take into pay all those

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officers and soldiers who felt willing to serve him, and he had just heard the concourse was so great, that already some thousands had given in their names. Koller openly censured this measure, since, by such a proceeding, suspicions would be entertained of his peaceable intentions. "Qu'est ce que ça me fait?" rejoined Napoleon: "J'ai examine les fortifications, et je dèfie qu'on puisse m'attaquer ici avec le moindre succès." General Koller replied, this he did not doubt; but he feared the French government would gladly seize on such a pretext for not paying him the promised pension. "Croyez-vous?" interrupted the Emperor hastily—"Diable! cela ne m'arrangeroit pas du tout—mais que faire à present?" Koller proposed that a more explicit interpretation should be published, stating, that only those soldiers were intended who were natives of the island. This advice was instantly followed with the most obliging thanks.

The Emperor had for some time been accustomed to listen to Koller with patience, when he openly told him he was in the wrong. During the two first days of our journey the General had repeatedly said to him, "Votre Majesté a tort." Napoleon at length vehemently exclaimed, "Vous me dites toujours que j'ai tort, et continuellement que j'ai tort; parlez vous donc aussi comme cela à votre Empereur?" Koller assured him, that on the contrary his master would take it extremely ill if all his servants did not freely speak their opinions. Napoleon, in a milder tone, returned, "En ce cas votre maitre est bien mieux servi que je ne l'ai

jamais été"

Napoleon occupied himself with restless activity. Sometimes he visited by water the small and uninhabited islands adjacent, amongst which Pinoso is particularly distinguished for its luxuriant vegetation, romantic form, and the wild horses which are found upon it. At others he rode over every spot in the island which was accessible on horseback. General Koller was constantly his attendant; to him he communicated all his projects for embellishing Porto Ferrajo, building a new palace, establishing public institutions, &c. All his plans were formed on an extensive scale; and in order to gain the affections of the Elbese, he presented them, on the second day of his arrival, with 60,000 francs, for the purpose of making a new road. This road had been long projected, but from scarcity of money had never been executed. This money, which he had brought with him in gold, he previously changed into silver at Leghorn, that his wealth might be more apparent, as his own people bore it through the streets from the palace to the municipality. This artifice completely answered his wishes. Nothing was now spoken of but his Crossus treasures and his boundless liberality.

Previous to his arrival, the tunny-fishery had been farmed to a rich Genoese, who on this account possessed a house in Porto Ferrajo, but which unhappily stood in the way of Napoleon's plan for embellishing the town. Without any ceremony he ordered the house to be razed, and even without promising the proprietor the smallest indemnification. On the contrary, after the latter had made a most furious clamour upon the injustice and hardship practised against him, the Emperor gave notice (although the contract of the Gencese had not yet expired) that he would dispose of the fishery to the highest bidder, and that 20,000 francs more than the former rent had already been offered him. The unfortunate Genoese now ran in the greatest consternation to the Emperor, and begged he might be allowed the refusal. He would willingly pay whatsoever the Emperor considered reasonable, and nothing more should be said of the house which had been destroyed. Napoleon now suffered himself to be moved, remitted something of the extra 20,000 francs, which had been required, and the Genoese returned home lauding the

Imperial munificence to the skies.

3815.]

HISTORY OF THE WAR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

(Translated from the French of General Sarrazin.)

(Continued from our last.)

THE first idea of hostilities being terminated, had been suggested to Marshal Soult by General Sebastiani, who, in the dispatch dated Granada, the twenty-ninth of January, assured the marshal—"that the French troops conducted themselves admirably,—that the inhabitants were delighted with them,—and that every one at Granada considered the war as at an end." Sebastiani informed Soult, in the same letter, that he had found at Granada a battalion of one thousand men, almost all Swiss, of General Dupont's army,—that he had promised them free pardon, if they would faithfully serve the Emperor,—that the officers had sworn to do so in writing, on their honour,—and that the non-commissioned officers and privates had taken their oath with the greatest But although Sebastiani had announced that the Spaniards had sworn fidelity to King Joseph with the greatest alacrity he yet judged it prudent, before he marched towards Magala, to place the castle of Alhambra in a state of defence, and to have in it a garrison of twelve hundred men, for the purpose of keeping the inhabitants of Granada in a state of tranquillity.

On the fourth of February, General Milhaud marched to Antequera, with a strong advanced guard. On the fifth, he proceeded to Malaga. - The Spaniards were attacked, forced in their positions, and obliged to fall back. They rallied near Malaga, assumed the offensive, and, in their turn, forced the French to retreat. tiani, having arrived with a reinforcement of infantry to the assistance of his advanced guard, summoned the Spaniards to lay Instead of returning any answer, they rushed down their arms. forward with loud shouts, assailing the French with a very brisk fire of artillery and musquetry. The ground was favourable for the manœuvres of cavalry. Sebastiani availed himself of it; he obliged the Spaniards to seek refuge in Malaga, which he entered in close pursuit of the fugitives. The firing continued for sometime, in the town, from roofs and windows; but the arrival of the French infantry put an end to the conflict, and the inhabitants submitted. These details show, however, that the Spaniards merely wanted a leader, capable of availing himself of their courage, and of their determination to resist the French. Malaga was provided with one hundred and forty-eight pieces of ordnance, of all sizes, independent of twenty-three field pieces, destined for the army of Catalonia. The store-houses were filled with ammunition. How could the Spanish government neglect the proper measures for the defence, or the evacuation, of a place so important on account of its stores, which owing to the vicinity of the sea, might easily have been removed? But anarchy was carried to such an extreme, that the delirious populace entrusted the command in chief to a Capuchin monk, who was appointed lieutenant general. To have placed him at the head of a company of grenadiers might have been proper enough: but it was easy to foresee the result of military operations, conducted by such a man. Satisfied with his successes in Anda-

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lusia, and indulging the hope that Cadiz, after the first agitation had subsided, would accept his paternal offers, King Joseph set out for Madrid; and left to Marshal Soult the supreme command

of the civil and military authorities in Andalusia.

Buonaparte took care to circulate the most favourable reports concerning the occupation of the southern provinces of Spain, for the purpose of encouraging his troops to march with less reluctance, and reinforce the army of the peninsula. According to his statements, the south of Spain combined all the advantages of colonies, without any of their inconveniencies. This artifice proved successful. There was but little desertion from the regiments sent to The sixth French corps, of which Marshal Ney had resumed the command, moved onward to Ciudad-Rodrigo. On the eleventh of February, some mortars played upon the town, and the governor was summoned to surrender. Andrew de Herasti answered, like a man of honour,-" that he should not surrender till he had been regularly attacked; and till he was reduced to the last extremity." Being thus deceived in his expectation, Marshal Ney fell back, cantoned his troops between Ciudad-Rodrigo and Salamanca, and collected the means of acting with more effect. The eighth corps, under the orders of Junot, was preparing to assume the offensive against Astorga and the Asturias. The seventh corps was still resting from the fatigues of the siege of Gerona, when, on the twenty-ninth of February, General O'Donel, who had replaced Blake, attacked it almost unawares in the plain of The Spaniards were conquerors; but not knowing how to moderate their ardour, and pursuing the French too eagerly, the cavalry, which protected the retreat of the latter, availed themselves of a favourable ground and moment, when rushing with impetuosity upon the patriots, they made the latter lose the fruit of this glorious victory.

O'Donel's plan had been judiciously laid to raise the blockade of Hostalrick, and destroy General Souham's division, which was the flower of Augereau's troops. Whilst the Spanish general was directing the attack against this column, he caused Besala, on the north of Gerona, to be also assailed, in order to oblige the French to divide their forces; and a corps of six thousand miquelets rushed upon the Italian division, which blockaded Hostalrick. At the same time, all the intermediate posts were overthrown by clouds of peasants, that flocked from all sides, to concur in the execution of their brave general's plan. But the retreat of O'Donel's corps, occasioned in the evening of the battle by the superiority of the French cavalry, rendered the advantages nugatory, which had been gained on the whole line. Augereau was so alarmed at the risk he had run, that he sent Buonaparte the most pressing letters for prompt reinforcements, in order that he might not be obliged to evacuate the whole province of Catalonia. His master discovered the true cause of the marshal's fears. supposed him attacked with a bodily illness, which depressed his spirits; and appointed Marshal Macdonald to succeed him in the Augereau was still with the army, when the garrison of Hostalrick, labouring under an absolute want of provisions, evacuated the place on the eleventh of May, and opened themselves a passage through the blockading troops, sword in hand.

About the same time, the small islands of Las-Medas, situated on the coast of Catalonia, opposite the mouth of the Ter, were taken on the part of the Spaniards, by a coup de main. Their occupation was advantageous to the Spaniards, as it put a stop to the coasting trade, which, till then, had been so serviceable to the French, for the purpose of throwing provisions into Barcelona.

The province of Arragon appeared tranquil. Suchet judged the opportunity favourable to obtain possession of Valentia, and to communicate, by his right wing, with the left of Marshal Soult, who had sent advanced parties as far as the kingdom of Murcia. He reached the environs of Valentia almost without striking a blow: but he did not prove more fortunate than Marshal Moncey. His promises, his menaces, and his attacks, were all rendered equally fruitless by the ardour of the Valentines, and the sagacity of General Caro. Suchet perceived that he should be kept a long time far from Arragon, if he obstinately persisted in his attacks upon Valentia; he also heard that guerillas were forming in the province under his command, which might do much mischief, unless they were checked during their infancy. Besides, General O'Donel, who had been informed of his enterprise upon Valentia, had already put himself in motion for the purpose of marching to the assistance of that place. These motives determined the French General to adjourn the execution of his designs, and draw nearer to the province of Arragon. But to keep his troops in activity, he laid siege to Lerida. General O'Donel now thought he could engage him with the prospect of success. On the twenty-third of April, he attacked the French, at the head of fifteen thousand The garrison of Lerida, to second the attack of the succouring army, made a sortie, which was repulsed. The two armies, having met, fought with intrepidity: but victory again declared against O'Donel, in the end, owing to the superiority of Suchet's cavalry. Lerida protracted its defence to the fourteenth of May, when it was obliged to capitulate. It contained large stores of warlike ammunition. Astorga had surrendered to the 8th corps, a short time before, Junot had taken possession of that town on the twelfth of April, after a vigorous resistance. the attack of that place had been badly managed. The French, without any necessity, lost a number of brave men, who would have been preserved, had the siege been conducted according to the rules of fortification.

Ney and Reynier had their head-quarters, the former at Salamanca, the latter at Merida. Soult continued at Seville. A kind of revolution had taken place at Cadiz. The Duke of Albuquerque had been dismissed, and succeeded by General Blake. The civil authorities forgot the signal service which this nobleman's great activity had rendered, when his corps entered the Isle of Leon, twelve hours before it was attacked by Victor. They forgot that it was to the able dispositions, and energetic measures of this nobleman, that they were indebted for being able to remain faithful to Ferdinand VII. as well as for being exempt from the contributions and vexations of every kind, to which cities are exposed under the yoke of any enemy. What an execrable vice is ingratitude! This nobleman, whose zeal and talents might have been so useful during the war of the peninsula, was sacrificed to the caprices of some

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office clerks, and honourably exiled, being sent as ambassador to

the court of London.

A dreadful storm destroyed, in the bay of Cadiz, four ships of the line, and about fifty merchant vessels. The hurricane lasted from the seventh to the tenth of March. From the mouth of the Guadalquiver, to the inmost recess of the bay, the coast exhibited the lamentable spectacle of several thousand unfortunate individuals, struggling against the waves, on the wrecks of ships; but the sea was so heavy, that not more than six hundred could be saved. The English set two ships on fire. The French batteries near the sea suffered also considerable injury. During the months of March and April, Soult adopted the system of moveable columns, to restore tranquillity in the plains of Estremadura, and on the mountains of Andalusia. La Romana and Blake displayed great talents and activity in that kind of warfare which is so well adapted to troops newly raised. Revnier, Mortier, Latour Maubourg, and Sebastiani, were more frequently conquered than conquerors in the different engagements, which took place between their detachments and the Spaniards. In his letter to Berthier, dated Granada, the seventeenth of March, 1810, Soult forgets the respect, which generous enemies owe to each other: and unconsciously passes a high eulogium on General Blake, when he says, "General Blake, who ought rather to be styled a marauder, has succeeded by dint of menaces, punishments, and conflagrations, in exciting the people of those mountains (the Alpujarras) to take up arms. How can a general of really superior merit be so inconsistent as to publish invectives like this?" Marshal Soult ought to have said that the inhabitants of the Alpujarras, exasperated at the shameful treatment received from his moveable columns, eagerly flocked to the standard of General Blake, in order that they might, under his guidance, be freed from their oppressors, and avenged.

According to Sebastiani's and Soult's brilliant reports, in the months of January and February, Andalusia must have been considered to have enjoyed as perfect tranquillity as any province of France. It must have been painful to Marshal Soult, when he recovered from such a delightful dream, and published, two months after, the most alarming details. In his letter to Berthier. dated Granada, the seventheenth of March, he observes, that "It will be difficult in future to guard against the intrigues of the English agents, so long as the camp of Saint Roch is not occupied, and the lines are not re-established. His Catholic Majesty would for the moment have ordered General Depolas's division thither, were not that division necessarily employed in keeping the communication open from the Sierra Morena to Granada and Seville, and holding in check the numerous inhabitants of the kingdoms of Jaen and Cordova, now infested by thousands of disbanded soldiers and smugglers, whom it has not been yet possible to seize, and who daily commit robberies to a great extent. The number of these dispersed soldiers and smugglers is rated at about thirty thousand!" After this avowal, which is not obscure, Soult relates that Blake, who had at first gained some advantages over the French troops, was attacked and defeated by General Sebastiani; and that in Estremadura, Mortier had dispersed some

troops of insurgents, collected by the Marquis de la Romana, at Xeres de los Cavalleros, and at Larena. All these details evidently shew that the French, being obliged to guard so great an extent of country, would have been easily forced to evacuate Andalusia a second time, had the English army, instead of being buried in the mountains of Portugal, manœuvred in the north of Andalusia, on the right shore of the Guadalquiver, between Cordova and Belalazar.

Fort Matagorda was attacked on the eleventh of April, and the English, by whom it was defended, were obliged to evacuate it on the the twenty-third. The superiority of the French artillery had made it a heap of ruins, when the resolution to abandon it was taken. By the possession of this post, the French were enabled to bombard Cadiz, the distance from the fort to the central parts of the town being nearly equal to the reach of mortars of twelve inches, and thirty-six pounders, pointed at an angle of from thirty to forty-three degrees. The capture of this fort occasioned the liberation of about fifteen hundred French prisoners, six hundred of whom were officers. During the night of the fifteenth to the sixteenth of May, the sloop Castile cut her cables and ran ashore to the north-west of Matagorda. The prisoner had overpowered the Spanish crew, and the French mariners, detained in the sloop, had directed the manœuvre. In spite of the brisk fire kept up by the Spaniards from the land batteries, and from the gun-boats, the French were almost all landed, owing to the eagerness with which they were assisted by their countrymen. When the sloop was burnt, there remained only a few sick, whose lives were despaired of. This event may be considered as the conclusion of the fourth campaign in the south of Spain: that in the north terminated by the capture of Mequinenza.

This fortress is situated on a very steep rock, at the confluence of the Ebro and the Segre. General Suchet began to invest it on the twentieth of May. The trenches were opened in the night of the second to the third of June. The garrison at first made a courageous defence; but, overpowered by the French artillery, and no doubt astonished at the rapidity of the progress made by the besiegers towards the body of the place, a capitulation was on the eighth agreed upon. Its strength amounted to one thousand four hundred men. The defence, by no means adequate to the difficulty of the ground, was generally judged unworthy of the firmness which distinguishes the Spanish character. Mequinenza is justly styled the key of the Ebro. Although the artillery had fired ten thousand balls, a vast quantity of ammunition, and three months' provision for two thousand men, were, nevertheless, found in the place. It was on this account that the French general spoke with the utmost contempt of the garrison, in his official report, and went so far as to add, "that he granted them the honour of defiling before the French troops, merely out of the regard which

he felt for the valour of the Spanish artillery."

The French opened the fifth campaign with the siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo. In order to bear the Imperial eagles triumphantly to Lisbon, Buonaparte collected a formidable army, under the command of Marshal Massena, known by the term of Prince of Ess-

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ling, no very flattering title, since it recalls a disaster. This general had under his orders, Ney, Duke of Elchingen, Junot, Duke of Abrantes, and General Reynier. The army amounted to seventy thousand fighting men. Lord Wellington had but fifty thousand, half of whom were Portuguese. General Hill's division, which formed a corps of observation on the movements of General Reynier, was a part of this army. Had the allied troops been inured to war, like the French, the balance would have been nearly equal, on account of the two strong places in front of the Anglo-Portuguese army. But the very reverse was the case. The Portuguese were new levies, and the conquest of Andalusia, combined with Massena's great reputation, had spread through the army that kind of stupor, which enfeebles courage, and frequently paralyses the dispositions of the ablest chief. These difficulties did not escape Lord Wellington's consideration; and in order to overcome them, he determined to act on the defensive, unless the advantages of the ground, and the faults of the French general. should afford him some opportunity of making an attack with a

prospect of success.

Massena, who hitherto had been so fortunate, and who was proud of a command far superior to any with which he had been previously entrusted, thought that, after having taken Ciudad-Rodrigo, and Almeida, his march to Lisbon would be a mere series of victories. He hastened to have Ciudad-Rodrigo invested. The trenches were opened in the night of the fifteenth to the sixteenth of June, 1808. Nev, who commanded the sixth corps, was ordered to conduct the operations of the siege; and Junot, at the head of an army of observation of twenty thousand men, posted himself on the left bank of the Agueda, to hold Lord Wellington in check, whose advanced guard was at Carpio, his main army being in the neighbourhood of Almeida. On the 25th of June the French began to cannonade the place. The besieged returned the fire with success, and disabled many pieces of ordnance belonging to the besiegers. On the 28th, Massena summoned the governor to surrender. The latter refused to capitulate, as the place was still capable of being defended. The works were continued under the fire of a superior artillery. On the ninth, in the morning, the Franch made use of their battering guns with very great effect. On the tenth the breach was found practicable. Every thing was ready for the assault, when the governor, convinced that a longer resistance was impossible, hoisted the white This fine defence, during twenty-five days, with open trenches, redounds much to the honour of Don Andrew de Hérasti, and the inhabitants of Ciudad-Rodrigo, who, though expostd to a sanguinary bombardment, encouraged the garrison, joyfully sharing their fatigues and perils. A numerous artillery, a great quantity of ammunition, and rich stores of all kinds, were found in the place. The garrison consisted of six thousand men.

Although superior in number to Lord Wellington, yet, anxious not to endanger his ancient glory, Massena halted in the neighbourhood of Ciudad-Rodrigo, until Reynier, who commanded the second corps, had recrossed the Tagus, for the purpose of marching to Castello Branco, and threatening the right flank of the

allied army. The English commander had foreseen this movement, and General Hill was ordered to cover that point, the preservation of which was essential to the complete execution of Lord Wellington's plan. On the 24th of July, Marshal Ney, supported by Junot, attacked the English advanced guard, commanded by General Crawfurd. But the numbers were far from equal: the French being four times as many. Crawfurd caused Fort Conception to be blown up, and retreated in excellent order to the river Coa, by the road of Alverca. He defended the bridge till night. The French, surprised at such a resistance, ceased their attacks. They had been foiled in the design of carrying off this advanced guard. General Crawfurd, not wishing, on his part, to be again exposed to such a disproportionate attack, availed himself of the night, drew nearer to the English army, and took a position at Carwalhal. His loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted only to four hundred men, though he had been fighting with great obstinacy. After this trifling advantage, Massena ordered Almeida to be invested.

The trenches were opened on the fifteenth of August. Two thousand labourers were employed in digging the first parallel: it was not finished before the nineteenth, owing to the difficulties of the ground. They were obliged to hollow the rocks by means of mines. On the twenty-fifth the batteries were completed. On the twenty-sixth the besiegers opened their fire, with above sixty pieces of ordnance or mortars. Towards evening, a bomb fell in the front upon an ammunition waggon, which was loading at the door of the principal magazine. The explosion of this waggon set fire to above a hundred thousand quintals of powder, which caused a shock equal to the eruption of a volcano. Many houses were thrown down, and the cathedral was destroyed. On the twenty-seventh, Massena ceased the firing from his batteries, and dispatched one of his aid-de-camps to summon Colonel Cox. That the garrison, consisting entirely of Portuguese troops, might influence or accelerate, by their clamours, the determination of the governor, who thought he should still be able to defend himself in spite of the fatal accident by which the magazine had been blown up, the French caused the Marquis d'Alorna, an ancient Portuguese general, who was then with Massena, to approach the ramparts, in order to conciliate the troops and inhabitants. But this stratagem had not immediately the expected effect: the governor refused the proffered terms. Massena then ordered all his batteries to renew their fire; and Colonel Cox, supposing that circumstances would not allow Lord Wellington to come to his succour, and seeing himself badly seconded by the garrison. whose fidelity had been shaken by the promises of the Marquis d'Alorna, consented at length to surrender the town. The five thousand men, who still composed the garrison, were dismissed to their homes. Massena enlisted about twelve hundred of them as pioneers, in order to fill the trenches of Almeida, and to repair the high roads.

Lord Wellington has been much censured for having suffered Ciudad-Rodrigo and Almeida to be taken, without availing him-

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self of the diminution caused in the French army by the besieging troops. But Massena employed only ten thousand men on each of these sieges; consequently he had forty thousand left to place in battle array, six thousand of whom were cavalry. Lord Wellington could not be joined by General Hill's division of fifteen thousand English and Portuguese, detached to observe General Reynier's army of twenty thousand French, his lordship had only thirty-five thousand fighting men, with whom he could attack Massena, who, having the choice of the field of battle, would not have neglected to increase his superiority by intrenchments. Had the English general given battle in that situation, the allied army would have been destroyed, and Portugal would have become a French province. His lordship has also been blamed for not having prevented the junction of the army of Portugal, by marching against Ney, who occupied Salamanca. This observation was advanced with great confidence by many of those who never studied the art of war but in their closets. The plan of the French had been very ably formed, in order to draw the English army to the Tormes; and there, by completing its destruction, add one more to the list of the disgraceful and lamentable scenes of Marengo, Jena, and Friedland. Lord Wellington easily discovered the snare laid for him. The instant he left his position to attack Marshal Ney, the latter would have fallen back to Valladolid, whilst General Reynier, who was at Alcantara, and General Junot, who was at Zamora, would have hastened, by forced marches, to seize his line of operations between Ciudad-Rodrigo and Almeida. The allied army occasioned, by its presence, a delay of fifteen days in the surrender of Ciudad-Rodrigo: and the same would have been gained for Almeida, had it not been for the fatal event of the powder-magazine. These delays, the result of the English commander's combinations, gave the Portuguese the necessary time for destroying, or burying in the ground, whatever might be serviceable to the French; and enabled the allied army to receive reinforcements; with which Lord Wellington most completely exculpated himself from the absurd accusations of his envious censurers.

After the surrender of Almeida, the allied army had posted itself in the valley of the Mondego, on the road to Lisbon. Revnier and Hill had drawn nearer to their respective corps. Wellington had, as it were, placed himself on the watch, to observe his adversary's movements, and avail himself of the errors which the fiery temper of Massena led him to expect. The latter put his troops in motion on the sixteenth of September, as if he had intended to follow the allied army on the left of the Mondego: but being arrived at Tormes, he marched on the right to Vizeu. On the twenty-first he pushed his advanced-guard as far as St. Cambadao. On the twenty-fifth, Ney and Reynier crossed the river Criz, on the road to Coimbra, which passes through the Sierra de Busaco, a chain of lofty mountains on the right bank of the Mondego. Lord Wellington, who had a perfect knowledge of the country, determined to avail himself of the advantages offered by the strong position of Busaco, where the French artillery and cavalry could be of no service whatever: he therefore rapidly marched to the left, with his whole army, which he posted on the heights; its right resting on the Mondego, and its left on the northern extremity of the Sierra, near Mealhada. This movement was as quickly performed as it had been ably conceived. It was begun on the twenty-sixth, at two o'clock in the morning, and at noon the whole allied army was in battle array. No troops remained on the left bank of the Mondego but a body of Portuguese, for the purpose of guarding the road to Lisbon,

and covering the right of the army.

Lord Wellington had scarcely taken his position, when Massena appeared with his whole army. A brisk firing commenced on the whole line between the riflemen. The French general employed the remainder of the day in reconnoiting the position of the allies. He no doubt supposed the sight of his three corps would intimidate Lord Wellington, and that Busaco would be evacuated, without coming to a general engagement: but he was deceived in his supposition. On the twenty-seventh, he ordered Reynier to attack the right of the allies, and sent Ney against their left. General Junot, with his corps, and the whole French cavalry, which the nature of the ground, so ably chosen by Lord Wellington, rendered perfectly unavailable, were left as a reserve. The French were repulsed in all their attempts. General Picton charged with the bayonet a column that had succeeded in reaching the top, and forced it to retreat in the utmost confusion. While the allied army was gaining a complete victory on its right, the left, under the orders of General Crawford, was equally successful against Marshal Ney's corps. It was in this attack that General Simon was taken a prisoner, with about three hundred men of the column, which he had boldly led up to the top of the Sierra. The loss of the French, in killed and wounded, amounted to between four and five thousand; whilst that of the allies did not exceed one thousand men hors de combat.

The French must have been so much the more amazed at this vigorous resistance, as half of the allied army consisted of raw Portuguese troops, little accustomed to fire. But, animated by the example of the English, they performed prodigies of valour against the famous conquerors of Austerlitz and Wagram. Their behaviour destroyed Massena's hopes of carrying the position of the English by main force: he therefore resolved to turn them by their left. In the night, from the twenty-seventh to the twenty-eighth, he began his march, to reach the road from Oporto to Coimbra, by Sardao. This post, of which the English general knew the importance, was to have been occupied by Colonel Trant, and in that case the French would have been in a very critical situation; but the colonel could not reach it before the twenty-eighth, at night, when he found the French in possession of the defiles. Lord Wellington, informed of this circumstance, did not judge his position any longer capable of being maintained: he therefore recrossed the Mondego, that he might be enabled either to fight or to retreat, at his choice, without endangering his line of operations. His lordship stated the motives of his con-

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duct to the Earl of Liverpool, by observing, that although the unfortunate delay in the arrival of Colonel Trant at Sardao, made him apprehensive of not accomplishing the object which he had in view on crossing the Mondego, and occupying the Sierra de Busaco, he still did not regret that he had done so, as this movement had afforded him a favourable opportunity of showing the enemy what kind of troops his army was composed of. It had, for the first time, brought the Portuguese levies in contact with the enemy in a favourable situation; and proved that the pains taken with them had not been thrown away; and that they were worthy to fight in the same ranks with the English, for the interesting cause, of the success of which these very troops gave the most confident hope.

Massena, on being master of the high road of Oporto, ardently wished to obtain revenge for the check of the twenty-seventh. In this expectation, he was advancing with his whole army, which was still sixty thousand strong, including ten thousand excellent cavalry. But Lord Wellington did not judge the environs of Coimbra proper to stop Massena's progress, and give him battle; he determined on drawing nearer to his reinforcements, and fighting only under advantages, which a good general ought not to neglect when the destiny of empires is at stake. By moving to Torres-Vedras he obtained a strong position, an increase of troops, and the certainty of an honourable retreat, if the fate of arms should prove adverse. Fortune, indeed, seldom refuses to crown

so much sagacity.

Massena's advanced guard entered Coimbra on the first of Octo-An engagement with the English rear-guard took place on the banks of the Mondego. The allies disputed the ground inch by inch, and at night they rejoined the main army on the road to Pombal. On the tenth, all the troops were stationed in the lines of Torres-Vedras; their right wing close to Alhandra, near the Tagus, and the left on the sea, near the mouth of the Sizandra. During the whole retreat, the French did not attempt any movement that could cause the least uneasiness. On the fifth their light cavalry, wishing to come up with the rear-guard of the allies, was attacked by Sir Stapleton Cotton. This skirmish. which took place near Leyria, terminated in favour of the English. On the twelfth the French reappeared in great numbers on the heights near Alenquer. They had suffered much from the rains, which fell abundantly for several days. Massena was astonished to find the position of Torres-Vedras still stronger than that of Busaco. It was provided at all points with redoubts, constructed with much care, and ably contrived to batter in front and in flank the columns which might attempt to force the lines. Renouncing, therefore, every project of attack, Massena determined to blockade the allies, hoping that hunger would oblige them to leave their lines, and give him battle. He stationed the left of his army at Villa-Franca, his centre at Alenquer, and his right towards Otta.

The French general evidently showed it was to Buonaparte that he was indebted for his military glory. Indeed, ever since he left

Almeida, he displayed neither boldness nor foresight. Without adverting to the faults which he committed in the attack of Busaco, he must be blamed for advancing towards Lisbon, without having first gained a decisive advantage over the allies, in a position where he might have availed himself of his fine cavalry, and of the ability in manœuvring for which his troops were distinguished. When he saw that Lord Wellington refused to fight at Pombal, he should have pushed only his advanced-guard to Leyria. He might have quartered half of his army between that town and Mondego, and stationed the remainder between Coimbra and Oporto. He might have selected a field of battle, where Lord Wellington would have been obliged to fight him, for the purpose of freeing Portugal from the vexations of his foraging men, whom he might then have sent to great distances, in all directions. In that case he would not have had to upbraid himself with the most unparalleled neglect, that of having exposed to the vengeance of the Portuguese, about three thousand Frenchmen, wounded in the battle of Busaco, who had been left unprotected in the hospitals of Coimbra, which Colonel Trant occupied on the seventh of October. And what renders his march to Lisbon still more inexcusable, is, that there were in the French army a number of well-informed officers, who warned him that the heights which cover the capital of Portugal are exceedingly steep and lofty. Junot alone, who was rather a brave grenadier than a clever general, told Massena that he would be answerable for his success; and, in order to determine the marshal on advancing, he no doubt made use of a most persuasive argument—the pleasures and wealth of Lisbon.

The lines of Torres-Vedras may certainly be taken by an able general: but they actually proved impregnable to the commander who had suffered himself to be so completely beaten at Busaco. The dignities of a prince and a marshal do not constitute a general of the first rank. No individual is fit to head an army, but he, whom Nature has endowed with comprehensive genius, and immoveable coolness, both matured by experience. Without these two eminent qualities, the most enterprizing officer becomes at once the weakest man of his army, because he wants that intrepidity of mind, which braves dangers, whenever genius discovers the means of overcoming them. Marshal Soult, at the head of Massena's army, would have carried the position of Busaco, and forced the lines of Torres-Vedras; because he unquestionably was the ablest general of the army sent to Spain. The allies besides, would not have been strong enough to resist the French, if the latter had been commanded by a commander possessed of talents as eminent for the offensive, as those of Lord Wellington for the defensive. His Lordship, therefore, must be considered as having conquered Massena by himself, and not by the means of his army; which was at that time inferior to the French, both in point of numbers and experience. Every obstacle, that could be thrown in the way of the French, had been adopted. Orders were given to destroy the means of subsistence, or to withdraw them from the grasp of the French marauders, by burying them under ground, or carrying them to the mountains; and had these orders of the

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English general been punctually obeyed, Massena would have been obliged to leave the kingdom of Portugal eight days after his arrival at Alenquer. But these dispositions, dreadful in appearance, yet of imperious necessity for the success of the general's plan, were neglected by the inhabitants of the valleys of the Tagus and the Zezere. The French, on hearing that there were provisions at Thomar, detached a body of six thousand men in that direction, to procure fresh supplies for their troops, which in a few

days had exhausted the country they occupied.

Every day the allied army assumed a more imposing attitude, both from the reinforcements which it received, and from the improved state of the lines, the left of which having appeared rather weak, Lord Wellington established a second line, with its right on the Tagus, and the left at Erinira, through Bucellus and Mafra. An intrenched camp had been prepared, to serve as a retreat to the allied army, and cover its embarkation, if it were forced to quit its lines: it had been chosen opposite Fort Saint Julian, near the mouth of the Tagus, at the distance of two leagues from But these precautions proved unnecessary. fourteenth of November, Massena left his position during the night, and took the road to Santarem, with the view of appropriate nearer to the country whence he drew his supplies. He might then have been successfully attacked by the allied army, which, independent of the troops that had arrived from England, had been reinforced on the nineteenth of October, by the corps of La Romana, consisting of about ten thousand men, whilst the French army had been weakened by the detachments charged with providing for its subsistence, as well as sickness, occasioned by bad food, and the rainy season. Lord Wellington immediately determined on pursuing Massena. On the eighteenth he arrived at Cartaxo. On the nineteenth he made arrangements to attack Santarem, where, according to the reports he had received, there was but a rear guard left. After having well reconnoitred that position, his Lordship judged it safe against a coup de main. same motive, besides, which had forced the French to leave Alenquer, soon obliged them to continue their retreat, in order to be more in the vicinity of magazines. Massena had remained in person at Santarem with the flower of his infantry; and the same general, who for the space of one month, had appeared to challenge the allies, hastened to strengthen himself by felling trees and forming intrenchments. Was he then no longer the same Massena, who, a fortnight before, wanted to plant Buonaparte's eagles on the ramparts of Lisbon? Time will make the cause of this singular metamorphosis known; for at Santarem he might easily have collected his whole army, to crush, once for all, those very same English, who, in his opinion, "would not fight but when they were posted on inaccessible rocks, or concealed behind intrenchments, covered with artillery, and impregnable." The ninth corps was at the same time leaving Sabugal, for Castello-Branco and Punhese. His advanced guard, under the command of General Gardonne, reached Mogon, near Abrantes, almost without fighting. The garrison of the latter place would have been sufficient to

destroy this column of four thousand men, as General Drouet did not support it in time; and Massena, who must have been acquainted with its approach, neglected to send a strong body for the purpose of meeting it. General Gardonne's prudence partly repaired these blunders: he fell back in tolerable order to Penamacor, which he reached on the twenty-ninth of November, after having overthrown whatever opposed his passage. General Drouet then determined to join the army of Portugal by Celorico, and Gardonne again commanded Massena's ad-Ponte di Marcella. vanced guard, which formed its junction with the main French army in the neighbourhood of Levria, on the twenty-sixth of December. But in spite of this reinforcement, which raised the numbers of his army to seventy thousand men under arms, Massena dared not give battle to Lord Wellington, who had been bidding him defiance for above a month—a just return for the insolent language which Massena had used in front of the lines at Torres-Vedras.

The inconvenience of keeping an army collected in so rude'a season, had induced the English general to assign cantonments to his troops, on both banks of the Tagus. Those under the orders of Generals Hill, Fane and Erskine, were stationed on the left bank; the remainder of the army was distributed on the right, in the following manner; Generals Sir Brent Spencer and Cameron at Cartaxo, where Lord Wellington had his head-quarters; General Crawfurd between Cartaxo and Santarem, observing the advanced posts of the French; General Picton at Torres-Vedras; General Campbell at Alenquer; General Cole at Azambujo; General Leith at Alcrentre; and the rest of the army within the lines. The French army occupied the rich country between Santarem and the Zezere; the ninth corps was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Leyria, where General Drouet had his head-quarters. The fortifications of Santarem were considerably increased: a bridge was thrown over the Zezere, with intrenchments on both its banks, no doubt to open a communication with Spain by Castello-Branco. Such was the position of the French and English towards the latter part of 1810. Although the allies had lost two fortified towns, and evacuated an immense extent of country, they yet cannot be denied to have had the advantage over the French in this campaign. They twice forced the latter to retrograde, first at Busaco, and afterwards at Torres-Vedras. In short, the Frence could not force them " to seek a refuge on the ocean," as had been Buonaparte's solemn promise to the people of France. This circumstance evidently evinces the superiority of the English commander over the French general, hitherto so well known by the brilliant appellation of the favourite child of victory. Though considered as his pupil, Marshal Soult yet continued to display more ability than his ancient master.

This general was informed that an expedition was preparing to alarm the coast near Malaga. He acquainted General Sebastiani with this information; ordering him, at the same time, to be in readiness, for the purpose of repulsing the meditated attack by the allies. On the fourteenth of October, a body of three thousand troops, under the command of Lord Blaney, was landed

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near Freangirola, at the distance of four leagues from Malaga. The object of this expedition was to seize the fort, which was defended only by one hundred and sixty men. As soon as he had gained this post, Lord Blaney would have provided it with a garrison, that the French might be induced to attack it with troops drawn for that purpose from Malaga. The expedition was to re-embark under the cover of the fort, and, in concert with other troops sent from Gibraltar, they were to have taken Malaga by a coup-de-main, destroyed its fortifications, and captured the privateers and richly-laden vessels which were in the port. The plan had been badly combined, and experienced a complete failure. The distance from Malaga to Freaugirola was not sufficiently great to accomplish the main object, had Lord Blaney even succeeded in obtaining possession of the fort. The governor, who perceived that the assailants were unprovided with the means of taking it by storm, refused to receive the officer who was sent to him for a parley by Lord Blaney. During the night a battery was mounted with some guns landed from the vessels; but the fire of this battery, and of the squadron, did not intimidate the governor, who expected to be speedily assisted. On the fifteenth, General Sebastiani approached, at the head of a body of troops superior to the allies, who were obliged to re-embark with great loss. Lord Blaney was among the prisoners.—It is astonishing that his lordship did not avail himself of the night after the landing, to give up the capture of the fort, return on board, and thus avoid all conflict with an enemy greatly superior in numbers.

General Godinot had several encounters with detachments from the army of Murcia, under the orders of General Blake. success was various, so long as the Spaniards confined themselves to the warfare of partizans; but they were defeated whenever an attempt was made by them to take any fixed position; so that the French continued in possession of the boundaries of Andalusia. At Cadiz many courageous sorties were attempted during the siege: they were rendered abortive by superior numbers, and by means of the French redoubts. Even in the beginning of October, the French batteries were already mounted with above three hundred heavy guns. Trocadera, Puertoreal, and Chiclana, were fortified with care. Marshal Soult presided over all these works: he wished to make amends, by great zeal, for the fault he had committed of not marching rapidly enough to Cadiz. hoped to overawe the garrison by bombs, which mortars of a new invention (des mortiers sur semille) launch to a distance of one thousand nine hundred fathoms. He had missed the opportunity of gaining without a blow, the richest, and, next to Gibraltar, the strongest town of Spain. The patriotism of the Spaniards, and the ability of the English, were destined, however, to paralyse all the marshal's efforts. Cadiz was never to become otherwise than subject to Ferdinand VII. Though very busy before this place, Marshal Soult was, at the same time, endeavouring to subdue the insurgents of the county of Niebla, and the Sierra Morena. He presided over the administration of Andalusia, to secure the pay and subsistence of fifty thousand men, the amount of his army, exclusive of the corps of Mortier, which he had detached to Estremadura.

The campaign ended with the conquest of Tortosa. Before he laid siege to this place, General Suchet was repeatedly obliged to engage General Villacampa. He had also the difficulties of the ground to overcome, that he might bring up his artillery. Some advantages having previously been gained on the twelfth and thirteenth of November, by Suchet, over Villacampa; on the twentysixth by Musnier, over the Valentians, who lost two thousand five hundred prisoners; and on the twenty-ninth of the same month, by Habert, over O'Donel; the army, destined to lay siege to Tortosa, left Xerta on the fifteenth of December. On the evening of the came day the place was completely invested. In the night, from the twentieth to the twenty-first, the trenches were opened without much loss. The labourers were favoured by a hurricane, which prevented the besieged from discovering the point of attack; and (what had never before been seen in any siege) the covered-way was finished previous to the batteries, which were destined to silence the fire of the besieged.

This circumstance leaves no doubt respecting the feebleness of the defence opposed by the garrison. On the twenty-ninth, at break of day, the French opened their batteries. On the thirtieth they carried the tête-de-pont, on the right bank of the Ebro; and, on the thirty-first, they ceased the attack, being no longer fired upon by the besieged. On the first of January, 1811, the governor hoisted the white flag. He sent the plan of a capitulation, which was not accepted; and refused that proposed by General Suchet. The besiegers then renewed their fire. Two breaches were judged practicable. The troops solicited to be led to the assault; and the general was about to consent; when the governor sent another deputation, through which he submitted to the conditions proposed. The troops of the garrison were sent prisoners of war to Saragossa. They amounted to seven or eight thousand men. One hundred and seventy-seven pieces of ordnance, besides provisions of all kinds, were found in the place.

In vain does the French general lavish great praises on the defence of Tortosa, in order that he may impart more importance to his conquest.—Had he not published his journal of the siege he might have been credited. A garrison of eight thousand men, who suffer the covered way to be finished without firing a shot, bring upon themselves everlasting disgrace; and the governor, who ought to be regarded as the principal author of a conduct so pusillanimous, deserves to be branded with infamy for his cowardice, his ignorance, and treachery to his king and country. The fall of this town must also be imputed to the neglect of the Spanish government, which should have entrusted its defence to an officer of distinguished merit. Suchet states in his report—"that the governor was a weak man, surrounded by two or three officers, who shared his authority." The expedition destined against Malaga would have been far more useful, had it been sent to Catalonia for the purpose of reinforcing O'Donel. Lord Wellington, having been able to resume the offensive as early as the fifteenth of November, and Massena having refused battle, his Lordship might

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easily have dispatched a body of choice troops to reinforce the army of Valentia, and to raise the siege of Tortosa. The numerous transports in the Tagus would have facilitated the movements of those troops, which were not required for the defence of the lines at Torres-Vedras. The position of Cartaxo, in which Lord Wellington continued about four months, might have been abandoned without any inconvenience; as the French had destroved every thing, even the very thatch which covered the peasants' dwellings. Had his Lordship been generalissimo of the Spanish armies at that time, it is probable that, by bold and scientific manœuvres, Tortosa would have been preserved, the blockade of Cadiz raised, and Massena equally obliged to evacuate Por-The campaign of 1811, which we are about to describe, affords, above all, a convincing proof that the peninsula would have been evacuated by the French at this time, had the allied forces been under the command of a single leader. But before we conclude the year 1810, two officers must be mentioned, whose deaths were highly regretted by the respective commanders of the two armies. On the twelfth of October, General Saint Croix, an ancient aid-de-camp of Massena, was cut in two, near Villa Franca, by a cannon ball, from a gun-boat stationed in the Tagus, to cover the right of the allied army. This officer commanded Massena's advanced guard, at the passage of the Danube, on the fifth of July, 1809; and, on the twenty-eighth of September, after the battle of Busaco, he was sent to take possession of Sardao, and to lead the advanced guard of the French army to Coimbra. Fenwick, the commander of Obidos, was mortally wounded on the eighth of December, in an engagement with some French grenadiers. Lord Wellington, in his letter of the fifteenth of December, to Lord Liverpool, wherein he mentions the death of this officer, adds that it is a very great loss to the army, and he is regretted by all who knew his valour and his activity. The campaign of 1811 commenced by a much more severe loss to the cause of the brave Spaniards—the death of the illustrious Marquis de la Romana; which was soon followed by the destruction of his army, and the surrender of Badajos. But the allies were not disheartened They resolved to adopt the French manœuby these disasters. vres, with regard to the movement en masse, and the charge with the bayonet. The only way to conquer was to beat the enemy with their own weapons, by adopting, above all, that famous concentrated system, which forms the basis of all their triumphs. From this instant the successes of the allies became certain, as they had the superiority of numbers. The beneficial consequences of so wise a determination were soon manifested by the evacuation of Portugal; and the victory of Barrosa, gained by the English general, Graham, over Marshal Victor, afforded the most sanguine hopes as to the speedy deliverance of the peninsula. We shall in the next book enter into a more minute account of these great events.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

ORIGINAL LETTERS

WRITTEN BY OFFICERS DURING THE SEVERAL CAMPAIGNS IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE CAMPAIGNS.

The following Collection of Letters will be duly valued by our Readers, as being so many original cotemporaneous documents, written at the time, and on the spot, of the several Campaigns. They are arranged in distinct packets according as they belong so different Campaigns. Thus the first Packet is entituled,—LETTERS DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF 1803; and as the value of this kind of document depends upon its authenticity, at the end of every Packet is added the name of the officer by whom the Letters were written. And where the whole of the Letters are not by one Writer, but are intermixed, the intermixed letters are signed with the name of the Writer.

LETTERS DURING THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1808 AND 1809.

LETTER XIII.

MY DEAR S. Salamanca, November ____, 1808.

A terrible report is now in circulation, that Castanos, who commands the only Spanish force of any strength, has been defeated! If this be true, our destiny must soon be decided; and, I fear, retreat will be inevitable. There is no end, no limit, measure, bound, in that word is death to us all: it cuts off all our hopes; it robs us of our promised honours; and returns us to our country crestfallen and broken hearted. Happen what will, I am sure it is a word that our gallant commander will never bring himself to pronounce. In extremity to retreat is indeed the hardest duty of the brave. Some days ago the following statement was said to be the position of Castanos and Palafox. They occupied Alagon; stretching along the Ebro a force consisting of nearly 50,000 men. Several thousands of this army were peasantry, forming a communication with those in arms to the south, as far as the shores of the Mediterranean. Our prospect in front, you will perceive, is not improved since I last sketched its aspect. But not so the French; after beating Blake and the Estremadura corps, they possessed themselves of Burgos, and pushed their advantages in every part of the country.

I was interrupted at the close of the last sentence by the entrance of a brother officer. The fatal news is too true; the central army is destroyed, and Castanos has fled to Cuenca.

I went yesterday with a party of our officers, to visit the nunnery of St. Clara, but could not obtain admittance beyond the outer hall: however, the sisterhood deigned to open the great door which led out of the convent into this apartment, and which would otherwise have divided us from them; and presenting us with chairs, we seated ourselves in a semi-circle before its threshold, and held a discourse much more conveniently than if we had been reduced to the Thisbe-like expedient of conversing through the chinks of the door. Most of these ladies were rather ancient; yet many wore the remains of past beauty, and filled one with sad reflections that such charms should have been doomed to bloom and fade, and die unseen, unappreciated, unbeloved. But these regrets were to ourselves, our gentle companions did not seem to partake them: they were even gay, and prosecuted the conversation with a vivacity which shewed they were pleased with our visit; nay, they even paid us compliments which

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few of the sex who had not forsworn their interest in such qualifications would have ventured to pronounce. They spoke highly of our nation, extolled its military men for the respect we had shewn to them; and said, how very hand-some Englishmen were, how captivating their manners! Of course we could not do less than bow to these frank expressions of approbation, and replying to them in kind; they next descanted on the probable approach of the French to Salamanca, and declared their wish to be enabled to fly to England before the completion of such a calamity.

Their dress was of coarse grey woollen cloth; a wrought linen hood bound their heads and necks: each nun wore her rosary; an exquisite cleanliness gave the finishing charm to their saintly persons. Thirty sisters, I understood, was then the number of the establishment. This order is the strictest of any in the church, and it boasts many canonised heroines; it owes its institution to a female named Clara, how long ago I am not antiquarian enough to tell you; but weary of the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, she fled from them, and sceluding herself in that church of St. Damian in the holy city of Asis, there passed a right, pure, and sober existence; doing acts of such charitable import as unquestionably rendered her worthy of the honours she received after her death. Some other virgins becoming enamoured of her peaceful retirement, followed her into the cloister; and so from her and them arose the order of St. Clara.

As a double consecration of the vestal institution, Dona Urraca, an aged maiden of devout practices and chaste thoughts, left the haunts of men, and taking up her abode in an hermitage called Santa Maria, within the walls of this city: on its very site now stands the convent of St. Clara. From its foundation to the present times, the fame and strictness of its unsullied inhabitants, as well as the rare discipline set forth in the Claraen rules, gave a consequence to the sisterhood which claimed the approbation of their sovereign and the pope, and almost idelatrous veneration from the people.

His holiness of Rome granted them many bulls, dispensations, protections, and donations of precious relics; and even so early as in the year 1244, kingly bequests, and rich presents from repentant nobles, poured into the treasury of St. Clara. From this root sprung many a scion; and in every province of this populous country were planted convents of every order, in devout emulation of these holy sisters of Salamanca. So much for vestals in will as well as in deed! I must now give you a hint of some who are so only in name; I mean the fair inhabitants of a few nunneries which lie on the Portuguese frontier: they did not even keep a threshold between our curiosity and their seclusion. We found as free ingress into their cells as if we had been a regiment of confessors; their veils were thrown aside, their holy abstinence neglected, and adventures truly romantic ensued. I fancy more than the history of Rousseau's nun was here realised in a hundred instances; and could these lovely forsworns have seen any prospect of safety by flight, I believe many of our officers would have had a daughter of the church added to his baggage. However, not intending to betray their secrets, and having seen them left to their tears, I shall drop the subject, and turn from what might be sad to graver matter; namely the students of Salamanca.

The university of this once famous city was founded by Alphonso the Ninth sometime about the year 1222, and established on a similar plan with that instituted at Placentia by Don Alphonso King of Castile, surnamed the Good. The privileges of the schools in Salamanca were greatly increased by Alphonso

the Tenth; a prince whose taste for literature is yet the object of reverence in Spain; and, though unfortunate in his projects, the beauty of his own literary works, and the usefulness of the history he caused to be compiled, well entitle him to his appellation of *The Wise*.

The ancient consequence of this place, like the ruins of Palmyra, is mouldering away. In the era of its splendour the students were calculated at more than 30,000, and now it scarcely boasts 4,000; indeed, from what I see I should think it difficult to muster half that number. One reason for the present desertion of the university is highly honourable to the students: on the first burst of patriotic enthusiasim in the country, several hundreds of them turned out; and those who were not slain in the late melancholy defeats are yet in arms. From different causes the convents, monasteries, and other public institutions have greatly diminished of their inmates; and the once populous seat of learning and repository of holy men has become a mass of useless edifices fallen to decay, and which would be left for the "fox to look out at the window," were they not now occupied by our troops.

The most attractive feature in the city is the Great Square, which is indeed beautiful. Its piazza-walks are the daily lounge of our officers, the students of the colleges, and whatever personages are allured thither by the hope of news. During one of my strolls I entered the cloisters of the monks of St. Augustine, and found their walls covered with very frightful paintings of the members of the fraternity who had suffered martyrdom. Various, and exceedingly horrid, were the representations, in many cases they were too shocking to look upon.

That a retreat is preparing I have no doubt; several quarter-master generals have been sent to the rear of our present position: and the sick and stores are ordered to Almada. Last night a courier was dispatched to Sir David Baird; I do not certainly know for what purpose, but I should suppose to advise his falling back either, on Vigo or Corunna, or to retreat into Portugal. Sad mortifying words, these, my good friend! and that I may not repeat them in this sheet, I hasten to subscribe myself yours.

LETTER XV.

MY DEAR S-

Salamanea, December 1808.

After the advantages gained by the French troops over the army of Castanos and Palafox, the latter retired to Zaragossa, and the victors advanced to Madrid. They attacked the place, but received some checks; as the inhabitants aware of their danger, had with expedition fortified the most vulnerable points. This resolution is certainly in the spirit we expected to have found prevading the whole country; but as it is without able direction, and hopeless of support, I fear their efforts will prove abortive; and that the loss of the capital must speedily follow the defeat of their generals.

Should Spain fall under the yoke of France, it will not have been to the supineness of the people that she owes her slavery; but to the rulers, to whose guidance those very people entrusted themselves, and on whose wisdom they relied. Unhappy nation! as a free man and as an ally, I mourn your approaching fate: and while I respect the gallant peasantry of your mountains as men worthy of their cause, I execrate from my soul the wretches in power who barter your liberties and their own for victory in a debate; a little temporary influence; or, finally, for the gold of their enemies!

Thanks to a rare instance of bad information in our adversary; General Hope with his troops and the artillery have arrived unmolested. From this

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circumstance I do not doubt that the French are persuaded we are already far On our retreat to Portugal; but in this they are deceived; and what is more they have failed in forcing us to the measure. Something sudden, we know not what, has altered the appearance of our dispositions. Instead of moving as we expected, when I closed my last letter, many detachments of our army have marched hence, taking the direct road towards Valladolid. ters follow the day after to-morrow; a sight which will be very delightful to this city. The inhabitants, ignorant of the causes of our sojourn, having lately evinced suspicion and discontent at the length of time we have garrisoned their walls. It would be an ungrateful task now to tell them, that the ill-advised route we had received from their government, as well as the indecision of the junta relative to their own proceedings, and the ignorance we had been kept in with regard to the plans of the Spanish military, with which we expected to co-operate; had not only rendered our arrival in the country useless, but even made it appear as if they intended to betray us into the hands of the enemy. To remonstrate with these rulers would now be a vain attempt: the time for successful action has been allowed to pass; and owing to their want of unity, our indefatigable zeal in coming hither is made of no effect; and they have blasted, perhaps for ever, the dawning liberties of their country.

By dividing their forces; by giving disjointed commands; the whole has been successively annihilated. Advantages have been neglected, and as little attention paid to the maintaining favourable positions, and the organization of recruits, as if the land lay in the profoundest security.

The dreadful catastrophe of the patriotic hosts must have undoubtedly increased our difficulties; but as a regular communication has at last been instituted between Sir John Moore and the Spanish government, we may hope that future disasters may be avoided. Indeed, if it were possible to be sauguine in the midst of such destruction, we might be led, by the aspect of the present moment, to augur some good.

We are not to retreat, but to advance!—An order we should gladly have obeyed weeks ago; but better late than never; and as so great a change from the obvious movement has taken place, the general sentiment is, that some advantage, not dreamt of by those out of the secret, is foreseen by the dictators of this onward march. Great indeed must it be to warrant the proceeding of so inferior an army as ours to meet the victorious and accumulating legions of the French.

If Sir John Moore have not received these hints from your side of the ocean, I can only attribute our advance to that spirit of enterprise which is so essential in a general who commands in this rapid mode of warfare. He may have received intelligence, not yet breathed to us, that the main body of the enemy which we expected to be now in front of us, has either remained at Burgos, or has weakened itself by sending detachments towards the capital: also having General Hope, with our long wished-for artillery, &c. closing upon us; and finding that our junction with Sir David Baird is secure, (—his cavalry being at Torro,—) our commander may consider, that thus concentrated, we shall not only be strong in ourselves, but may place some reliance on the new and ascertained communication with the junta; and by its influence, may expect that the Gallicians and Austrians will not only be called upon, but be properly appointed to join the Marquis de la Romana, and to support us.

Whatever be the grounds of these hopes, may heaven grant us success! I have no alarm for ourselves. Should the provinces meet us with the enthu-

siasm promised; and their rulers make a proper use of their zeal; all may yet be retrieved. But at the worst, should every Spaniard desert us, we are yet a phalanx of British seldiers! The sea is before us; and we have swords to cut a passage to our own element.

Every preparation is made for our march. I hope in the course of a few days to be within sight of those, we have journeyed so far to fight; and if we come in contact, shall we not "embrace them with a Briton's arm?"—Alas! that so many disadvantages, which we could neither foresee, nor, situated as we have been, provide against; that they should meet us in a friendly country! A vast and victorious army menacing our few thousands; we, unsupported, and without prospect of resource, should we be defeated! Our enemy, if thinned of half his ranks, has myriads througing on behind to make up the deficiency. We are literally a forlorn hope; and all we can do is to assert the honour of England, and to sell our lives dearly.

Though ignorant of the state of this province when we came into it, we are tolerably aware of the devastation we are to meet on our departure. The country we must march through has already been drained by the troops recently quartered there. But we cannot doubt that this evil is provided against, and (if practicable) measures must have been taken to convey victualling for the army from Corunna, or whatever depots we have formed on the coast. That such has been the precaution of our leaders is my hope; for I can assure you I have no expectations on that head either from the produce of the provinces themselves, or from any inclination in the natives to part with a portion of their scanty subsistance. A voluntary assistance being thus unpromising, we place still less dependance on the aid of magistrates to enforce by their authority, the justice and necessity of the people's yielding us a share of their provisions. These civil officers are every where as feeble as their efforts to accomodate us, as they are strong in opposition to their respective juntas: and that any orders have arrived, from the supreme council to command that we shall be duly supplied is, I hardly think, probable; for, judging of the present by the past, these "grave and reverend seignors" seem never awake to what ought to be done till they have over-slept the opportunity. Our enemies teach a more summary mode of acquring all requisites for subsistence, whether on a friendly or a hostile march: but honour prevents our using force where we do not meet inclination. I hope this delicacy may continue; for when compulsion once begins, the compellers often over step their orders, and ravage where only a little indispensable foraging was intended.

Preparations are now made for head-quarters to be put in motion; and when we march out, which Sir John Moore proposes to do on the 13th of this mouth, we shall have just past one month in this city, having entered it on the 13th of November! a stay that we all lament as lost time; and, calculating the weeks irretrievably wasted here, with the many lingered out in Portugal after the convention of Cintra, we cannot but exclaim in bitterness of soul, "Had the decision for our advance been earlier made, the first snows of winter would have found us at the feet of the Pyrenees; and probably the rear of our army would have possessed itself of Vittoria on the 4th of November, instead of that of Buonaparte.

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LETTER XIV.

MY DEAR S-

Sahagun, December, 1808.

We left Salamanca at eight o'clock on the morning of the 18th; having assembled at the Zamora gate, where the baggage belonging to head-quarters was collected and placed under a guard of infantry and cavalry. At the appointed moment all moved forward, forming one of the most active and interesting scenes I ever beheld. The morning was fine, beautifully illuminating the surrounding landscape, and imparting a delightful glow to the busy exhilaration of our spirits. All the sombre prognostications on the late disasters which had clouded our hopes while in quarters, vanished from our minds like the fading recollections of a frightful dream.

Every object was calculated to inspire confidence. The passing waggons groaning under the weight of ammunition, the trains of artiflery, and the well-appointed columns, accompanied by hundreds of mules; the continued hum of the mingled voices of thousands seemed to people the air; and the more distant part of the country filled with myriads of living creatures, moving over the far-stretching plain; the soldiers' bayonets glittering in the rising rays of the sun; the proud prance of cavalry; bat-men and servants leading spare horses; and groups of women and children mounted on asses; with hordes of followers of all descriptions, driving heavy laden mules hung with bags, trunks, and portmanteaus; formed, altogether, a scene of animation, and of military array that enchanted the soul, and seemed to promise a happy rencontre with our enemies.

We found the road excellent; but owing to the multitude of our host, and their consequent incumbrances, our march was not of the quickest, which rather annoyed the eager spirits of those who wished to press on. The country was flat for a considerable extent of way; but became a little hilly as we approached Carnizal, the village destined to receive us for the night; it was at the distance of six leagues from Salamanca.

Carnizal being a place of small dimensions, Sir John Moore proceeded, without halting, to the town that was to be our next day's rest. Many of our troops, also, took up their quarters there.

When we re-commenced our march we found the road still good, but flat as before. It afforded us a view of at least thirty spires of churches, arising from the bosom of distant villages. Aliajos, where we rejoined our commander in chief, stands amidst these numerous rustic settlements, and is a town of some consequence, possessing a handsome square, with two churches of considerable magnitude. A beautiful castle, which commands the entrance of the place on the Salamanca side, is the most lofty object seen from the plain, and gives to the neighbouring buildings that air of power and dignity which is peculiar to fortress towns. From the architecture of this noble structure, which is in a style of modern regularity never observed in the works of the earliest ages, I am led to think that it is not very ancient. Its form is square, and flanked with four round towers; one of which is larger than the others, and very high. Its outer wall is guarded by regular bastions; and a well excavated ditch cuts off any egress from without. This last part of the work is of an immense depth, and is crossed on the north side by a draw-bridge, the stone supports of which still remain At some distance from the town stands a monastery of begging friars. How opposite are the meditations which these two orders of buildings suggest! The one entirely tranquil, the other all tumult. The former

state is not envied by us at present: we are but just launched into the turbulent waves; and as we have already breasted a few of them, you will excuse us if we do not think of rest, till having surmounted them all, we jump victorious on the British shore.

A party of our dragoons, under the command of General Stewart, yesterday fell in with some of the enemy's cavalry, and after a brisk contest soon made them prisoners. This is the first affair between us and the forces of Napoleon since we left Portugal: we find the French officers very pleasant men, and far from chagrined by their misfortunes. Indeed, I believe they inwardly rejoice at having fallen into our hands, rather than into those of the Spaniards, as they well know the enraged patriots would have given them no quarter: nay, to put the idea beyond a doubt, mobs of our allies have continually surrounded the house in which our prisoners were confined, awaiting the moment when they hoped we would call the Frenchmen out and have them shot. But that way of disposing of our fellow-creatures who have confided themselves to our honour not being in our laws of war, we disappointed our sanguinary friends, and contrived to preserve, without farther molestation, the lives of our captive enemies.

The following morning we renewed our march under a thick fog which enveloped us almost the whole way to Torro; a circumstance I much regretted, having been informed, by several of our officers who had previously visited that city, that the views between it and Aliajos were exquisitely interesting. The road being on the banks of the river Duero was sufficient to excite the most remantic anticipations in my mind; but the envious mist hid them all from my eyes, and allowed me nothing but the unsatisfactory shadows of imagination, where I expected to meet the beautiful realities of nature.

The city we are drawing towards is not inferior in size to Salamanca. It stands on the ridge of a hill, overlooks the Duero, and commands the whole plain beneath. The approach to it from below is extremely striking: its mud walls, lofty spires, and ancient castle, stretch along the brow of a dark brown mountain. A fine bridge of many arches crosses the river: the centre arch has been destroyed, but is now restored, though in no very lasting manner.

A party of our Gallie friends having been in the town not many days before our arrival, left orders for rations to be provided for the advance of 15,000 men. But so little attention was paid by the magistrates to this formidable intimation, that when we entered, instead of finding preparations of welcome for our enemies, we found "a plentiful scarcity of every thing."

We halted a day Torro, which gave me an opportunity of viewing the buildings, and becoming acquainted with their romantic environs. The great religious edifice of the city is of an architecture so resembling our Saxon, both in the style of arch and ornament, that I could have imagined the Temple church in London and this on the banks of the Duero to have been designed by the same artist. The principal entrance is by a door profusely decorated with effigies of augels and saints, playing on various musical instruments; numbers of which, intermixed with flowers and lace-like fret-work, form the frieze. On the right of the door is an immense mass of granite rudely sculptured into the semblance of a trunk and neck of an animal; I think it is meant for a bull; not because of the likeness do I pay it this compliment, but in consequence of having seen the figure of the same beast represented in different places of the city, and particularly emblazoned on shields attached to the entrances and other conspicuous parts of the city: probably this animal is the

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armorial bearing of the town: and the name of the place sanctions the supposition. About fourteen more religious houses made up the holy treasury of Torro.

The remains of the ancient mud walls run all round the city. It was a mode of fortification introduced by the Maures (or Moors), to supply the deficiency of stone in this neighbourhood. Earth was also resorted to for even the more elevated works; although I found bricks here of most exquisite manufacture, and fabricated into curious and fanciful ornaments. One fine edifice, flanked with richly friezed towers and fretted projections, presented a noble specimen of the Moorish architect's abilities. Every step in this town presents some object highly interesting; and nothing can be more picturesque than several points both within and without its walls. It is celebrated for many a warlike rencontre between the Christians and the Infidels; and particularly for a great battle which was fought between Ferdinand of Castile and Alphonso king of Portugal. This memorable victory, obtained by the brave husband of Isabella over his adversaries, took place in the year 1476.

Before I take you farther on our journey, I must not omit mentioning, that at Aliajos we found an English messenger, who had brought me letters from England. Recollecting our own owlish forebodings while at Salamanca, I am not surprised at the fear you all express for our safety. Your idea that we had long ago marched from the learned city, and that in consequence of the accumulated defeats of the Spaniards, our danger of being surrounded must be great indeed, was not a very improbable one; but I hope that the return of this courier will satisfy our country that we are not yet in se awful a predicament; not likely to be so ensnared: but if we should, that there is not one British neck amongst us that will consent to pass under the yoke of a French general. We came hither to protect the Spaniards against the enemies of Europe; and sooner than relinquish our post for Gallic chains, we would all earth our heads in Spanish graves.

But this is a gloomy alternative, my friend, which is more in idea than in prospect; our anticipations have nothing to do with the mattock and the spade: so no more evil prognostications from your side of the water. The papers of a French officer, who had been dispatched to Mareschal Soult, were taken in consequence of his death, and brought to head-quarters. They will be of use to us, as rumour says that the same military duke is not far off. I wish it may prove true; for we have now closed nearer on Sir David Baird, who is on the same movement with ourselves; and, I trust, a favourable result of our joint forces will soon be reported by Sir John Moore, as some compensation to our drooping fame, for being so long mewed up within the withering precincts of Salamanca.

On the 16th we recommenced our march, and took the road towards Castro-Nueva; distant from our last quarters about five leagues. The country gradually assumed an undulating line, and then rose into hills, which were plentifully peopled, if we may judge by the number of villages which decked their sides. Why it should be so well colonized I cannot explain; for the district seemed particularly dreary. Not a tree, nor even a shrub was seen to enrich the barren prospect. Nay, the valleys themselves which intersected these miserable crags boasted not one sprig of verdure higher than a blade of glass, to wave its solitary head over the cheerless waste. This was an apt scene in which to change our climate: it appeared as if by some invisible agency, we had been transported from the luxuriant temperate zone to the naked tracts and chilling.

blasts of Siberia. The weather became piercingly cold; and the saturated air hung a corroding damp upon us that portended even another alteration for the worse.

On the following morning we pursued our way, which was rendered both unpleasant and difficult by a heavy fall of snow. This circumstance checked the rapidity of our footsteps, and beating its icy artillery in our faces, so impeded our advance, that the beams of day had long been set before we gained our quarters, which were at Valderes.

The town is a large one; but yet not sufficiently extensive to accommodate with any degree of comfort the numerous army which we poured into it. On the arrival of myself and party we found it filled with cavalry and infantry, with almost the whole of the artillery; and droves of asses laden with women and children, like gaugs of gypsies, crowding the streets. In short, every species of bustle and inconvenience that attends a march in a belligerent country menaced us on our entrance into this city.

No pursuit of man produces such various feelings in the human breast as the events of a campaign. Scenes of exultation and regret checquer the path; but the latter, I am sorry to say, are generally most frequent. Indeed it is truly pitiable to see the trains of women burthened with poor helpless infants, either tied on their backs, or stuffed into the panniers of asses, trudging along, exposed to cold and wet, and all the terrible accidents attending their unassisted situation.

Such sights excite a wish that more determined measures were taken by our military government to prevent these accumulations of the feeble sex following the army. If they be at all requisite at these times, let the number be very limited, and the limitation strictly adhered to. But better, in my mind, would it be to exclude every one of them (at least no children sould be permitted to accompany the troops), as they only fill the men with anxieties respecting their safeties and accommodation; and in many cases occupy the conveyances intended for the sick and weary; and consume half the provisions which is necessary for the support of the army. These are certainly objects deserving the attention of the military legislature; and, both for propriety and compassion's sake, I hope our rulers will see the wisdom of taking them into consideration.

I need only mention one instance of the distress this indulgence creates. On the day we left Salamanca, I saw a poor creature bearing her infant in her arms, and following her husband, who was attached to one of the regiments then on its march: she had only three days before brought this misery-doomed babe into life; and, pale and faint, she now dragged her enfeebled limbs along, clasping the little sufferer to her breast. To lend her any assistance was totally out of my power; and with a pain at heart which gave rise to the foregoing reflections, I saw her pass on. Whether she has reached thus far, I am ignorant; but I hardly think her strength would hold out even through the first day's march.

At Valderes the conveniences we had hitherto enjoyed might be sought, but could not be found. The number of our troops occasioned not only the men but the officers to be billeted in crowds together; and for want of sufficient stabling, many of our horses were left in the open air. Here, then, I bade adieu to the cleanliness and regularity we had hitherto been enabled to obtain. We were now entering seriously into the privations of war; and this privation, I must own, I do find difficult to bear with the indifference becoming a soldier. Thanks to a good constitution, and to my creed as a military man, I consider

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nothing a hardship that leaves me an unmolested person; but filth and vermin are more frightful enemies to your friend than hunger and thirst, and all the etcetras of comfort-killing war. However, if a man cannot get rid of this delicacy, he must even prepare to run away from Spain; and as the remedy in our case would be more grievous than the disease, I even plucked up courage to become at once a contented denizen of these dirt-infested regions; and, like a certain heroine throwing away her camphor-bag, dash my particularities to the winds, exclaiming, "Farewel decency! Welcome nastiness, and all the crawling plagues of Egypt!!"

The morning after our arrival into this initiatory pig-stye was ushered in by a rapid and severe frost; and when we walked forth we found the streets and roads covered with upset baggage, tumbled-down mules, and prostrate artillery-horses. The change of weather having been so sudden, the shoes of these invaluable animals had not been turned up; and the hardness of the frost making the ground like glass, they slipped about and fell in every direction.

The cold in this season is more piercing here than in England. And when this is acknowledged, I cannot but be surprised at the inefficient means the natives adopt for its exclusion. Few have glazed windows; some have not even shutters, but allow the searching air to blow unimpeded through the casement into the house. The scanty pan of charcoal you were before made acquainted with is the only thing like a fire you ever see or feel; they have no cheering and glowing grates as we have in our country; all is comprised in this little pot of fuel, and with it they strive to give a hint of warmth to their chambers; and when they want a thawing themselves they stand round it like the priests of Vesta over the sacred fire.

To keep themselves warm, the lower classes sleep in their clothes; and seldom knowing the comfort of water, they are, consequently, the dirtiest people in Europe. It would be insufferable to read, were I to give you any idea of the soil and inhabitants of these human worlds; suffice it to say, that it is a great delight to them (an amusement relished as highly as a fox-hunt is by honest John Bull) to seek the population of each other's heads, and to take thence its creeping deer. A similar practice I have seen in many a foreign nation; nay, even in a part of our own empire: the fields of "green Erin," for instance, where the sturdy sons of the ancient Milesians still shew their love of the chace by this sort of heady war.

In Spain such sport is esteemed a great luxury; and that the native on whose person it is performed regards it as an act of kindness the following circumstance will prove. A friend of mine who visited Madrid in more tranquil moments than the present, while in that city went to the representation of a new play. Love was not omitted in this piece. The scene drew up, and discovered the enamoured pair embracing and kissing each other with no inconsiderable degree of passion. The modesty of the audience was shocked; and such a universal expression of disapprobation was evinced that the acting was stopped. But the night following the same play was again brought forward, and proceeded very quietly unto the critical scene. The curtain rose, and presented the lovers; but differently employed. The lady was journeying through the ravines, between the long locks of her beloved, and taking thence their affrighted little residents. At this sight peals of applause rung throughout the house; and the remainder of the piece went off with the loudest acclamations. So much for the most delicate testimony of Spanish tenderness! Where, my good friend, are all the ethereal loves of the Don Ferdinands and Dona Seraphinas of our romances, when we behold such spectacles? I am afraid they have ruined my interest in the heart-smitten heroes, and heroines of Spain for ever. But, as there is no reason why it should have the same effect on our anxieties respecting their military welfare, I shall proceed with the annals of our campaign.

Our next destination was Majorga; three leagues distant from our last quarters. This place is not inferior in size to Valderes; and boasts the remains of former greatness, a ruined castle and antique fortified walls. During our march we passed through several villages, and saw the inhabitants dressed in their winter garbs. Those thus appropriately attired were labourers and shepherds. The Laplanders could not present a more cold-repelling appearance. A rough goat or sheep skin was fitted to their persons; this, with a sort of conical hood or cowl, of which the pictures of Robinson Crusoe will give you an exact portrait, form their whole contour.

At Majorga, we stayed for the night; and, early next morning, renewed our march towards Sahagun, at which place we arrived about three o'clock, after halting on the road for some time; owing to the report of a commissary who, riding forward, heard from the peasants that the French were entering the town. He instantly returned to impart this intelligence to us; but, on investigating further, we found the account false, and that it arose from the entrance of a party of our own victorious troops instead of the enemy.

The cavalry under Lord Paget's command having been dispatched in front amongst the neighbouring villages, were ordered to march towards the town we were proceeding to occupy, and which, on the night of the 20th of this month, was in the possession of about 500 French horse. Our gallant Viscount, in executing the proposed plan, fell in with the enemy at the moment of their evacuating Sahagun, and an action took place, in which our brave hussars behaved with their usual steadiness and intrepidity. I was informed by one of his Lordship's staff that this affair was more like the regular movements of a field-day than a warlike encounter, which is generally accompanied with a bustle that wears the appearance of confusion. The French, finding it was impossible to escape, formed across the road to receive our charge.

Colonel Grant and Captain Jones, of the 15th, were the only officers wounded; and very few men fell on our side. The enemy in this defeat, being our superior in numbers, lost nearly twenty killed, besides wounded, and 200 taken prisoners, before they took to flight. Most of our brave fellows who felt the edge of the French sword were cut in the head; and that owing to the little defence which the present form of their caps allows. This circumstance shews the necessity of changing the prevailing fashion of fantastic head-dresses in the field, for the less ornamental but more useful helmets of our enemies. Whatever be the fate of this expedition, we should at least make it serviceable to us, by learning all that is to be taught by the great masters of arms, who for these twenty years have been educated in a university of blood and victory. The dence is in it, then, if we cannot take a lesson from them in the art of shielding the most vital parts of our persons.

Their helmets are light, excellently adapted to guard the head, and at the same time very elegant. They have brass chains which come under the chin, protecting the ears and the sides of the face from a horizontal coup-de-sabre. The men who wore furred caps at all resembling our own, had them lined within with a hoop of iron; and from the ears devolved two strong bars. Even

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with this heavy appurtenance their weight did not exceed that of the flimsy, but muff-like appendages that encumber the heads of so many of our soldiers-Indeed, this awkward cap of ours by being constructed partly of pasteboard, soaks up a great quantity of wet during the violent rains of this country, and so becomes unbearably heavy and disagreeable, while it affords no protection to the wearer. At all times they can be cut down to his skull with the greatest ease. Excepting this defect, every other military appointment of our people, both for themselves and their horses, is superior to that of the French. An excellence which cannot but be perceived by them; while the late rencontres must force them to acknowledge our advantage in still more essential respects.

I happened to be billeted with an officer who had been engaged in the affair of the morning of the 21st. During the combat it was his fortune to cut down a French officer of chasseurs. Securing the horse and accountements of his discomfited enemy, he ordered them to be taken to his own quarters. When my friend and I met, according to the usage of time immemorial, we examined the spoil; and opening the portmanteau of the fallen hero, we found in it no "dagger, casque, or buckler," but a silver ewer and a becon of the same costly metal, beaten close together, I suppose to render them more convenient for package. Along with the handles of a few silver knives and forks were a thousand glittering trifles and trinkets which the plunder of the chapels, perhaps the person of many a Virgin Mary, had afforded. A richly embroidered jacket also came forth, at whose button-hole hung the croix d'honeur of the celebrated Legion of Buonaparte.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR,

From the year 1792 to 1814; in which the Military Transactions of each Campaign are related separately and in detail.

CAMPAIGN OF 1793.

BOOK II. CHAP. VI.

A new League is formed against France—Conduct of the British Cabinet—Naval Campaign in the Channel—Capture of Tobago, Miquelon, St. Pierre, and Part of St. Domingo in the West, and Chandernagore, Carical, and Pondicherry, in the East Indies—Lord Hood is sent to the Mediterranean with a formidable Fleet.

While France was thus assailed at once by powerful enemies on her frontiers, and exposed at the same time to all the horrors of anarchy and civil war within her own bosom, a new league was formed against her.

The empress Catharine had preceded all the other potentates of Europe in her threats of vengeance. She therefore recalled her minister, and determined to suspend all correspondence with France "until his most christian majesty should be re-established in those rights and prerogatives assigned to him by human and divine laws."

On the murder of Louis XVI. her imperial majesty addressed an edict to her senate, in which, after intimating that "seven hundred monsters' had laid "their parricidal hands on the life of the king, their lawful master," she was pleased to suspend all commercial intercourse with France, and permitted such only of the natives of that country to remain within her dominions as would abjure by oath "the pinciples of impiety and sedition introduced by the usurpers of the government and legitimate authorities." The empress soon after entered into a convention with Great Britain, and transmitted a note to the court of Sweden, in which she intimated a wish "to check and cut off the navigation of the French rebels, and protect the coasts of the Baltic from their privateers and robbers."

A convention was at the same time exchanged between their Britannic and Sicilian majesties; by which the former not only agreed to protect the dominions of the other by means of a respectable fleet in the Mediterranean, but also to grant a subsidy.

France, by a declaration of hostilities only anticipated the intentions of the court of Madrid, and the court of Lisbon, throwing aside all ceremony, signified to d'Arnault, the minister of France, that he must quit the capital within the space of three days. Several Frenchmen, attached to the revolutionary government of their country, were at the same time sent on board a neutral vessel.

England, at the same time, entered into a new convention with Prussia, in which it was mutually agreed that the high contracting powers were to assist and succour each other in the course of "the just and necessary wer in which they are engaged against France." It was also stipulated, that they should shut up their ports against the ships of that nation, and no lay down their arms, but by common consent, without a restitution of all conquests made upon either of their said majesties, or such of their allies to whom they might deem proper to extend this guarantee.

These treaties were followed up by the most active preparations. No less than three different armaments were fitted out in the course of a single summer; and the West Indies, the Mediterranean, and the narrow seas, witnessed the triumph of the British flag. The channel fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of the line, having left Spithead under Lord Howe, intelligence was soon after received that seventeen men of war belonging to the enemy were stationed off Belleisle. On the arrival of the former in that latitude, twenty-one sail were descried from the masthead; but the distance was too great to enable the best glasses to convey an idea of their respective rates; and the tempestuous weather prevented the admiral from adopting such measures as might have brought on an engagement.

Towards the end of October (1793) the English fleet, now augmented to twenty-four ships of the line, gave chace to a squadron of observation, consisting of six large men-of-war, two frigates, and a brig: it was found impossible, however, to bring them to action, as they dispersed and es-

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caped during the night. But although the campaign in the Channel proved unsatisfactory, several captures were made by means of single ships. Captain Edward Pellew, in La Nymphe, fell in, during the month of June, with the national ship of war the Cleopatra, carrying forty guns and 320 men, and took possession of her, after an action of fifty-five minutes. Captain Saumarez of the Crescent, towards the latter end of October, after a close fight of two hours and ten minutes, and without a single man being either killed or wounded, forced the frigate La Reunion to surrender; she mounted thirty-six guns, and was provided with 320 men, 120 of whom were killed and wounded on this occasion.

On the other hand, an action, dubious as to the result, was fought on the American station. This took place between the Ambuscade, a French frigate, mounting thirty-six guns and carrying 400 seamen, and captain Courtney in the Boston, provided with thirty-two guns, and 204 men. Both vessels suffered considerably, and the English captain was killed in the course of the fight, which was not suspended until the crews of both ships had been thinned by mutual slaughter, and utterly disabled from continuing the contest.

In the mean time the English arms were triumphant both in the East and West Indies. Major-general Cuyler, with the assistance of Vice-admiral Sir John Laforey, was enabled to proceed with a small body of men against the island of Tobago. Having effected a landing in Great Courland bay, and marched against the fort, Monteil the commandant was summoned to surrender, but refused. On this the English general, finding that his numbers were unequal to the operations of a siege, determined to carry the place by assault in the course of that very night. The troops, who were enjoined to trust entirely to the bayonet, accordingly advanced to attack the north-west side, and, notwithstanding one of the guides ran away, and the column was separated in mounting the hill, yet the flank companies entered the works, upon which the troops forming the garrison yielded, and were admitted prisoners of war.

Soon after this, the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, near the coast of Newfoundland, surrendered at discretion to Brigadier-general Ogilvie; but an attack made by Major-general Bruce, on the island of Martinico, proved less fortunate. The colonists being divided among themselves, the royalists had sent a deputation, in the name of a committee, inviting the commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in the West Indies to proceed to their assistance, stating, at the same time, that they were already in possession of some important posts. A detachment of British troops, to the amount of eleven thousand men, was accordingly landed, and being joined by a body of the male-contents, the whole prepared to advance in two columns against a couple of batteries that defended the town of St. Pierre; but an alarm having taken place among the allies, and their commanding officer being wounded, the expedition was relinquished, and the troops re-embarked.

Although the British troops did not then succeed in their attempt on the rich settlement of Martinico, possession was soon after obtained of a portion of the still more important colony of St. Domingo.

This colony is not only the first settlement in the West Indian archipelago, but, in point of importance, may perhaps be considered as superior to the whole of the European colonies in that portion of America. An intercourse, between the whites and the black female, had produced a numerous race, varying, in point of colour, from the dingy samboe to the pale mestize, whose complexion, without the bloom, possessed nearly all the fairness of the male ancestor. The men of colour, many of whom had been educated in the universities of France, and possessed considerable plantations, were removed in point of estimation only a single degree from slaves; and those who in Europe had been treated with respect, were naturally discontented at the change.

A decree of the National Assembly had declared, "that all the people of colour born of free parents became citizens, and were eligible to seats both in the parochial and colonial assemblies." This decree produced a civil war. To heal these divisions, three persons were sent out to St. Domingo with the title of civil commissioners, but they lost the confidence of the white inhabitants, by having proclaimed a general amnesty on their arrival, in favour of the men of colour and the revolted Three others, Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud, were apslaves. pointed to succeed them. These immediately dissolved the colonial assembly, sent home Blanchilande the governor, nominated by the king, and called in the negroes to their assistance against the planters. In the course of this contest, the most terrible enormities were perpetrated on all sides. Ogé and Chavane, two men of colour, were put to death amidst the most cruel torments; Maudit, the commandant at Port-au-Prince, was murdered by his own soldiers; the town of Cape François was destroyed, and a multitude of the inhabitants massacred.

In this unhappy situation of affairs, a number of different parties were formed among the white colonists. Some, contemplating the internal resources of the island, and dazzled with the recent success of the British colonies in America, were desirous of establishing an independent state; others wished for the protection of England; and not a few were eager to profess a temporary allegiance to Spain, and surrender St. Domingo to the court of Madrid, as a deposit for the French princes.

But those who were attached to Great Britain finally prevailed; for the governor of Jamaica having received instructions to attempt an invasion, measures were at length taken for that purpose; and a French nobleman (Colonel Charmilly) well acquainted with the colony, accompanied the expedition. All the necessary preparations having been made, Commodore Ford sailed from Port Royal with the 13th regiment, two flank companies of the 49th, and a small detachment of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke. These having landed at Jeremie (October 22d), the two forts immediately hoisted English colours, and saluted with twenty-one guns.

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After leaving some troops, and remaining only a few hours there, the squadron sailed for the Mole, and some persons were sent on shore to treat about the surrender. Major O'Ferral, who commanded the garrison, consisting of one hundred and eighty-three men of the regiment of Dillon, and M. Deneux, the commandant of the place, immediately agreed to the terms proposed. Twenty-two deputies were accordingly sent on board the Europa; the forts at Presque-isle and Orleans fired a royal salute; and the troops exclaimed, "Vive le Roi!" Thus an important position of the island of St. Domingo was delivered up to five hundred and sixty British troops; and the English cross, assuming the place of the three-coloured flag, not only waved along a coast of fifty leagues in extent, but was displayed from the bastions of the Gibraltar of the Antilles.

In consequence of the extraordinary exertions of Mr. Baldwin, the British consul in Egypt, advice of the war with France arrived in India with a degree of celerity hitherto unexampled. On receiving this important intelligence, Chandernagore, Carical, Yanam, and all the small factories appertaining to that power, were instantly laid hold of, and many of their ships seized. Preparations were also made to obtain possession of the important fortress of Pondicherry; and Admiral Cornwallis blockaded the place by sea, while Colonel Floyd appeared before it on the land side with a detachment of troops. Colonel Braithwaite, who formerly acted as governor, and had become acquainted with all the approaches, was entrusted with the direction of the siege. After transmitting a summons to Colonel Prosper de Chermont, a plan of attack upon the north face of the fort was determined upon. A battery of eight twelve-pounders and two eight-inch mortars was accordingly erected, within eight hundred yards of the place, and another of fourteen twenty-four pounders was completed in a short time; on the opening of which, after a desultory defence, Pondicherry surrendered.

Nor were the operations of England confined to the tropical seas; for Lord Hood was about the same time sent with an armament into the Mediterranean; and, as will be seen in the sequel, succeeded there in a most important enterprise.

(To be continued.)

THE LIFE OF

1815.]

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM WINDHAM, LATE SECRETARY OF WAR, MINISTER OF COLONIES, &c.

(Concluded from cur last.)

OF the character of Mr. Windham some few memorials will perhaps be looked for, in addition to those which may have been incidentally preserved in the preceding narrative. To describe him truly as he was, is a task however which is more pleasing to undertake, than easy to achieve.

In his person he was tall and well proportioned. Having in his youth been eminently skilful in manly exercises, he had thence acquired in his deportment a happy union of strength and case, of agility and gracefulness, which never forsook him. The form of his features was singularly interesting; and the penetrating vivacity of his eye gave a faithful indication of the corresponding qualities of his mind.

His address and conversation were fascinating to all classes of persons;—as well to the grave as to the gay—to the uniformed as to the learned—to the softer as to the sterner sex. His manners delighted all circles, from the royal drawing-room to the village-green; though in all circles they were still the same. As the polish of his address was not artificial, it was alike pleasing to all. No man had ever less pride, in its offensive sense. He would repel flippancy and arrogance, and would very keenly point his reprobation of what seemed mean or dishonourable; but he never measured his courtesy by the various degrees of rank, of talents, or of wealth, possessed by those to whom he addressed himself.

Of his acquirements it is needless to speak much at length. That he was "a scholar, and a ripe and good one," there are abundant testimonies to prove; nor did his classical attainments, great as they were universally allowed to be, exceed his skill in the various branches of mathematical science. That skill the public, it is hoped, will be enabled to appreciate at some future time, by the publication of the manuscript treatises which are in the hands of his executors. His reading latterly was miscellaneous and desultory; but what he hastily acquired, he accurately retained, and aptly applied in illustration of his opinions and arguments.

His taste, in general, in the fine arts, was eminently pure, delicate, and discriminating. For music, indeed, he had no relish beyond a simple ballad. I once heard him remark, that the four greatest men whom he had known, derived no pleasure from music. Mr. Burke, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Pitt, were the persons whom he thus distinguished.

Upon what is generally called "style" in writing, he set but little value. His own practice was, to take plain words in preference to learned ones; to disregard the construction of sentences; and to adopt popular idioms whenever they would aptly express his meaning. In his language

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he was as truly British as in his politics. His disgust was strongly excited by modern innovations of French words and phrases; and he disliked them even as terms of art, where English ones could be found to supply their places. For the word sortie, for instance, he would uniformly subtitute "sally." But nothing so highly offended him, as any careless or irreverent use of the name of the Creator. I remember that on reading a letter addressed to him, in which the words, "My God!" had been made use of on a light occasion, he hastily snatched a pen, and, before he would finish the letter, blotted out the misplaced exclamation.

Of Mr. Windham's character as an orator, the reader of this memoir is furnished with such ample means of judging for himself, that it is wholly unnecessary here to enter into any investigation of it. Something, however, may be said concerning the effect of his eloquence in the House of Commons; and in this respect a very high authority on such a subject (Mr. Canning) has pronounced, that "if it was not the most commanding that that house had ever heard, it was the most insinuating." His manly figure, and his fluent and graceful delivery, were important points in his favour; but, on the other hand, the want of a full and sonorous voice rendered him sometimes difficult to be understood in many parts of the house, particularly in the gallery. This physical defect, added to a parenthetical mode of speaking, and the occasional subtilty of his logical distinctions, may account for the very imperfect manner in which his speeches were too commonly reported in the newspapers. The reporters often caught little more from him than those playful allusions, and whimsical quotations, which diverted the house, but which he really used merely by way of illustration. These, however, were strung together in the newspapers, unaccompanied with the arguments which they were intended to illustrate; -so that a speech thus reported, would frequently appear more like a leaf torn out of a jest-book, than a logical and profound political discourse, as it probably was when it was delivered. Nothing was more foreign from Mr. Windham's habits, than to jest for the sake of jesting; his wit was always subservient to his argument.

The reason which has rendered it unnecessary to give an elaborate description of Mr. Windham's eloquence, will equally serve to relieve me from a much weightier task—that of examining his political opinions. I will venture, however, to suggest, that the ruling passion—the clue which, "once found, unravels all the rest,"—will be met with in the preference which he gave to the honour and military renown of his country, above every other state of things in which a nation is said to be great and prosperous. To apply this principle to the whole course of his public opinions, would involve a discussion much too ample for the limits of this work:—but I cannot avoid remarking, that his notions respecting the common people directly flowed from it. No man could really love the people more than Mr. Windham loved them;—he did not, it is true, wish them to become statesmen or philosophers;—he

desired to see them honest, active, cheerful, and contented—sensible of the blessings they enjoyed, and capable of defending them. Feeling that

> ——a bold peasantry, their country's pride, When once destroy'd, can never be supplied,

he deprecated all attempts which were made to deprive them of their accustomed sports and exercises. From the practice of those exercises, resulted, in his opinion, not only much of the personal bravery of Englishmen, but also that hatred of bloodshed and assassination, and that humane forbearance in victory, by which the British character is happily distinguished from that of many other nations. Nothing roused his indignation more than the vexatious spirit of interference with the holiday-enjoyments of the poor, which he thought some of our magistrates had lately shown a strong desire to exercise. The suppression of a village-hop, or horse-race, or even a boxing-match or bull-bait, while the magistrate was quietly enjoying his own ball or hunting-party, he thought an act of the most scandalous injustice and oppression. In short, he loved the British peasant, and wished to see him vigorous on the green, and independent in his cottage—respected for his loyalty, and formidable by his prowess.

Mr. Windham's political opinions have been often charged with inconsistency. It is not surprising that such a charge should proceed from persons who only look to the distinctions of Whig and Tory, or to those other distinctions which, for nearly thirty years, have been sufficiently known and defined under the names of Pittite and Foxite. That he sometimes agreed with Mr. Fox, and sometimes with Mr. Pitt, is with such persons a decisive proof of inconsistency! Those who will go deeper, making measures, not men, their rule for deciding the question, will perhaps find that, during a long political life, hardly any public man has less differed from bianself than Mr. Windham has done. From the outset of his career to the close of it, he was the uniform enemy of Parliamentary Reform.

In his zeal for the improvement of the army, his attachment to the crown and aristocracy, and his protection of the real comforts of the common people, he will be found to have been equally consistent. That in the course of twenty or thirty years, he found reason to change some few of his opinions, may be very true; but who has not done this, even on subjects of the highest importance? It must be admitted that he altered his mind on the question of the Slave Trade, which he at first thought should be abolished instantaneously, though he afterwards wished the abolition to be subsequent to an attempt for ameliorating the condition of slavery. But instances like this will weigh but little against a mass of facts in the opposite scale.

In speaking of Mr. Windham's public measures, it must not be forgotten that it was on those for the improvement of the army that
he relied for his reputation as a minister. He publicly declared that,
like the eminent Italian musician, who had a piece of Italian music in-

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scribed on his tomb, or the Dutch mathematician who had a calculation for his epitaph, he should desire no other monument as a statesman than that system."

The quality, perhaps, by which Mr. Windham was most remarkably distinguished from most other men, was his intrepidity. His political, like his personal courage, was unbounded, and he seemed to seek, rather than to shun, opportunities of displaying it. Had he condescended to court popularity, there can be no doubt that he would have attained his object; and it might have enabled him to become the leader of a party in the state. That was a situation, however, for which he had neither the ambition, nor the necessary arts. He disliked both the management and the sacrifices which, in such an employment, are indispensably requisite.

His habits of business were by no means regular, yet he could never justly be said to be idle. He would have been able to transact more business, had he been less scrupulous. It was his custom to begin a transaction with more care and nicety than could afterwards be found practicable in the conclusion of it.

Notwithstanding his keenness as a debater, no man ever mixed less of private enmity with his public differences. He generally spoke of his adversaries with liberality, and often with kindness. There was no system of opinions which he so strongly condemned as he did Sir Francis Burdett's; yet I remember that he once softened the asperity of some remarks which were made by another person on that Baronet's conduct, adding, good-humouredly, "I suspect, after all, I have a sneaking kindness for Sir Francis."

It now remains to speak of his domestic virtues, in doing which it will be difficult to speak in any other language than that of unqualified eulogium. His tenderness as a husband and relative, his kindness as a friend and a patron, his condescending attention to inferiors, his warm sympathy with the unfortunate, are so many themes of praise, which it would be more agreeable than necessary to dwell upon. The sense which he entertained of the importance of religion, and which he strongly marked by one of the concluding acts of his life, will serve to complete the character of a man who had scarcely an enemy, except on political grounds, and had more personal friends warmly attached to him, than almost any man of his age.

His talents, accomplishments, and virtues have been happily summed up, by describing him as the true model of an English gentleman; and it has been well observed, that if the country had been required to produce, in a trial of strength with another nation, some individual who was at once eminent for learning, taste, eloquence, wit, courage, and personal accomplishments, the choice must have fallen on Mr. Windham. He was the admirable Crichton of his age and country.

All this, it may be said, is the language of panegyric. The writer is aware that it is so, but he cannot feel that it is not also the language of truth. If gratitude for bounties received shall appear to have blinded his

judgment, the error he trusts will be forgiven. Yet he will not readily consent to believe that he has been erring, in bestowing praise where those whose authority is every where respected, have thought it was justly due. It would be highly culpable in him to be less forward than others, in yielding his humble and grateful tribute to the memory of one whom he has every reason to revere, and of whom he feels it might be said, as of the Roman General,

Worse than a theft, no less than a traducement To hide your doings; and to silence that Which to the spire and top of praises youch'd Would seem but modest.

THE LIVES OF THE GREAT CAPTAINS OF MODERN HISTORY.

IT is our purpose under this head to execute a task very much wanted, that of giving a complete collection of The Lives of the Great Captains of Modern History. As far as respects France this has been already executed by Brantome, but we have no English Writer who has attempted it. The materials of these Lives will be as follows: 1. Where the subjects themselves have left their own Memoirs, they shall be given in full. 2. Where these Lives have been written by any author of authority, they will likewise be given in full,—such work being translated or reprinted. 3. In want of such materials, the best will be selected rom the annals and memoirs of the age in which they lived.

THE LIFE OF JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

BOOK III.

To the Battle of Ramillies, and the Reduction of Brabant and Flanders.

(Continued from our last.)

The 7th the Deputies of the States of Flanders attended my lord duke, and the deputies of the states-general, with the resolution they had taken the day before in their assembly at Ghent; which his highness and their excellencies approved. The contents of it was, that they acknowledged king Charles for their lawful sovereign, and prayed to be maintained in their privileges.

The artillery not being come up the army was unable to undertake any thing for several days. My lord duke therefore took that opportunity to make a trip to the Hague, to confer with the states-general about the further operations of war, and some other matters of the nighest importance. He set out the 8th in the morning, and arrived there the 9th. His grace left the army under the command of M. d'Auverquerque, who made a detachment to block up the town of Dendermonde. My lord duke, having finished his negociations at the Hague, returned the 13th to the army, having been received at

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Antwerp with extraordinary marks of respect. He was met at Merxem, two leagues from Antwerp, by the bishop of that city, attended by all the clergy, both secular and regular, who assured his grace of their inviolable loyalty and affection to king Charles III, and to the house of Austria; acknowledging at the same time, his grace to have been the glorious instrument of their happy deliverance from the tyranny of France, under which they had laboured ever since the death of king Charles II. The margrave of Antwerp, with the burgomasters, and the rest of the magistrates, attended his grace at some distance from the city; where the first pensionary, in the name of the rest, made a speech to the same purpose as the clergy had done before, and presented his grace the keys of the town; telling him, they had never been delivered up to any person since the great duke of Parma, and that after a siege of 12 months. His grace, at his entry into the town, was received with all the honours and ceremonies usually paid to their sovereign princes; 150 of the principal citizens going in procession before the coach his grace was in, with lighted flambeaux, to the bishop's palace, where he was splendidly entertained and lodged that night. The marquis de Teracina, grandee of Spain, and governor of the citadel, declared for king Charles the third, and waited on his grace during the whole solemnity; and the streets were crouded with infinite numbers of people, continually repeating, with the greatest joy and satisfaction imaginable, "Long live king Charles the third." When the garrison was to march out. according to the capitulation, one Spanish and one Walloon regiment staid behind entire; and of the other regiments of those countries there were scarce 150 left when they passed by Brussels, most of the officers and soldiers entering into the service of the catholick king; as did likewise the marquis de Winterfeld, lieutenant-general, and governor of Lierre, who commanded the garrison in the city of Antwerp; and the baron de Vrangle, a major-general.

M. d'Auverquerque marched the 15th, with a detachment, to form the sieges of Ostend and Newport; and lieutenant-general Fagel marched at the same time with another body, and in the evening took Plassendael sword in hand. There were above 200 men in the town, under the command of a lieutenant-colonel, and some of them were put to the sword. Those troops advanced, and took the bridge of Santworde, securing thereby some sluices. They marched next day to approach Ostend, which was closely blocked up at sea, by a squadron under the command of Sir Stafford Fairborn.

These transactions in the Netherlands appear so glorious, from the letters and other authentic accounts we have inserted, that few particulars can be added to them. We shall only take notice, that as all the generals in the battle of Ramillies gained a great deal of honour, so all of them were exposed to the greatest danger. Mylord duke was unhorsed twice; and the first time captain Molesworth, one of his aids-de-camp, was very instrumental in saving his life. That gentleman threw himself off his horse, remounted his grace, and though he was on foot in the midst of the enemy, he had the good fortune to

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escape. M. d'Auverquerque was in great danger of his life; for besides the dangers in the fight, that are common to all, a Bavarian officer, whose life he had preserved out of mere generosity, would have killed him, had not some of his retinue prevented the blow, and shot the ruffian. One thing may be mentioned for its great oddness, though six years before it would have been more singular. It is, that the lord John Hay, who commanded a regiment of Scotch dragoons, when the regiment of foot, called the king's, consisting of 1,200 men, submitted to him, and surrendered their arms and colours, ordered, to prevent their running away, and the necessity of setting a strong guard over them, that every man should cut a piece out of the waistband of his breeches, which obliged them to hold them up with one hand: and in that posture they marched with a guard only of 25 dragoons and a serjeant. King Charles of Sweden did something like this by the Muscovites, after the battle of Narva.

While his grace was obtaining these laurels, the emperor sent a decree to the diet of the empire, importing, that having thought fit to create the duke of Marlborough a prince of the empire, in consideration of his eminent services, he had erected the county of Mindelheim into a principality, and given it to that prince, to qualify him to sit and vote in the college of Princes of the empire; and that therefore his majesty recommended to them to admit his plenipotentiary thereinto, without any delay, that the said prince of Mindelheim might be encouraged more and more to continue his services to Germany and the common cause.

The duke having appointed Mr. Stepney to take possession of his principality, and her British majesty having been pleased to allow the said Mr. Stepney, her envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Imperial court, to take possession of it in his highness's name, the ceremony was performed in the Town-hall. May the 24th, and the next day by the officers, magistrates, burghers, and other subjects of the principality. Count Konigseg, one of the emperor's privy-council, and his first commissioner for this act, declared, that his imperial majesty had transferred on the duke, in consideration of his improtant services, all his right to the said principality; in testimony whereof a secretary of the Feudal-court read the letter of investiture, and then a patent whereby the officers and subjects were first discharged from the obedience and vassallage which they swore a year before to his imperial majesty, upon the death of Maximilian, late duke of Bavaria. They were afterwards directed to take a new oath of homage to the duke of Marlborough, as prince of Mindelheim, which was administered to them, by Mr. Stepney's order, in presence of count Konigseg, and two other imperial commissioners, who had had before the joint administration of that country. The whole ceremony was performed with a great deal of decency; and the people in general gave all demonstrations of their satisfaction, in being under his highness's protection.

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BOOK IV.

To the End of the Campaign in 1707.

Though Ostend was invested the 20th of June, the getting of fascines and other necessary things prevented the opening the trenches till the 28th at night, when that work was performed by lieutenant-general Fagel, having under him major-general Lauder and brigadier Amama, with two colonels and 2000 soldiers or pioneers, supported by four battalions. The 3d of July sir Stafford Fairburn came ashore to confer with M. d'Auverqueque, and resolved that the next day his bomb-vessels should draw near the place to bom-This was so well hard it, while they did the same thing on the land-side. executed, that in a few hours the town was on fire in several places. The next day the duke of Marlborough came into the army, and, having dined with M. d'Auverquerque, went to view the approaches. His grace was saluted by the cannon of the men of war under sir Stafford Fairborn, and returned the same evening to his army at Rousselaer. The same night the counterscarp was attacked, and a lodgement made thereon, without any great resistance. The batteries continued to play with great success the 5th and 6th, and the garrison, seeing preparations made for storming the place, thought fit to beat a parley, and the following capitulation was agreed upon:

"That the garrison should march but only with their swords by their sides, and their baggage, upon condition that they should not serve for six months against king Charles III, and his allies. 2. That the Spanish troops should be conducted to Mons, and the French to Dunkirk. S, 4, and 5. That all the engineers and officers belonging to the artillery, the governor of Damme, and the commissaries of provisions, both Spaniards and French, should be allowed to march out upon the same conditions as the garrison. 6. That all the sick and wounded, both officers and soldiers, should be sent, those of Spain to Mons, and those of France to Dunkirk; and that they and the comptrollers. physicians, undertakers, surgeons, apothecaries, and others belonging to the hospital, should be supplied with a sufficient number of covered waggons: but that the waggons should be liable to be visited, and their charges should be borne by the two crowns." These were the principal articles, and the garrison marched out accordingly the 8th of June; but two Spanish battalions, and 4 troops of dragoons of the same nation, did not make above 60 men; all the rest having deserted to return home, or list themselves in the service of the allies. Lieutenant-general Sparr was appointed governor of this place.

To be continued,

OFFICIAL NARRATIVES

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS OF BUONAPARTE,

SINCE THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

Being a Complete Collection of the whole of the Bulletins published by Buonaparte to his Abdication.

IT is the well known opinion of some of our ablest Generals, that the French Bulletins of Buonaparte contain the most complete practical lessons of modern warfare, and with a due allowance for some exaggeration, include the fullest narrative of the most memorable campaigns on record. A wish, therefore, has often been expressed that they were all published in one form, so as to form a portable manual as well for future reference as for present study. It is our present purpose to affect this. In this, and in the following numbers of the Chronicle, we shall accordingly give a complete collection of the whole of the Bulletins published by Buonaparte. This began only in the first Campaign after he was Emperor. The form of a Bulletin being considered in foreign Cabinets as belonging only to Severeigns.

CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY OF 1809.

PROCLAMATION OF THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES.

Vienna, April 6, 1809 .- The protection of our country calls us to new exploits. As long as it was possible to preserve peace by means of sacrifices, and as long as these sacrifices were consistent with the honour of the throne, with the security of the state, and with the welfare of the people, the heart of our bountiful sovereign suppressed every painful feeling in silence; but when all endeavours to preserve happy independence, from the insatiable ambition of a foreign conqueror, prove fruitless, when nations are falling around us, and when lawful sovereigns are torn from the hearts of their subjects, when in fine the danger of universal subjugation threatens even the happy states of Austria, and their peaceable fortunate inhabitants; then does our country demand its deliverance from us, and we stand forth in its defence. On you, my dear brother soldiers, are fixed the eyes of the universe, and of all those who still feel for national honours and national prosperity. You shall not share the disgrace of becoming the tools of oppression. You shall not carry on the endless wars of ambition under distant climes. Your blood shall never flow for foreign fleets and foreign covetousness; not on you shall the curse alight to annihilate innocent nations; and over the bodies of the slaughtered defenders of their country to pave the way for a foreigner to the usurped throne. A happier lot awaits you; the liberty of Europe has taken refuge under our banners. Your victories will loose its fetters, and your brothers in Germany, yet in the ranks of the enemy, long for their deliverance. You are engaged in a just cause, otherwise I should not appear at your nead .- On the fields of Ulm and Marengo, whereof the enemy so often remind us with ostentatious pride, on these fields will we renew the glorious deeds of Wurtsburgh and Ostrach, of Liptingen (Stockach), and Zurich, of Verona, of the Trebbia and Novi. We will conquer a lasting peace for our country; but the great aim is not to be attained without great virtues. Unconditional subordination, strict discip-

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line, persevering courage, and unshaken steadiness in danger, are the companions of true fortitude. Only a union of will, and a joint co-operation of the whole, lead to victory.-My sovereign and brother has invested me with extensive powers to reward and to punish. I will be every where in the middle of you, and you shall receive the first thanks of your country from your general on the field of battle. The patriotism of many of the Austrian nobility has anticipated your wants: this is a pledge in the fullest measure, of the public gratitude: but punishment shall also, with inflexible rigour, fall on every breach of duty: merit shall meet with reward, and offence with animadversion, without distinction of person or rank; branded with disgrace shall the worthless person be cast out to whom life is dearer than his and our honeur. Adorned with the marks of public esteem, will I present to our sovereign, to the world, those brave men who have deserved well of their country, and whose names I will ever carry in my heart.—There remains one consideration, which I must put you in mind of: the soldier is only formidable to the enemy in arms; civil virtues must not be strangers to him: out of the field of battle, towards the unarmed citizens and peasants, he is moderate, compassionate, and humane: he knows the evils of war, and strives to lighten them; I will punish every wanton excess with so much greater severity, as it is not the intention of our moparch to oppress neighbouring countries, but to deliver them from their oppressors, and to form with their princes a powerful bond, in order to bring about a lasting peace, and to maintain the general welfare and security. Soon will foreign troops, in strict union with us, attack the common enemy. Then, brave companions in arms! honour and support them as your brothers; not vain-glorious high words but manly deeds do honour to the warrior; by intrepidity before the enemy you must shew yourselves to be the first soldiers .--Thus then shall I one day lead you back to your own country, followed by the respect of the enemy, and by the gratitude of foreign nations, after having secured by your arms an honourable peace, when the satisfaction of our monarch, the approbation of the world, the rewards of valour, the blessings of your fellow-citizens, and the consciousness of deserved repose await you.

CHARLES, Archduke, Generalissimo.

FIRST BULLETIN.

RATISBON, April 24, 1809.—The Austrian army passed the Inn on the 9th April; that was the signal for hostilities, and Austria declared an implacable war against France and her Allies, and the Confederation of the Rhine. The following were the positions of the French Army and her Allies:-the corps The corps of the Duke of Rivoli of the Duke D'Auerstadt at Ratisbon. at Ulm. The corps of General Oudinot at Augsburgh. The head-quarters at Strauburgh. The three divisions of Bavarians under the Duke of Dantzic, were placed as follows: The first division commanded by the Prince Royal at Munich; the second by General Deroy, at Landshut; and the third, by General de Wrede, at Strauburgh. The Wurtemburgh division at Heydenheim. The Saxon troops encamped under the Walls of Dresden. The corps of the Duchy of Warsaw, commanded by Prince Poniatowsky, in the environs of Warsaw.—On the 10th the Austrian troops invested Passau, where they surrounded a battalion of Bavarians, and at the same time invested Kufftein, where there was another battalion of Bavarians: these movements took place without a shot being fired. The Austrians published the subjoined Proclamation in the Tyrol. The Bavarian court quitted Munich for Dillingen.

The Bavarian division which had been at Landshut went to Altorff, on the left bank of the Iser. The division under the command of General de Wrede marched upon Neustadt.—The Duke of Rivoli left Ulm for the environs of Augsburgh. From the 10th to the 16th the enemy's army advanced from the Inn to the Iser; there were several skirmishes between parties of the cavalry in which the Bavarians were successful.—On the 16th, at Pfaffenhoffen, the 2d and 3d regiments of Bavarian light horse completely routed the hussars of Stipschitz and the Rosenberg dragoons. At the same time the enemy appeared in large bodies for the purpose of forming at Landshut, the bridges are broken down, and the Bavarian division commanded by general Duroy vigorously opposed this movement of the enemy, but being threatened by the columns which had passed the Iser at Moorberg and Freysing, this division retired in good order upon that of general Wrede, and the Bavarian army took a central position upon Neustadt.

Departure of the Emperor from Paris on the 13th.

The Emperor learnt by the telegraph in the evening of the 12th, that the Austrians had passed the Inn, and he set out from Paris almost immediately. He arrived at three o'clock on the morning of the 16th at Louisburg, and in the evening of the same day at Dillingen, where he saw the king of Bavaria, and passed half an hour with that prince, and promised in 15 days to restore him to his capital, to revenge the insults which had been offered to his house, and to make him greater than any of his ancestors had ever been. On the 17th at two o'clock in the morning, his Majesty arrived at Donauworth, where he immediately established his head-quarters, and gave the necessary orders. On the 18th the head-quarters were removed to Ingolstadt.

Battle of Pfaffenhoffen on the 19th.—On the 19th General Oudinot quitted Augsburg, and arrived by break of day at Pfaffenhoffen, where he met three or four thousand Austrians, whom he attacked, and took three hundred prisoners. The Duke de Rivoli arrived the next day at Pfaffenhoffen. The same day the Duke of Auerstadt left Ratisbon to advance to Neustadt, and to draw near to Ingolstadt. It was then evident that the plan of the Emperor was to out-manœuvre the enemy, who had formed near Landshut, and to attack them at the very moment when they, thinking they were commencing the attack, were marching to Ratisbon.

Battle of Tann, on the 19th .- On the 19th, by break of day, the Duke d'Auerstadt began his march in two columns. The divisions of Moraud and Gudin formed his right, the divisions of St. Hillaire and Friant formed his left. The division of St. Hillaire arrived at the village of Pressing, and there met the enemy, superior in number, but inferior in bravery, and there the campaign was opened by a battle which was most glorious to our arms. General St. Hillaire, supported by General Friant, overturned everything that was opposed to him, and took all the positions of the enemy, killed a great number of them, and made between 6 and 700 prisoners.—The 72d regiment distinguished itself on that day; the 57th maintained its ancient reputation. Sixteen years ago this regiment obtained in Italy the name of the Terrible. In this action they maintained their pretensions to that title: they attacked singly six Austrian regiments in succession, and routed them. On the left, at two o'clock in the afternoon, General Moraud also fell in with an Austrian division, which he attacked in front, while the Duke of Dantzic, with a corps of Bavarians, which had marched from Abensberg, attacked them in the rear. This division was soon driven from all its positions, and left several hundreds in

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killed and prisoners. The whole regiment of the dragoons of Levenher was destroyed, and its colonel killed by the Bavarian light-horse. At sun-set the division of the Duke of Dantzic formed its junction with that of the Duke of Auerstadt. In all these affairs Generals St. Hillaire and Friant particularly distinguished themselves. Those unfortunate Austrian troops who had been led from Vienna with music and with songs, and under a persuasion that there was no longer any French army in Germany, and that they would only have to deal with Wirtemburghers and Bavarians, displayed in the strongest manner the resentment they feit against their chiefs for the error into which they had been led; and their terror was the greater when they saw those old bands which they had been accustomed to consider as their masters.—In all these battles our loss was inconsiderable, compared with that of the enemy, who Tost a number of general officers and others, who were obliged to put themselves forward to give courage to their troops. The Prince of Lichtenstein, General Lusignan, and others, were wounded. The loss of the Austrians in colonels and officers of lower rank was considerable.

Buttle of Abensberg, on the 20th .- The Emperor resolved to beat and destroy the corps of the Archduke Louis and General Keller, which amounted to 60,000 men. On the 20th his Majesty took post at Abensberg: he gave orders to the Duke of Agerstadt to keep the corps of Hohenzollern, of Rosenberg, and Lichtenstein, in check, while, with the two divisions of Moraud and Gudin, the Bavarians and the Wirtemburghers, he attacked the army of the Archduke Louis and Gen. Keller in front, and caused the communications. of the enemy to be cut off by the Duke of Rivoli, who passed by Freyberg, and from thence proceeded to the rear of the Austrian army. The divisions of Moraud and Gudin formed the left, and manœuvred under the orders of the Duke of Montebello. The Emperor determined to fight that day at the head of the Bavarians and Wirtemburghers. He ordered the officers of these two armies to form a circle, and addressed them in a long speech. The Prince-Royal of Bavaria translated into German what he said in French. The Emperor made them sensible of the confidence which he reposed in them. He told the Bavarian officers that the Austrians had always been their enemies; that they now wished to destroy their independence; that for more than 200 years the Bavarian standard had been displayed against the Austrians: but at this time he would render them so powerful that they alone should be able to contend with the house of Austria. He spoke to the Wirtemburghers of the victories they had obtained over the house of Austria, when they served in the Prussian army; and of the advantages which they had recently obtained from the campaign in Silesia. He told them all, that the moment was come for carrying the war into the Austrian territory. This speech was repeated to the different companies by the captains, which produced an effect which may easily be conceived. The Emperor then gave the signal for battle, and planned his manduvres according to the particular character of the troops, General Wrede, a Bavarian officer of great merit, was stationed at Siegenburgh, and attacked an Austrian division which was opposed to him. General Vandamme, who commanded the Wirtemburghers, attacked the enemy on their right flank. The Duke of Dantzic, with the division of the Prince-Royal, and that of General Deroy, marched toward the village of Renhausen, in order to reach the grand road from Abensberg to Landshut. The Duke of Montebello, with his two French divisions, forced the extremity of the enemy's left, and overthrew every thing that was opposed to him, and advanced to Rohr

and Rosenburgh. Our cannonade was successful on all points. The enemy, disconcerted by our movements, did not fight for more than an hour, and then beat a retreat. Eight standards, twelve pieces of cannon, and 18,000 prisoners, were the result of this affair, which cost us but a few men.

The Bettle of Landshut, and taking of that Place.—The battle of Landshut having iaid open the flank of the Austrian army, and all their magazines, the Emperor, by break of day, on the 21st, marched upon Landshut. The duke of Istria defeatd the enemy's cavarly in the plain before that city. The general of division Mouten, made the grenadiers of the 17th advance to the charge on the bridge, forming the head of a column. The bridge, which was of wood, was set on fire, but that was not an obstacle to our infantry, who forced it, and penetrated into the city. The enemy, driven from their position, were then attacked by the duke of Rivoli, who had advanced by the right bank. Landshut fell into our power, and with Landshut we took 30 pieces of cannon, 9,000 prisoners, 600 ammanition-waggons, 9,000 baggage-waggons, and the hospitals and magazines which the Austrians had begun to form. Some couriers and aides-de-camp of the commander in chief, prince Charles, and some convoys of wounded men, coming from Landshut, also feil into our hands.

Battle of Echnull, on the 22d.—While the battle of Abeusberg and that of Landshut produced such important consequences, the archduke Charles had formed a junction with the Bohemian army under Kollowrath, and obtained some partial success at Ratisbon. One thousand of the 65th, who were left to guard the bridge of Ratisbon, and who had not received orders to retreat. having expended their cartridges, and being surrounded by the Austrians, were obliged to surrender. This event made an impression upon the Emperor. and he swore that in 24 hours Austrian blood should flow in Ratisbon to resent the insult which had been offered to his arms. During this time the dukes of Auerstadt and Dantzic held in check the corps of Rosenberg, Hohenzollern, and Lichtenstein. There was no time to be lost. The Emperor began his march from Landshut, with the two divisions of the duke of Montebello, the corps of the duke of Rivoli, the cuirassiers of Nansoutz and St. Sulpice, and the Wirtemburgh division. At two o'clock in the afternoon they arrived opposite Echmuhl, where the four corps of the Austrian army, consisting of 110,000 men, had taken a position under the command of the archduke Charles. The duke of Montebello attacked the enemy on the left, with the division of Gudin. On the first signal the divisions of the dukes of Auerstadt and Dantzic, and the division of light cavalry of general Montbrun, took their position. One of the most beautiful sights which war can present then presented itself, 110,000 men attacked on all points, turned on their left, and successively driven from all their positions, the detail of the events would be too long, it is sufficient to say, that the enemy were completely routed; that they lost the greater part of their cannon, and a great number of prisoners; and that the Austrians, driven from the woods which cover Ratisbon, were forced into the plain, and cut off by cavalry.

The Austrian cavalry, strong and numerous, attempted to cover the retreat of their infantry, but they were attacked by the division of St. Sulpice on the right, and by the division of Nansoutz on the left, and the enemy's line of hussars and cuirassiers routed, more than 300 Austrian cuirassiers were made prisoners. As the night was commencing, our cuirassiers continued their march to Ratisbon. The division of Nansoutz met with a column of the enemy, which was escaping, and attacked it, and compelled it to surrender; it con-

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sisted of three Hungarian battalions of 1,500 men.—The division of St. Sulpice charged another division of the enemy, where the archduke Charles narrowly escaped being taken. He was indebted for his safety to the flectness of his horse. This column was also broken and taken. Darkness at length compelled our troops to halt. In this battle of Echmuhl, not above half of the French troops were engaged. The enemy, closely pressed, continued to defile the whole of the night in small divisions, and in great confusion. All their wounded, the greater part of their artillery, 15 standards, and 20,000 prisoners, fell into our hands.

Battle of Ratisbon, and taking of that place. On the 23rd, at day break, the army advanced upon Ratisbon; the advanced guard, formed by the division of Gudin, and by the cuirassiers of Nansoutz and St. Sulpice, and they very soon came in sight of the enemy's cavalry, which attempted to cover the city. Three successive charges took place, all of which were to our advantage. Eight thousand of their troops having been cut to pieces, the enemy precipitately repassed the Danube. During these proceedings, our light infantry tried to get possession of the city. By a most unaccountable disposition of his force, the Austrian general sacrificed six regiments there without any reason. The city is surrounded with a bad wall, a bad ditch, and a bad counterscarp. The artillery having arrived, the city was battered with some twelve pounders. It was recollected that there was one part of the fortifications where, by means of a ladder, it was possible to descend into the ditch, and to pass on the other side through a breach in the wall. The duke of Montebello caused a battalion to pass through this opening; they gained a postern, and introduced themselves into the city. All those who made resistance were cut to pieces: the number of prisoners exceeded 8,000. In consequence of these unskilful dispositions, the enemy had no time to destroy the bridge, and the French passed pell-mell with them to the left bank. This unfortunate city, which they were barbarous enough to defend, has suffered considerably. A part of it was on fire during the night, but by the efforts of general Moraud, and his division, it was extinguished. Thus, at the battle of Abensberg, the Emperor beat separately the two corps of the archduke Louis and general Keller; at the battle of Landshut, he took the centre of their communications, and the general depot of their magazines and artillery; finally, at the battle of Echmuhl, the four corps of Hohenzollern, Rosenberg, Kollowrath, and Lichtenstein, were defeated. The corps of general Bellegrade arrived the day after the battle; they could only be witnesses of the taking of Ratisbon, and then fled into Bohemia. In all these battles our loss amounted to 1,200 killed and 4,000 wounded !!!-[Then follows a list of the French officers killed and wounded, and very high eulogiums upon the different French generals.]-Of 222,000 of which the Austrian army was composed, all have been engaged except 20,000 men, commanded by general Bellegarde. On the other hand, near one half of the French army has not fired a shot. The enemy, astonished by rapid movements, which were out of their calculation, were in a moment deprived of their foolish hopes, and precipitated from a delirium of presumption to a despondency approaching to despair.

SECOND BULLETIN.

MUHLDORF, April 27.—On the 22d, the day after the battle of Landshut, the Emperor left that city for Ratisbon, and fought the battle of Echmuhl. At the same time he sent the duke of Istria with the Bavarian division under ge-

meral Wrede, and Moltor's division, to proceed to the Inn, and pursue the two corps of the Austrian army beaten at Abensberg and Landshut.-The duke of Istria arrived successively at Wilsburg and Neumark, found there upwards of 400 carriages, caissons and equipages, and took from 15 to 1800 prisoners in his march.—The Austrian corps found beyond Neumark, a corps of reserve which had arrived upon the Iun. They rallied, and on the 25th gave battle at Neumark, where the Bavarians, notwithstanding their extreme inferiority, preserved their positions.—On the 24th the Emperor had sent the corps of the duke of Rivoli from Ratisbon to Straubing, and from thence to Passau, where he arrived on the 26th. The duke made the battalion of the Po pass the Inn -it made 300 prisoners, removed the blockade of the citadel, and occupied Scharding .- On the 25th the duke of Montebello had orders to march with his corps from Ratisbon to Muhldorff. On the 27th he passed the Inn and proceeded to the Salza.—To-day, the 27th, the Emperor had his head-quarters at Muhldorff.—The Austrian division, commanded by general Jellachich, which occupied Munich, is pursued by the corps of the Duke of Dantzic .--The king of Bavaria has shewn himself at Munich. He afterwards returned to Augsburg, where he will remain some days, intending not to fix his residence at Munich till Bavaria shall be entirely delivered from the enemy -On the side of Ratisbon the duke of Auerstadt is gone in pursuit of prince Charles, who cut off from his communication with the Inn and Vienna, has no other resource than that of retiring into the mountains of Bohemia, by Waldmunchen and Cham.—With respect to the emperor of Austria, he appears to have been before Passau, in order to besiege that place with three battalions of the Landwerk .- All Bavaria and the Palatinate are delivered from the presence of the enemy .- At Ratisbon, the Emperor passed several corps in review, and caused the bravest soldiers to be presented to him, to whom he gave distinctions and pensions, and the bravest officers, to whom he gave baronies and lands .- Hitherto the Emperor has carried on the war almost without equipage and guards; and one has remarked, that in the absence of his guards, he had always about him the allied Bavarian and Wirtemberg troops; wishing thereby to give them a particular proof of confidence.—A report has been circulated that the Emperor has had his leg broken. The fact is, that a spent ball grazed the heel of his boot, but did not touch the skin. Never was his majesty in better health, though in the midst of the greatest fatigue.- It has been remarked as a singular fact, that one of the first Austrian officers made prisoners in this war, was the aide-de-camp of prince Charles, sent to M. Otto with the famous letter, purporting that the French army must retire.—'The inhabitants of Ratisbon having behaved very well, and evinced that patriotic and confederated spirit which we have a right to expect from them, his majesty has ordered that the damages done shall be repaired at his expence, and particularly the rebuilding of the houses burnt, the expence of which will be several millions.—All the sovereigns and territories of the Confederacy evince the most patriotic spirit When the Austrian minister at Dresden delivered the Declaration of his court to the king of Saxony, the latter could not contain his indignation-" You wish for war, and against whom? You attack and you inveigh against a man, who three years ago, master of your destiny, restored your states to you. The proposals made to me afflict me; my engagements are known to all Europe; no prince of the Confederacy will detach himself from them."-The grand duke of Wurtzburg, the emperor of Austria's brother, has shewn the same sentiments, and has declared that if the Austrians

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advanced to his territories, he should retire, if necessary, across the Rhine—so well are the insanity and the invectives of Vienna appreciated! The regiments of the petty princes, all the allied troops are eager to march against the enemy.—A notable circumstance, which posterity will remark as a fresh proof of the signal bad faith of Austria, is, that on the day she wrote the annexed letter to the king of Bavaria, she published, in the Tyrol, the proclamation signed by general Jellachich. On the same day she proposed to the king to be neutral, and invited his subjects to rise. How can we reconcile this contradiction, or rather how justify this infamy?

[To the Bulletins are annexed a Proclamation from the Austrian general Jellachich, inviting the Tyrolese to throw off the Bavarian yoke, and to resume their allegiance to their old master; and a letter from the archduke Charles to the king of Bavaria, soliciting his co-operation in a war undertaken for the general deliverance of Germany.

PROCLAMATION.

Soldiers, you have justified my expectations. You have made up for numbers by your bravery. You have gloriously marked the difference that exists between the soldiers of Cæsar and the armed cohorts of Xerxes.—In a few days we have triumphed in the three battles of Tann, Abensberg, and Echnuhl, and in the actions of Peising, Landshut, and Ratisbon. One hundred pieces of cannon, 40 standards, 50,000 prisoners, 3,000 waggons, full of baggage, all the chests of the regiments—Such is the result of the rapidity of your march and your courage.—The enemy, besotted by a perjured cabinet, seemed no longer to preserve any recollection of us.—They have been promptly awakened —You have appeared to them more terrible than ever. Lately they crossed the Inn, and invaded the territory of our allies. Lately they presumed to carry the war into the heart of our country. Now, defeated and dismayed, they fly in disorder. Already my advanced-guard has passed the Inn—before a month is elapsed we shall be at Vienna.

From our Head-quarters, Ratisbon, 24th April. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

THIRD BULLETIN.

BURGHAUSEN, April 30 .- The Emperor arrived at Muhldorf on the 27th inst. in the evening. His majesty detached the division of general Wrede to Lauffen on the Salza, in order to overtake the corps, which the enemy had in the Tyrol, and which was retreating by forced marches. General Wrede overtook the enemy's rear on the 28th, near Lauffen, took the baggage, and made many prisoners; but the enemy had sufficient time to cross the river and burn the bridge. On the 27th the duke of Dantzic arrived in Wansburgh, and on the 28th in Altenmark. On the 29th general Wrede continued his march to Saltzburgh; about three leagues from the town he found the advanced posts of the enemy's army. The Bavarians pursued them closely and entered the town with them. General Wrede assures us that the division of general Jellachich is completely destroyed. That general has thus been punished for the scandalous proclamation by which he put the dagger in the hands of the Tyrolese. The Bavarians have taken 5000 prisoners, and found considerable magazines in Saltzburgh. On the 28th, at break of day, the duke of Istria arrived in Burghausen, and his advanced parties took post on the right bank of the Inn. The same day the duke of Montebello arrived in Burghausen. Count Bertrand exerted himself to the utmost to restore the bridge, which had been

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burnt by the enemy. It was completed on the 30th, and the whole army crossed the river. On the 28th a detachment of 50 horse chasseurs, commanded by captain Margaron, arrived in Dittmoning, where he fell in with a battalion of the famous militia, styled Landwhes, which, on his approach, retreated into a neighbouring wood. Captain Margaron summoned them to surrender; after much deliberation, 1000 men of that valiant militia, posted in a thick wood, altogether inaccessible to cavalry, surrendered to 50 chasseurs. The Emperor wished to see them; they really excited compassion; they are badly armed, worse accoutred, and commanded by superannuated officers of artillery. The cruel and overbearing temper of the Austrians fully displayed itself in the moment of apparent success, when they occupied Munich. The high bailiff of Muhldorf was arrested by them and shot. An inhabitant of Muhldorf, of the name of Starck, who had obtained a badge of distinction from the king of Bavaria, for the services which, during the last war, he rendered to the army, has been taken up and sent to Vienna, to stand his trial. The high bailiff of Burghausen, count Armansperg, has also been sent to Lintz, and from thence to Vienna, because in the year 1805 he did not comply with a requisition addressed to them on the part of the Austrians. The Bavarians will no doubt give a minute and faithful account of the acts of wanton cruelty committed by the Austrians in this country, that the memory thereof may be preserved by their most remote posterity, although it is extremely probable that this was the last insult which Austria will be able to offer to the allies of France. The Austrians have endeavoured, both in the Tyrol and Westphalia, to invite the inhabitants to rise in rebellion against their sovereigns. Austria has raised numerous armies, divided into corps like the French army; her troops are moving by forced marches, to imitate the French troops; her generals are publishing bulletins, proclamations, general orders-all in imitation of the French. But the ass is not ennobled to a lion because he is covered with a lion's skin: the long ears betray the ignobler beast. The Emperor of Austria has left Vienna, and on his departure published a proclamation, drawn up by Gentz, in the style and spirit of the most ridiculous performances of that kind. He is gone to Scharding, a position extremely well adapted for a sovereign, who neither wishes to be in his capital to govern his dominions, nor in the field, where he is known to be merely an incumbrance and dead weight. When he was informed of the result of the battle of Echmuhl, he judged it prudent to leave the banks of the Inn, and retire into the interior of his dominions. The town of Scharding, which is now occupied by the duke Rivoli, has suffered much. The Austrians on their retreat set fire to their magazines, and burnt half the town which belonged to them. They had no doubt some presentiment of their future fate, that what belonged to Austria shall no longer belong to her.

FOURTH BULLETIN.

Brannau, May 1.—On the crossing of the bridge at Landshut, brigadier-general Latour gave proofs of valour and coolness. Col. Lauriston placed the artillery advantageously, and contributed much to the happy issue of this splendid affair.—The bishop and the principal public functionaries of Saltzburg repaired to Burghausen, to implore the elemency of the Emperor for the country. His Majesty gave them his assurance, that they should never again come under the dominion of the House of Austria. They engaged to take measures for recalling the four battalions of the militia which the Circle had delivered, and of which part were dispersed and fled.—The head-quarters are to

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be this day removed to Ried. At Brannau, magazines were found with 200,000 rations of biscuit, and 6,000 sacks of oats. The Circle of Ried has furnished three battalions for the militia, but the greater part of them are returned again to their habitations. The Emperor of Austria wss three days at Brannau: he was at Scharding when de heard of the defeat of his army. The inhabitants consider him as the principal cause of the war. The famous volunteers of Vienna passed through this place after their defeat at Landshut, throwing away their arms, and carrying with them in all haste their terror to Vienna .- On the 21st of April an Imperial Decree was published in the capital, declaring the ports to be again opened to the English, the treaties with this ancient ally renewed, and hostilities against the common enemy begun. General Oudinot has taken prisoners a battalion of 1,000 men, between Altham and Ried. This battalion was without cavalry and artillery. On the approach of our troops, they made an attempt to fire with their small arms, but being surrounded on all sides by the cavalry, were obliged to lay down their arms. His majesty caused several brigades of light cavalry to pass in review at Burghausen, and among others those of Hesse Darmstadt; at whose appearance he was pleased to express his satisfaction. General Marulaz, under whose command the corps stands, presented several of them, to whom his majesty was pleased to grant decorations of the Legion of Honour. General Wrede has intercepted a courier, on whom were found a number of letters, from which we may perceive the state of confusion in which the kingdom is.

FIFTH BULLETIN.

Enns, May 4.—On the 1st of May gen. Oudinet, after having made 1,400 prisoners, penetrated beyond Ried, where he took 400 more, so that he this day took 1,500 men without firing a single gun.-The town of Brannau was a strong place of sufficient importance, since it commanded a bridge on the river, which forms the frontier of Austria. In a spirit of inconsistency worthy this weak cabinet, it destroyed a fortress situated on a frontier where it might be of great utility, in order to build one at Comorn, in the midst of Hungary. Posterity will with difficulty credit this excess of inconsistency and folly. The Emperor arrived at Ried on the 2d of May, at one of the morning, and at Lambach at one of the afternoon of the same day.—At Ried were found an establishment of eight sets of military ovens, and magazines containing 20,000 quintals of flour.—The bridge of Lambach, on the Traun, had been cut by the enemy; it was re-established during the day.—On the same day the duke of Istria commanding the cavalry, and the duke of Montebello, with the corps of Oudinot, entered Wels. In this town were found a bakery, 12 or 15,000 quintals of flour, and magazines of wine and brandy. - The duke of Dantzic, who arrived the 30th April at Saltzburg, instantly caused one brigade to march towards Kurstein and another towards Rastadt, in the direction of the Italian roads. His advanced guard, pursuing gen. Jellachich, forced him from the strong post at Colling .- On the 1st of May, the head-quarters of the duke of Rivoli were at Scharding. Adjutant general Trinqualye, commanding the advanced guard of the division of St. Cyr, met at Riedau, on the road to Neumarck, with the advanced guard of the enemy. The Wurtemburg light horse, the Baden dragoons, and three companies of voltigeurs of the 4th regiment of the French line, as soon as they perceived the enemy, attacked, and pursued him to Neumarck. They killed 50 men, and took 500 prisoners .-The Baden dragoons valiantly charged an half-battalion of the regiment of

Jordis, and compelled them to lay down their arms. Lieutenant-colonel D'Emmerade, who commanded them, had his horse pierced with stabs from the bayonet, major Sainte Croix took with his own hand a flag from the enemy. Our loss consists of three men killed, and 50 wounded. The duke of Rivoli continued his march on the 2d, and arrived at Lintz on the 3d. The archduke Lewis and general Hiller, with the remains of their corps, reinforced by a reserve of grenadiers, and by all that the country could afford them were before the Traun with \$5,000 men; but menaced with being turned by the duke of Montebello, they proceeded to Ebersberg, in order to pass the river.—On the 3d, the duke of Istria and general Oudinot marched towards Ebersberg, and effected a junction with the duke of Rivoli. They met the Austrian rear-guard before Ebersberg. The intrepid battalions of the tirailleurs of the Po, and the Corsican tirailleurs, pursued the enemy, who was passing the bridge, drove into the river the cannon, waggons, and from eight to nine hundred men, and took in the town from three to four thousand men, whom the enemy had left there for its defence. General Claparede, whose advanced guard was these battalions, pursued them. He halted at Ebersberg, and found 30,000 Austrians occupying a superb position. The duke of Istria passed the bridge with his cavalry, in order to support the division, and the duke of Rivoli ordered his advanced gnard to be strengthened by the main body of the army. The remains of the corps of prince Lewis and general Hiller were lost without resource. In this extreme danger the enemy set fire to the town, which was built of wood. The fire spread in an instant in every direction. The bridge was soon enveloped, and the flames seized the joists, which it was necessary to cut.-Neither cavalry nor infantry was able to act: and the division of Claparede alone, with only four pieces of cannon, fought during three hours against 30,000 men This battle of Ebersberg is one of the finest military occurrences, the memory of which can be preserved by history enemy seeing the division of Claparede cut off without any communication, advanced three times against it, and was always received and stopped by the bayonet. At length, after a labour of three hours, the firmes were turned aside, and a passage opened. The general of division, Legrand, with the 26th light infantry and the 18th of the line, marched towards the castle, which the enemy had occupied with 800 men. The sappers broke in the doors, and the flames having reached the castle, all who were within perished there. General Legrand afterwards marched to the assistance of Claparede's division. General Durosnel, who advanced to the right shore, with 1,000 horse, joined himself to him, and the enemy was obliged to retreat with great haste. On the first report of these events, the Emperor had himself murched up the right shore, with the divisions of Nansoutz and Moliter.—The enemy, who retreated with the greatest rapidity, arrived at night at Enns, burnt the bridge, and continued his flight on the road to Vienna. His loss consists of 12,000 men, of which 7,500 are prisoners. We also possess four pieces of cannon and two standards. The division of Claparede, which constitutes a part of the grenadiers of Oudinot, covered itself with glory. It has lost 300 men killed and 600 wounded. The impetuosity of the tirailleurs of the Po, and the Corsican tirailleurs, attracted the attention of our army. The bridge, the town, and the position at Ebersberg, will be lasting monuments of their courage. The traveller will stop and say, "It is here, from these superb positions, from this long bridge, and this castle so strong from its situation, that an army of 35,000 Austrians were driven into flight by 7,000 Frenchmen."-Cohorn, general of

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brigade, an officer of singular intrepidity, had his horse killed under him. Colonels Cardenan and Lendy were killed .- A company of the Corsican battalion pursuing the enemy into the woods, made alone 700 prisoners .- During the affair of Ebersberg, the duke of Montebello arrived at Steyer, where he rebuilt the bridge which the enemy had cut.-The Emperor sleeps to-day at Enns. in the castle of Prince Auersperg: to-morrow will be spent in rebuilding the bridge. The Deputies of the States of Upper Austria were presented to his Majesty at his bivouac at Ebersberg. The citizens of all classes, and from all the provinces, allow that the emperor Francis II. is the aggressor: they expect great changes, and admit that the House of Austria has merited all its misfortunes. They accuse, even openly, the feeble, obstinate, and perfidious character of their sovereign, as the author of their afflictions: they manifest the deepest gratitude for the generosity which the emperor Napoleon shewed towards the capital and countries he had conquered. In common with all Europe, they are indignant at the resentment and hatred which the emperor Francis has not ceased to nourish against a nation which had been so noble and magnanimous towards him. Thus, in the opinion even of the subjects of our enemy, victory is on the side of the good cause.

SIXTH BULLETIN.

SAINT POLTEN, May 9 .- The Prince of Ponte Corvo, who commands the 9th corps, composed in a great measure of the Saxon army, and which has marched near the Bohemian frontier, spreading disquietude every where, has caused the Saxon general Gutschmitt to march to Egra. This general has been well received by the inhabitants, whom he has ordered to dismiss the landwher (militia.) On the 6th the head-quarters of the prince of Ponto Corvo were at Retz, between Bohemia and Ratisbon .- One Schill, a sort of robber, who was covered with crimes during the last campaign of Prussia, and who had obtained the rank of colonel, has deserted from Berlin with his whole regiment, and repaired to Wittemberg, on the Saxon frontier. He has environed that town. General Lestocq has issued a Proclamation against him as a deserter. This ridiculous movement was concerted with the party which wished to send fire and blood through Germany.-His Majesty has ordered the formation of a corps of observation of the Elbe, which will be commanded by the duke of Walmy, and composed of 60,000 men. The advanced guard is ordered to proceed to Hanau.—The duke of Montebello crossed the Enns at Steyer on the 4th, and arrived on the 5th at Amstetten, where he met the enemy's advanced guard. Colbert, general of brigade, caused the 20th regiment of horse chasseurs to charge a regiment of Ulans, of whom 500 were taken. The young Lauriston, 18 years of age, and who but six months ago was a page, after a singular combat, vanquished the commander of the Ulans, and took him prisoner. His Majesty has granted him the decoration of the Legion of Honour .- On the 6th, the duke of Montebello arrived at Molck, the duke of Rivoli at Amstetten, and the duke of Auerstadt at Lintz.—The remains of the corps of the archduke Lewis and general Hiller quitted Saint Polten on the 7th. Two-thirds passed the Danube at Crems; they were pursued to Mautern, where the bridge was found broken: the other third took the direction of Vienna .- On the 8th, the head-quarters of the Emperor were at St. Polten .- The head-quarters of the duke of Montebello are to-day at Sigartskirchen. The duke of Dantzic is marching from Saltsburgh to Inspruck, in order to attack in the rear the detachment which the enemy has still in the Tyrol,

and which troubled the frontiers of Bavaria.—In the cellars of the abbey of Molek, we found several thousand bottles of wine, which are very useful for the army. It is not till beyond Molek that the wine country begins. It follows from the accounts delivered in, that the army has found, since the passage of the Inn, in the different magazines of the enemy, 40,000 quintals, 400,000 rations of biscuits, and some hundred thousands rations of bread. Austria had formed these magazines in order to march forward. They have been of great use to us.

SEVENTH BULLETIN.

VIENNA, May 13 .- On the 10th, at nine of the morning, the Emperor appeared before the gates of Vienna, with the corps of marshal duke of Montebello. It was at the same hour, on the same day, and exactly one month after the Austrian army had passed the Inn, and the Emperor Francis II. had rendered himself guilty of a perjury, the signal of his ruin. On the 5th of May the archduke Maximilian, brother of the Empress, a young prince, 26 years of age, presumptuous and without experience, of an ardent character, assumed the government of Vienna, and issued two Proclamations. General Couroux traversed the suburbs, and general Tharreau repaired to the esplanade which separates them from the city. At the instant he reached it, he was received by a discharge of musketry and cannon, and was slightly wounded. Of 300,000 inhabitants who compose the population of Vienna, the city, properly so called, which is surrounded by a bastion and a counterscarp, scarcely contains 80,000 inhabitants and 1,300 houses. The eight fauxbourgs of the town, which have retained the name of suburbs, and are separated from the city by a vast esplanade, and covered on the side of the country by intrenchments, inclose more than 5,000 houses, and are inhabited by more than 220,000, who draw their subistence from the city, where are the markets and shops. The archduke Maximilian had caused registers to be opened for collecting the names of the inhabitants who were willing to defend themselves. Thirty individuals only inscribed their names : all the others refused with indignation. Defeated in his hopes by the good sense of the people of Vienna, he collected ten battalions of the militia (landwher) and ten battalions of the line, composing a force of from 15,000 to 16,000 men, and threw himself within the place.-The duke of Montebello sent him an aide-de-camp with a summons; but some butchers, and a few hundred fellows, satellites of the archduke Maximilian, rushed upon the parliamentaire, and one of them wounded him. The archduke ordered the wretch who had committed this infamous action to be led in triumph through the city, mounted on the horse of the French officer, and surrounded by the militia .- After this unheard of violation of the rights of nations, the horrid spectacle was seen of one part of the city drawing upon the other part, and citizens directing their arms against their fellow-citizens. His Majesty assured the deputies of his protection. He expressed the pain which the inhuman conduct of their sovereign had given him, who had not feared to deliver up his capital to all the calamities of war-who, himself striking a blow at his rights, instead of being the king and father of his subjects, had evinced himself their enemy and tyrant. His Majesty assured them that Vienna should be treated with the same indulgence and favour which had been displayed in 1805. The deputation answered this assurance by expressions of the most lively gratitude. At nine of the morning the duke of Rivoli, with the divisions Saint Cyr and Boudet, took possession of the Leopoldstadt. During this time, lieutenant-general O'Reilly sent lieutenant-general de Vaux

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and colonel Bellonte to treat for the capitulation of the place. The annexed capitulation was signed in the evening, and on the 13th, at six of the morning, the grenadiers of Oudinot's corps took possession of the city. At nine of the evening a battery of 20 obusses, raised by generals Bertrand and Navalet, at 100 fathoms from the place, began the bombardment: 1,800 obusses were shot in less than four hours, and soon the whole appeared to be in flames. One must have seen Vienna, its houses of eight or nine stories, its narrow streets. and numerous population, within so narrow a compass, in order to form an idea of the tumult, disorder, and diasters which such an operation could not but occasion.-The archduke Maximilian had, at one in the morning, caused two battalions to march in close column, in order to attempt retaking the pavilion. which covered the raising of the bridge. The two companies of voltigeurs received them with a discharge of musquetry, which, with the 15 pieces of artillery from the right side, destroyed a part of the column, and forced them to fly in great disorder.-The archduke lost all presence of mind in the midst of the bombardment, and especially at the moment when he heard that we had crossed an arm of the Danube, and were on the march to cut off his retreat. As feeble and weak as he had been rash and arrogant, he was the first to fly and recross the bridge. The respectable general O'Reilly learnt only by the flight of the archduke, that he was invested with the command. Day-break on the 12th announced to the advanced guard, that the firing would cease, and that a deputation was about to be sent to the Emperor.—This deputation was presented to his majesty in the park of Schoenbrunn. It was composed of colonel Dietrichstein, provisional marshal of the states; the prelate of Klosternenbourg; the prelate of the Scotch; count Pergen; count Veterani; baron Bartenstein; M. de Mayenberg; baron Hafen, referendary of Lower Saxony; all the members of the state; the archbishop of Vienna; baron Lederer, captain of the town; M. Wohlleben, burghermaster; M. Meber, vice burghermaster; Egger, Pinck, Heisn, counsellors of the municipality. General Audreossy, appointed governor of the city, organised in each suburb a municipality, a central committee of provisions, and a national guard, consisting of merchants, manufacturers, and the good citizens of every class, armed to repress proprietors and evil disposed persons (pour contenir les proprietaires et les mauvais sujets.)—The governor-general caused a deputation of the eight suburbs to repair to Schoenbrunn. The Emperor charged them to proceed to the city, in order to carry a letter written by major-general prince of Neufchatel, to the archduke Maximilian. He recommended the Deputies to represent to the archduke, that if he continued to fire upon the suburbs, and if a single one of the inhabitants lost his life through his arms, this act of freuzy, this crime against the people, would for ever break the bonds which attach subjects to their sovereigns.-The Deputation entered the city on the 11th, at ten in the forenoon, and their arrival was marked only by the redoubled fire from the ramparts. Fifteen inhabitants of the suburbs perished, and only two Frenchmen were killed. The patience of the Emperor was wearied out. He proceeded with the duke of Rivoli to the arm of the Danube which separates the Pratar (the fashionable promenade of Vienna), and ordered two companies of voltigeurs to occupy a small pavilion on the left bank, in order to cover the raising of a bridge. The battalion of grenadiers which defended the passage was driven back by the voltigeurs, and by the grapeshot of fifteen pieces of artillery. At eight of the evening the pavilion was occupied, and the materials

of the bridge collected. Captain Portales, aid-de-camp of the prince of Neufchatel, and —— Susaldi, aide-de-camp of general Boudet, were among the first to swim across the river, in order to seek the boats on the opposite shore.

[The capitulation follows. It consists of sixteen articles, the substance of which is, that the garrison are permitted to march out with the honours of war; and after having defiled, to lay down their arms on the glacis, and surrender themselves prisoners of war. The officers to retain their property, and the soldiers their haversacks. All the public institutions to continue on the same footing, and the inhabitants to be protected in their properties, privileges, &c. The letter addressed by the prince of Neufchatel to the archduke Maximilian, is appended. It merely requests the archduke, for the sake of humanity, not to persist in his defence, as it would tend to the destruction of the capital and its citizens.]

EIGHTH BULLETIN.

THE people of Vienna praise the archduke Reiner. He was governor of Vienna, but when the revolutionary measures ordered by the emperor Francis II. came to his knowledge, he refused to retain the government. The archduke Maximilian was therefore appointed in his stead. This young prince, who displayed all the thoughtlessness that could be supposed to belong to his age. declared that he would bury himself under the ruins of the town. He collected altogether all the restless, the indolent, and the worthless, of whom there is always a multitude in a great city, furnished them with pikes, and distributed all the arms which were in the arsenal.-In vain did the inhabitants represent to him that a great city, raised by infinite labour and expence to so high a pitch of grandeur, ought not to be exposed to the horrors and devastation with which war is accompanied. Those representations, however, only excited his passion, and his fury rose to such a height that he gave no other answer but the order to fire bombs and howitzers on the suburbs, which could kill the inhabitants only. The French were protected by their fortifications. and could derive a farther security from the practice of war.- The people of Vienna experienced the most painful anxiety, and the town was believed to be devoted to destruction, when the emperor Napoleon, to save the capital from the evils of a protracted defence, by rendering all defence evidently useless, ordered the troops to cross the arm of the Danube, and to take possession of the Pratar .- At 8 o'clock an officer informed the archduke that a bridge was established at that quarter, that a great number of the French had crossed by swimming, and were already on that side of the river. At this news the hot-headed prince grew pale, and was filled with terror. He passed the Pratar in all haste; sent every battalion he met back by the bridge, and made his escape without having formed any arrangement for the defence of the town, and even without transferring to any person the command which he was abandoning. This however, was the very same man who but an hour before had boldly pretended that he would bury himself under the ruins of the capital.-The fate of the Honse of Lorraine was foreseen by all intelligent persons, though in other respects of the most opposite opinions. Manfredini obtained an audience of the Emperor, in which he represented to him that this war would long weigh heavy on his conscience, that it would bring about the downfall of his House, and that the French would soon be at Vienna, "Poh! Poh!" replied the Emperor, "they are all in Spain."-Thugut, in pursuance of the

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confidence which the Emperor formerly placed in him, took the liberty of making repeated representations .- The prince de Ligne said aloud, " I thought I was old enough not to have out lived the Austrian monarchy." And when the old count Wallis saw the Emperor set out to join the army, he said, "there is Darius running to meet an Alexander: he will experience the same fate." -Count Lewis Von Cobentzel, the chief promoter of the war of 1805, was at this time lying on his death-bed; but 24 hours before he expired, he addressed a vigorous and animated letter to the Emperor. "Your majesty," he wrote, "ought to consider yourself as fortunate with respect to the situation in which the peace of Presburg has placed you. You are in the second rank among the powers of Europe, which is the same that your ancestors occupied. Avoid a war for which no provocation is given, and which will produce the ruin of your house. Napoleon will conquer, and will then have the right to be inexorable," &c. This last act of count Cobentzel rendered his departing moments truly interesting.—The prince of Zizendorf, minister for foreign affairs, several statesmen, who, like him, remained free from the contagion and fatal blindness of the moment; several other persons of distinction, and all that were respectable among the burghers, entertained the same sentiments, and spoke in the same manuer.—But the wounded pride of the emperor Francis II. the hatred of the archduke Charles against Russia, and the displeasure with which he viewed the close union between that empire and France, the gold of England, which had purchased the minister Stadion, the levity and inconsiderateness of some dozens of women, or effeminate men, the deceptions and false reports of count Metternich, the intrigues of the Razumowskis, the Dalphozzos, the Schlegels, the Gentzes, and other adventurers, whom England maintains for the purpose of sowing discord on the continent, have promoted this foolish, impious war.-Before the French were victorious in the field, it was said that they were few in number; that there were no more of them in Germany; that the corps consisted entirely of conscripts; that the cavalry were without horses; that the Imperial Guard had mutinied, and that the Parisians were in insurrection against the emperor Napoleon. After we had conquered, however, the French army was innumerable; it never was formed of more veteran or brave troops; the attachment of the soldiers to the emperor Napoleon tripled and quadrupled their force; the cavalry was well mounted, numerous and formidable; the artillery was better served than that of any other nation, and moved with the rapidity of lightning, &c. &c .-Weak princes! Corrupt cabinets! ignorant, fickle, besotted men! Such are the snares which England has these fifteen years constantly spread for you, and into which you will readily fall. But the catastrophe you prepared is at length developed, and the peace of the continent is for ever secured.

(To be continued.)

LONDON GAZETTES .- CAMPAIGN OF 1815.

AS the strong interest for present events renders it impossible to defer the Gazettes of the Campaign of 1815, which is now commenced, we have accordingly begun them. The interrupted thread of the former Gazettes will shortly be continued in a few pages set aside for the purpose.



SUPPLEMENT TO The London Gazette

Published by Authority.

Of Tuesday, July 4, 1815, continued.

95th Foot, 1st Batt.—1 lieutenant, 4 serjeants, 16 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 2 captains, 7 lieutenants, 7 serjeants, 1 drummer, 116 rank and file, wounded.

95th Foot, 2d Batt.—2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 31 rank and file, killed; 2 majors, 2 captains, 10 lieutenants, 6 serjeants, 2 drummers, 171 rank and file, wounded; 20 rank and file missing.

95th Foot, 3d Batt.—3 rank and file killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 34 rank and file, wounded; 7 rank and file missing.

1st Light Batt. K. G. L.—3 captains, 1 lieut., 1 serjeant, 36 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 4 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 6 serjeants, 3 drummers, 73 rank and file, wounded; 13 rank and file, missing.

2d Ditto—2 captains, 1 ensign, 6 serjeants, 34 rank and file, killed; 7 licutenants, 1 ensign, 1 staff, 8 serjeants, 1 drummer, 111 rank and file, wounded; 1 captain, 2 serjeants, 27 rank and file, missing.

1st Line Batt. K. G. L.—1 captain, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 19 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 1 staff, 6 serjeants, 63 rank and file, wounded; 1 drummer, 16 rank and file, missing.

2d ditto—1 captain, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 16 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 4 serjeants, 75 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file missing.

3d ditto—1 captain, 1 serjeant, 16 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 4 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 90 rank and file, wounded; 31 rank and file, missing.

4th ditto—I ensign, 1 serjeant, 12 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 1 staff, 3 serjeants, 74 rank and file, wounded; 1 drummer, 13 rank and file, missing.

5th ditto—1 captain, 1 staff, 1 serjeant, 35 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 6 serjeants, 1 drummer, 40 rank and file, wounded; 74 rank and file, missing.

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8th ditto-2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 41 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 1 staff, 4 serjeants, 76 rank and file,

wounded; 1 serjeant, 2 drummers, 13 rank and file, missing.

Total British Loss-2 general staff, 1 colonel, 3 lieutenant-colonele, 6 majors, 46 captains, 26 lieutenants, 19 ensigns or cornets, 5 staff, 2 troop quartermasters, 100 serjeants, 13 drummers, 1,536 rank and file, and 1,462 horses, killed; 10 general staff, 4 colonels, 21 lieutenant-colonels, 28 majors, 107 captains, 202 licutenants, 47 cornets or ensigns, 17 staff, 3 troop quarter-masters, 330 serjeants, 36 drummers, 5087 rank and file, and 863 horses, wounded; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 captains, 5 lieutenants, 2 cornets, 17 serjeants, 15 drummers, 763 rank and file, 762 horses, missing.

Total Hanoverian Loss-1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 3 cornets or ensigns, 7 serjeants, 273 rank and file, 33 horses, killed; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 10 majors, 15 captains, 26 lieutenants, 13 cornets or ensigns, 2 staff, 31 serjeants, 11 drummers, 1014 rank and file, 28 horses, wounded; 1 major, 1 lieutenant, 1 cornet or ensign, 5 staff, 12 serjeants, 17 drummers, 779

rank and file, 11 horses, missing.

TOTAL BRITISH AND HANOVERIAN.

Killed-2 general staff, 1 colonel, 4 lieutenant-colonels, 6 majors, 48 captains, 28 lieutenants, 22 cornets or ensigns, 5 staff, 2 troop quarter-masters, 107 serjeants, 18 drummers, 1809 rank ond file, 1495 horses.

Wounded-10 general staff, 4 colonels, 23 lieutenant-colonels, 38 majors, 122 captains, 228 lieutenants, 60 cornets or ensigns, 19 staff, 3 troop quartermasters, 361 serjeants, 47 drummers or trumpeters, 6,101 rank and file 801 horses.

Missing-1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major. 4 captains, 6 lieutenants, 3 cornets or ensigns, 5 staff, 29 serjeants, 32 drummers or trumpeters, 1,542 rank and JOHN WATERS, Lieut.-Col. and A. A. G. file, 773 horses.

Mem .- The names of the Officers killed and wounded, were inserted in the Supplement to the London Gazette, of the 1st of July, published the 3d July, 1815.

The men returned missing had gone into the rear with wounded Officers and soldiers, and the greatest number have since joined. The Officers are supposed killed.

ERRATA in the Supplement to the London Gazette, published on Monday, July 3, 1815.

Omitted in the return of Officers killed-Captain Newton Chambers, 1st Foot Guards, A.D.C. to Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton.

Omitted in the Return of Officers wounded-Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Military Secretary to the Duke of Wellington, severely: right arm amputated.

(The conclusion of the Gazettes in the Campaign of 1815 is given in the Supplement.)

THE ROYAL

MILITARY CHRONICLE;

OR,

BRITISH OFFICER'S

MONTHLY REGISTER, CHRONICLE, AND MILITARY MENTOR.

Supplement to Vol. III. of the New Series,

OCTOBER, 1815.

NARRATIVE

OF

THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO,

WITH

SIX OFFICIAL REPORTS.

- I. PRUSSIAN ACCOUNT.—Marshal Blucher's Official Report of the Operations of the Prussian Army on the Lower Rhine.
- II. SPANISH ACCOUNT.
- III. BUONAPARTE'S ACCOUNT.—French Official Detail of the Battles with the Prussians and English.
- IV. MARSHAL NEY'S ACCOUNT.
- V. MARSHAL DE GROUCHY'S ACCOUNT.
- VI. THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S REPORTS.

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ROYAL MILITARY CHRONICLE.

SUPPLEMENT.1

New Series, October, 1815.

[Vol. III.

NARRATIVE

OF

THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

REFERENCES TO THE PLAN.

- A. March and Attack of the French Army commanded by Napoleon, from the Bivonac in front of Genappe.
- B. Position of the Army of the Duke of Wellington on the 18th, from the Bivouac between the 17th and 18th.
- 1. The Division of Lieut .- General Sir H. Clinton.
- 2. Do. Major-Gen. Cook.
- 3. Do. Lieut.-Gen. Sir C. Alten.
- 4. Do. Major-Gen. Sir J. Kempt.
- 5. Do. Lieut,-Gen. Sir T. Picton.
- 6. British Cavalry, Lieut .- Gen. the Earl of Uxbridge.
- 7. Nassau Usingen Infantry.
- 8. Duke of Brunswick's Troops.
- 9. British Horse Artillery.
- 10. Belgian Cavalry.
- 11. Part of the Bivouac.

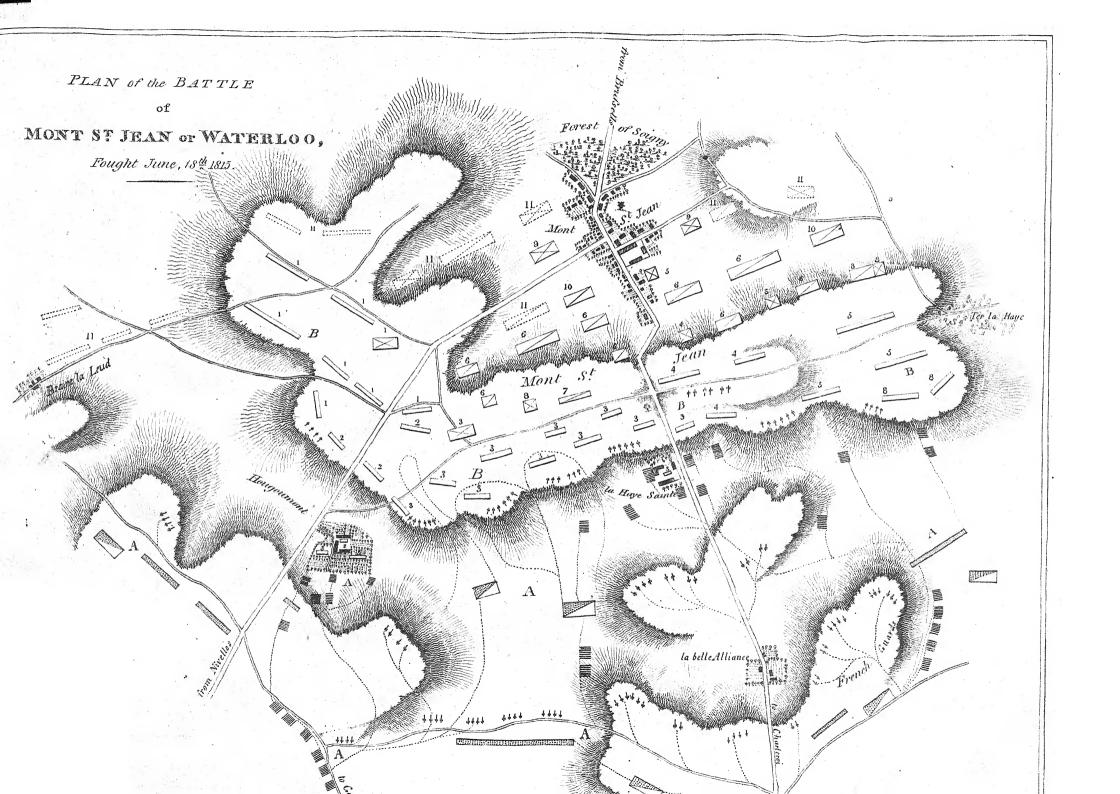
NARRATIVE, &c.

I now proceed to my narrative. You must have the goodness to take it as I can give it to you. It is as difficult to relate as it is to paint a battle. I used to read with great attention the battles in our history of England, but I should not now deem them worth the labour of reading. They are in every respect fancy-pictures. All battles are nearly alike. You may know what is doing in your own division; but you can know little beyond it. By comparing accounts, however, you may arrive at some correct notion. But the smoke, the noise, the business, intercepts all attention during the actual fighting; and you know not that the victory is gained, till you find all clear before you.

On the 15th of June, the greater part of the English General Officers were enjoying themselves in the leisure and good-living of Brussels, and

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there certainly was no expectation that hostilities were so near. There was indeed a vague report that the French Emperor had left Paris, and was upon his road to his armies; that he had already been at Laon. and was expected at head-quarters in the neighbourhood of our line. But no one anticipated what was soon to happen. On a sudden, about eight in the afternoon, dispatches were brought to the Duke of Wellington, informing him that the French line had advanced, and that they had already commenced an attack upon Marshal Blucher. But the dispatches did not represent the affair as being very serious, and the Duke and his Staff were inclined to believe that it was a mere feint of the enemy. It was the opinion of his Grace that Napoleon would begin his attack immediately upon the English, and that these first movements had no object but to call off the attention, whilst he should make a detour and advance upon Brussels. Orders were accordingly given to hold the troops in readiness. Every one saw that some movement was about to be made, but the Duke, calm, and tranquil as usual, awaited further intelligence, and appeared himself in no haste.

Things proceeded in this course till midnight, when the drums beat to arms. Every one now hastened to the several points of rendezvous. The cause became instantly known. The Duke had received further dispatches. It was the whole of the French army, with the Emperor at its head, which had made the advance; they had lanced themselves as it were upon the Prussians, and had repelled them at every point. They had forced Charleroi, and were advancing towards Brussels. This intelligence rendered the city all hurry and confusion. On every side,from every alley and house, might be seen the officers and soldiers hastily forming and assembling; and as fast as they formed, marching out of the town. All was confidence, alertness, and an eager wish to come up in time; our English regiments set the Scotch an example, which was not lost upon them. The inhabitants of Brussels regarded the scene with astonishment; and it was not the least astonishing feature of the scene to see so many of them tranquil, and to all appearance nearly indifferent, whilst such a conflict was approaching. I am persuaded if Napo eon had succeeded, Belgium would have declared for him.

The army was completely clear of Brussels before ten on the morning of the 16th. The Duke and other Generals, particularly General Picton, went off in a high and plumy style; the Duke returned the cheers of the people by promising them that the business would be speedily settled, and that Marshal Blucher had most probably already defeated them. Little did he then imagine that so tremendous a conflict was at hand; and that Blucher would only owe his deliverance to his more powerful sword.

The army now continued its march, and about two in the afternoon reached the position intended, in Quatre Bras. The battle instantly began. Whilst the main force of the enemy made repeated attacks upon the Prussians, a corps, near double our number, was directed upon us, and a fierce contest commenced. The principal attack, however, was

upon the Prussians. Blucher, with more courage than prudence, had resolved to give battle, though his whole force was not up, and he accordingly now received the assault of the whole French army. The attack upon us was merely to keep us occupied. The enemy, on the side of the Prussians, first attacked the village of St. Amand; the Prussians fought well,—the soldiers a thousand fold better than the officers,-and for some time defended it from the enemy. But the French at length forced it. They then made a lance upon Ligny, a large village, strongly built, and well posted upon a rivulet. Here the contest was truly tremendous. The battle was between battalion and battalion, and company and company, in paddocks, orchards, and gardens; the walls and fences necessarily dividing the troops on both sides into small parties; and thus as it were pitting man to man. The conflict was entirely with certain advanced divisions from both armies; but each army kept feeding its own forces, when they saw them pressed ; each having great masses of infantry in the immediate rear of the troops engaged in the conflict. It was like prize-fighting, -bloody, desperate, and not a thought of yielding. The matter, however, gradually became more general. Two hundred cannon on both sides were directed against the village, and the combatants were gradually so reinforced as to comprehend nearly the whole army on both sides. The Prussians were at length very sorely pressed, and Blucher looked anxiously out for the English and his fourth corps. But his fourth corps was still distant, and he learned that the English had enough to do to maintain their own post. Blucher's own words are here very emphatic:-" The evening was already much advanced, and the combat about Ligny continued with the same fury and the same equality of success: we invoked, but in vain, the arrival of those succours which were so necessary; the danger became every hour more and more urgent: all the divisions were engaged, or had already been so, and there was not any corps at hand able to support them. Suddenly a division of the enemy's infantry, which, by favour of the night, had made a circuit round the village without being observed, at the same time that some regiments of cuirassiers had forced the passage on the other side, took in the rear the main body of our army, which was posted behind the houses. This surprise on the part of the enemy was decisive, especially at the moment when our cavalry was already defeated."

The Prussians, therefore, had upon their part lost the day, but retreated in excellent order. Blucher had a most narrow escape. He fell from his horse in the mid-field between a charge of the French and Prussians against each other; the horse rolled over him, and concealed him. The Prussians rode past him upon their part, and the French cuirassiers likewise passed him without seeing him. Whilst matters were thus proceeding on the part of the French and Prussians, our British troops were upon their part attacked with great vigour, but had kept their ground most manfully. After a march of 27 miles, we had reached Quatre Bras, and had immediately to enter into action.

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We had come at the critical moment, when the enemy were actually in possession of a large wood, commanding all four roads, and cutting off our communication with Marshal Blucher. The 3d division had been driven from the wood, and the guards were ordered to retake it. The enemy's tirailleurs retired as we advanced, till at length we passed the wood, and found ourselves in the presence of an immense body of French cavalry ready to charge. From the difficulties of the ground, we could not manœuvre, and retired into the wood; the cavalry charged in after us, did us no harm, and were all cut to pieces; but their light troops advanced in such numbers, as to oblige us to evacuate the wood at ten o'clock, after four hours hard fighting, till night closed the business. We lost here in the first brigade, Lord Hay, Barrington, Brown, and Cross, killed; Askew, Adair, Miller, Streatfield, Townsend, Stuart, Croft, Fludyer, and Luthel, wounded.

During the continuance of this severe contest, the enemy greatly excelled us both in cavalry and artillery. We were indeed woefully deficient in cavalry, and in a great degree in artillery; the British cavalry and horse artillery having reached the ground only at the very close of the action, after having made an immense march from their cantonments beyond the Dender, through roads in many instances extremely bad, and almost impassable for carriages.

17th.—The British troops remained, during the night, on the ground they had so gallantly held; by which its attacks were defeated, but still it was evident that the principal efforts of the enemy were directed against the Prussians; and from the firing, even to the last, apparently continuing in the same direction where it had been heard during the day, we hoped that our friends had been equally successful with ourselves. Early, however, on the morning of the 17th, it was ascertained that the Prussians had late at night been completely defeated in their centre, by a combined attack of the enemy's cavalry and infantry, and that they had experienced a loss of 15,000 men, and a considerable number of guns. This, together with the corps under General Bulow not having joined, made it necessary for Marshal Blucher to retreat at once towards Gembloux, where he would be reinforced by the detached corps, which was marching upon that point. The duke, when acquainted with this, which was not until he had sent an Aide-de-camp in the morning of the 17th, to communicate with the Prussians (the officer sent on the preceding evening with the information by Marshal Blucher, having been, it was said, intercepted by the enemy), immediately resolved on falling back with his army on the position in front of Waterloo, which it is understood he had some time before decided upon, as being the best to cover Brussels, in the event of the enemy's advance in this direction; it was, however, believed that this movement was by no means agreeable to him; as he had hoped, when his whole army was concentrated, which it would have been some time early on this day, Lord Hill's corps having arrived at Nivelles and Braine le Comte, to have attacked the enemy in conjunction with the Prussians. A retreat, however, under these

circumstances was unavoidable; and about one o'clock the whole of the army (with the exception only of the cavalry and horse artillery, who were destined to cover it) were in columns of march (the principal body by the road to Genappe), to occupy those points in the position upon which they had been directed.

Our retreat could not be unobserved by the enemy; they, however, remained quietly on their ground, to the great surprise of those who witnessed this apparent supineness. There were some, however, who thought it possible they also had retired across the Sambre, having failed in their attempt against us; and considered the troops, that were to be seen as their rear-guard. It was shortly, however, discovered, that they awaited only the arrival of their cavalry, an immense body of which were, at a little past one o'clock, seen advancing along the Namur road towards us on our left; and there now seems no doubt but that it was the intention of Buonaparte to attack us with his whole force. cavalry, after some little skirmishing with theirs, commenced their retreat; that of the enemy followed with considerable boldness, and pressed the rear of the British, especially on the high road through Genappe, where there is a narrow bridge that crosses the little river running through that town. A most tremendous shower of rain, then falling, perhaps, in a great degree, contributed to prevent this retreat being harassed so much as it otherwise might have been; the extreme depth of the ground, which was the almost immediate consequence, having put it out of the enemy's power to act upon the flank of our columns: in the centre however, a very considerable loss was sustained, both by the 7th Hussars (which regiment, it is understood, had to charge under circumstances by no means favourable, on which occasion their Major, Hodge, was killed, gallantly leading on the first squadron), and by other regiments, particularly the Royal Horse Guards, from the fire of the enemy's artillery. During the retreat, the Life Guards made a most determined and successful charge, completely driving back the enemy's advanced squadrons, and from that time checking the audacity with which they had pressed on.

About five o'clock, or a little after, the whole army had reached the ground on which they were to bivouack and await the result of a battle. The Duke of Wellington here sent to Marshal Blucher, desiring that he would move two corps of his army to our support, from the ground he had taken up near Wavre, on our left: the brave Marshal not only assented but sent back a proposal, that if the enemy should not attack our two armies, we should attack them. Under the circumstances of the severe defeat the Prussians had experienced on the preceding day, it is impossible to say too much for the gallantry which dictated such a proposal on the part of their commander, or for the troops, whose speedy re-organization admitted of its being made.

The position occupied by the British and allied army was on some rising ground, having nearly along the extent of its front a gentle declivity, which in most places formed an admirable glacis. Through nearly M (Ret

the centre of it ran the high road from Genappe to Brussels. In front of our right centre was the farm of Hougoumont; and of our left, that of La Haye Saint. Our extreme right was at Merke Braine, near Braine la Leude; and our extreme left stood on the ridge almost equidistant between the hamlet of Verd Cuco and Ter la Haye, having the latter village in its front strongly occupied. This village, as well as Merke Braine, being situated on defiles, opposed great difficulties to any attempt on the part of the enemy to turn our flanks. From the immediate left of the line in rear of Ter la Haye, was a plain road, which led to Ohain, by which we communicated with the Prussians. The position of the enemy was also a ridge, immediately opposite to that we occupied, and differing in distances at different parts, but generally, I should say. about 1000 or 1200 yards distant, perhaps a little more. The ground was stronger than that we held, the ascent to it being longer than to ours. The head-quarters of Buonaparte, on the night of the 17th, were at Planchenoit, a farm some little distance in the rear of the French line: and Mout St. Jean was in the high road, immediately in the line of their advance. A part of Lord Hill's corps, under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Sir C. Colville, was detached to Halle, to observe that road.

The morning of the 18th now dawned, and every one was persuaded that the day would not pass over without a most awful event. Each party promised itself the victory, but the forces of the enemy were so serious, and they were evidently so well commanded, that no one could be so perfectly assured of the fortune of the day, but that some auxiety,—some transitory apprehension, passed over the mind. But this apprehension only more animated the courage of the armies. Each saw that it was necessary to exert itself, and each resolved to do it to the utmost.

The position was a plain, interspersed with small hills; at the bottom of one of these hillocks, and in front of our centre, was a farm and orchards, called Mont St. Jean. This was a most prominent point, and was in fact the key to our position. It was therefore the object of our main anxiety, and of the enemy's first efforts.

At twelve o'clock the columns of the enemy moved down from the heights which they had occupied during the night, and our artillery began to cannonade them most furiously, which their artillery returned; and it is said 300 pieces were in use that day. The British infantry were drawn up in columns under the ridge of the position. We were at the turn or knuckle with two battalions of Brunswickers. The third regiment of Guards were in columns in front of the turn, and the Coldstream at the farm-house. The light infantry of the division were to defend the orchard and small wood next to it. The third division were in squares to the left of our squares, and under cover of the ridge.

The cannonade now commenced, and the shot and shells which passed over the artillery fell into our squares. Col. Cook was struck with a grape-shot as he sat on the ground. The enemy now made an attack with infantry and cavalry on the left, in hopes of carrying the high road

to Brussels; but the artillery guns cut them to pieces every time they advanced. They then attempted to charge the guns with cavalry; but the squares of infantry kept up such a fire, that they could never reach our guns, though the artillerymen were obliged to leave them to get out of our fire. When the enemy found the attempt fail on this point, he ordered an attack on the farm-house, which it was necessary for him to possess, in order to turn the right of our position. There it was that the serious struggle commenced. Two companies of light infantry, under Lord Saltoun, disputed the wood and orchard most gallantly, but were at last obliged to retire under cover of the house, when the enemy were charged by the light infantry of the 2d brigade (the Coldstream and 3d), and driven back with great loss. At this period the Coldstream entered the house, which the enemy set on fire by shells, but did not entirely consume it. The enemy were foiled in two repeated attempts, and were each time severely cut up by the artillery. When they failed in their attacks upon our squares, the cavalry rushed out from between our squares, and cut them up most desperately. When he found these efforts vain, he began his attack upon the centre. He first endeavoured to carry the guns with his cavalry, which came up most gallantly; but our squares repelled them three several times. After these failures he brought up his Garde Impériale, just opposite to the brigade of Guards which had formed in line on their advancing. We were all lying under shelter of a small bank, as they covered their advance with a most terrible fire of grape and musquetry. Buonaparte led them himself to the rise of the hill, and told them "that was the way to Brussels." We allowed them to approach very near-when we opened so destructive a fire that there were soon above 300 of them upon the ground, and they began to waver. We instantly charged, upon which they fled. The Duke of Wellington, observing this crisis, brought up the 42d and 95th, taking the enemy in flank, and leading them himself quite close up. The enemy's column was entirely dispersed. After this, we were again annoyed with grape and musketry, which obliged us to retire. On fronting, we saw another heavy column of the Chasseurs de la Garde Impériale. We immediately hastened to meet them; but they had had such a proper reception just before, that they never let us come near them; and when they turned, the rout became general. We ran on as fast as we could, and the cavalry started after them. We got about two miles that evening, taking ourselves 30 pieces of cannon. Nothing could be more complete and decisive. Most fortunately, the Prussians came on the field at this moment, and pursued the enemy through the night.

Nothing could exceed, during the whole of the day, the intrepid conduct of our heroic Commander. He was every where in the midst of the thickest fire. Sir William de Lancey was killed at his side:—" In the whole of the contest, he performed all the duties a military man could perform. He was General of Division, Commander of Corps, and

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Colonel of a Regiment! He at times headed several different regiments, and rallied them to the attack. Towards the close of the day, Napoleon made an attack at the head of the Imperial Guards; he was met by the British Guards, and overthrown in an instant, in the finest style. The position of Waterloo was one well known to his Grace: in the summer of last year, his Grace went there in his way to Paris, and on that occasion he took a military view of it. He then declared, that if ever it should be his fortune to defend Brussels, Waterloo would be the position he would occupy. His conduct on the 18th had thrown all his former actions into the shade; he never moved, but in fire; and when one of the hottest charges was made by the enemy, he threw himself into the hollow square that was charged. He was once on the point of being taken prisoner by a party of cavalry; and at one time, perceiving a part of the army waver and give ground under the attack of an overwhelming force, he rallied them, placed himself at their head, charged in person, drove back the enemy, and restored the day: but the hand of Providence shielded him in that eventful hour, to be the Saviour of his country, and the conqueror of her arrogant and inveterate enemy." *

"My heart," says the Noble Duke, "is broken by the terrible loss I have sustained of my old friends and companions, and my poor soldiers; and I shall not be satisfied with this battle, however glorious, if it does not of itself put an end to Buonaparte."—In another letter, the Duke pays a a high compliment to Buonaparte—he says that he did his duty—that he fought with infinite skill, perseverance, and bravery—" and this," adds the Noble Duke, "I do not state from any personal motive of claiming merit to myself—for the victory is to be ascribed to the superior physical force and invincible constancy of British soldiers."

The following circumstances and incidents rest upon good authority. They are extracted from the letters and reports of officers.

Buonaparte, addressing himself to Marshal Soult, expressed a truly military admiration at the conduct of the English. "But they must soon give way."—"I rather think they will never give way," replied Soult.—"And why so, Marshal?"—"They will sooner be cut to pieces, Sire."—Buonaparte, however, till six o'clock on the 18th, had no doubt of the victory, and at that hour said jocularly to his staff, "We shall be in time for supper at Brussels."

It is equally well founded what the daily papers have related respecting Captain Erskine. He was taken prisoner, and brought before Buonaparte.

Buonaparte asked him who commanded the cavalry? He was told, Lord Uxbridge. "Is it not Paget?" replied Buonaparte: he was then informed the same person was meant; but that an alteration had taken place in the name by the death of his father. He then asked who was Commander-in-Chief? and was told, the Duke of Wellington—"No, not him; he is indisposed from a fall from his horse, on the

14th." In this manner was the conversation continued for some time: from which it was quite evident, Buonaparte knew the force of the different positions, and of the commanders of them, and shewed generally a perfect knowledge of our detail. Upon some difficulty in the conversation, one of his Aides-de-Camp, who spoke English well, interpreted after, and he, it appeared, had been in London about ten days before. On the conversation being ended, a surgeon was ordered to give his attention, and was placed, with another officer, under three guards-on retiring, they were put to quarters, which happened to be the cock-loft of a house; from hence, on the following morning, they looked secretly, and saw the whole of the French army march to their positions: knowing the disparity of force, he trembled to think of the result; and noticing particularly the enthusiasm and devotion of the troops-in this state of anxiety, they silently waited some hours, fearing every moment to hear the crisis; at length they heard a great bustle of men and horses; upon coming nearer, they discovered them to be French; all is now lost, victory is gained, and these are the messengers. On coming to the town, they however found them flying French; then was their joy superior to their former dejection: but from their helpless situation, they dared not show themselves, as they certainly would have been shot-but after an hour, the black Brunswickers came riding through, then they came out of their lurking-places, and joined their comrades; it is to be observed, that their guards had long left them.

The following is a report by an Officer of the Life Guards:-

"On the morning of the 16th, about 2 o'clock, the route came, and, we (the 2d Life Guards) marched from Murbecke at 7; and after a very long day's march, passed through Braine le Comte and Nivelles, at which last place we heard a cannonade. As our army was then engaged with the French, we proceeded at a brisk trot, for several miles on the road from Nivelles, and halted for the night in a wheat field. Next morning, our men were drawn up in a line of battle fronting the wood where the French had retired; but they would not venture to attack us. Lord Wellington by a ruse de guerre, however, drew them from the wood, by a rapid retreat, for a few miles, towards Brussels; which brought the French exactly on the spot where he wished to attack them, and where he might bring his cavalry into play. While retreating, we were overtaken by a most violent thunder-storm and a heavy rain, which rendered us very uncomfortable. During the whole, no man was lost, but the Blues lost three or four; the 1st Life Guards charged some of the French Lancers, and almost cut them to pieces. We were drawn up to give them a second charge, but they would not stand it. This evening, we bivouacked in a piece of boggy ground, where we were mid-leg up in mud and water. About 11 o'clock, the grand action commenced. We were very soon called into action, and charged the French Cuirassiers of the Imperial Guard, whom we almost cut to pieces. A second charge of the same kind, left but few of them; but we suffered very much; we have with the Regiment, at present, about 40

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men. We know of 49 wounded, so that the rest must be either killed or prisoners. Lieut. Col. Fitzgerald was killed soon after the first charge. Capt. Irby was taken prisoner, as his horse fell with him in returning from the charge: he has since made his escape, and joined us; but they have stripped him of his sword, watch, and money, and had nearly taken his life. The heaviest fire was directed against the Household Brigade the whole of the day; and it is astonishing how any of us escaped. At the conclusion of the battle, we were masters of the field, and only one officer of the 2d Life Guards, with two corporals and forty privates remained. There was no officer of the 1st regiment, all, or most of them having been dismounted. Col. Lygon had one horse shot under him towards the conclusion of the battle, and the horses of several of our officers were wounded. Lord Wellington was with the brigade the greater part of the day, during which time I saw him repeatedly. He seemed much pleased; and was heard to observe, towards the evening, to the General Officer near him, that it was the hardest battle he had ever fought, and that he had seen many charges, but never any to equal the charges of the Heavy Brigades, particularly the Household. We made in all four charges: viz. two against cavalry, and two against the Imperial Guards.

Captain Kelly, of the Life Guards, encountered and killed the colonel of the 1st regiment of French Cuirassiers, in the battle of the 18th; after which he stripped the vanquished of his epaulets, and carried them off as a trophy.

Gen. Picton was killed early on the 18th, in the act of rallying some Belgians, and with his hat off, when he received a musket-ball, which passed through his right temple, and went through his brain, and was cut out with a razor, on the lower and opposite side of his head, where it appeared just breaking through the skin: he never spoke a word after he received the wound. After the 16th, this gallant officer's coat was observed to be most dreadfully cut; and it now appears, that he, that day, had a narrow escape, as it proceeded from a ball or the explosion of a shell.

SIX OFFICIAL REPORTS

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THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

I. PRUSSIAN ACCOUNT.

Marshal Blucher's official Report of the Operations of the Prussian Army on the Lower Rhine, June, 1815.

It was on the 15th of this month, that Napoleon, after having collected, on the 14th, five corps of his army, and the several corps of the guard, between Maubeuge and Beaumont, cammenced hostilities. The points of concentration of the four Prussian corps, were Fleurus, Namur, Cincy, and Hannut: the situation of which made it possible to unite the army, in one of these points, in 24 hours.

On the 15th, Napoleon advanced by Thuin, upon the two banks of the Sambre, against Charleroi. General Ziethen had collected the first corps near Fleurus, and had, on that day, a very warm action with the enemy, who, after having taken Charleoi, directed his march upon Fleurus. General Ziethen maintained himself in his position near that place,

Field Marshal Blucher intending to fight a great battle with the enemy as soon as possible, the three other corps of the Prussian army were consequently directed upon Sombref, a league and a half from Fleurus, where the 2d and 3d were to arrive on the 15th, and the 4th corps on the 16th.

Lord Wellington had united his army beween Ath and Nivelles, which enabled him to assist Field Marshal Blucher, in case the battle should be fought on the 15th.

June 16th.—BATTLE OF LIGNY.—The Prussian army was posted on the heights between Brie and Sombref, and beyond the last place, and occupied with a large force the village of St. Amand and Ligny, situate in its front. Mean time, only three corps of the army had joined; the fourth, which was stationed between Liege and Hannut, had been delayed in its murch by several circumstances and was not yet come up. Nevertheless, Field Marshal Bincher resolved to give battle; Lord Wellington having already put in motion, to support him, a strong division of his army, as well as his whole reserve, stationed in the environs of Brussels, and the 4th corps of the Prussian army being also on the point of arriving.

The battle began at three o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy brought up about 180,000 men. The Prussian army was 80,000 strong. The village of St. Amand was the first point attacked by the enemy, who carried it, after a vigorous resistance.

He then directed his efforts against Ligny. It is a large village, solidly built, situate on a rivulet of the same name. It was there that a contest began which may be considered as one of the most obstinate recorded in history. Villages have often been taken, and retaken: but here the combat continued for five hours in the villages themselves, and the movements,

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forwards or backwards, were confined to a very narrow space. On both sides fresh troops continually came up. Each army had, behind the part of the village which it occupied, great masses of infantry, which maintained the combat, and were continually renewed by the reinforcements which they received from their rear, as well as from the heights on the right and left. About two hundred cannon were directed from both sides against the village, which was on fire in several places at once. From time to time the combat extended through the whole line, the enemy having also directed numerous troops against the third corps; however, the main contest was near Ligny. Things seemed to take a favourable turn for the Prussian troops, a part of the village of St. Amand having been retaken by a battalion commanded by the Field Marshal in person, in consequence of which advantage we had regained a height, which had been abandoned after the loss of St. Amand. Nevertheless, the battle continued about Ligny with the same fury. The issue seemed to depend on the arrival of the English troops, or on those of the fourth corps of the Prussian army; in fact, the arrival of this last division would have afforded the Field Marshal the means of making, immediately, with the right wing, an attack, from which great success might be expected; but news arrived that the English division, destined to support us, was violently attacked by a corps of the French army, and that it was with great difficulty it had maintained itself in its position at Quatre Bras. The fourth corps of the army did not appear, so that we were forced to maintain, alone, the contest with an army greatly superior in numbers. The evening was already much advanced, and the combat about Ligny continued with the same fury, and the same equality of success; we invoked, but in vain, the arrival those succours which were so necessary; the danger became every hour more urgent; all the divisions were engaged, or had already been so, and there was not any corps at hand able to support them. Suddenly, a division of the enemy's infantry, which, by favour of the night, had made a circuit round the village without heing observed, at the same time that some regiments of cuirassiers had forced the passage on the other side, took, in the rear, the main body of our army, which was posted behind the houses. This surprise, on the part of the enemy, was decisive, especially at the moment when our cavalry, also posted on a height behind the village, was repulsed by the enemy's cavalry in repeated attacks.

Our infatry, posted behind Ligny, though forced to retreat, did not suffer itself to be discouraged, either by being surprised by the enemy in the darkness, a circumstance which exaggerates in the mind of man the dangers to which he finds himself exposed, or, by the idea of seeing itself surrounded on all sides. Formed in masses, it coolly repulsed all the attacks of the cavalry, and retreated in good order upon the heights, whence it continued its retrograde movement upon Tilly. In consequence of the sudden irruption of the enemy's cavalry, several of our cannons, in their precipitate retreat, had taken directions which led them to defiles, in which they necessarily fell into disorder: in this manner, 15 pieces fell into the hands of the enemy. At the distance of a quarter of a league

from the field of battle, the army formed again. The enemy did not venture to pursue it. The village of Brie remained in our possession during the night, as well as Sombref, where General Thielman had fought with the third corps, and whence he, at daybreak, slowly began to retreat towards Gembloux, where the fourth corps, under General Bulow, had at length arrived during the night. The first and second corps proceeded in the morning behind the defile of Mount St. Guibert. Our loss in killed and wounded was great; the enemy, however took from us no prisoners, except a part of our wounded. The battle was lost, but not our honour. Our soldiers had fought with a bravery which equalled every expectation; their fortitude remained unshaken, because every one retained his confidence in his own strength. On this day, Field Marshal Blucher had encountered the greatest dangers. A charge of cavalry, led on by himself, had failed. While that of the enemy was vigorously pursuing, a musket shot struck the Field Marshal's horse: the animal, far from being stopped in his career by this wound, began to gallop more furiously till it dropped down dead. The Field Marshal, stunned by the violent fall, lay entangled under the horse. The enemy's cuirassiers, following up their advantage, advanced: our last horseman had already passed by the Field Marshal, an Adjutant alone remanied with him, and had just alighted, resolved to share his fate. The danger was great, but Heaven watched over us. The enemy, pursuing their charge, passed rapidly by the Field Marshal without seeing him: the next moment, a second charge of our cavalry having repulsed them, they again passed by him with the same precipitation, not perceiving him, any more than they had done the first time. Then, but not without difficulty, the Field Marshal was disengaged from under the dead horse, and he immediately mounted a dragoon horse.

On the 17th, in the evening, the Prussian army concentrated itself in the environs of Wavre. Napoleon put himself in motion against Lord Wellington upon the great road leading from Charleroi to Brussels. An English division maintained, on the same day, near Quartre Bras, a very severe contest with the enemy. Lord Wellington had taken a position on the road to Brussels, having his right wing leaning upon Braine-la-Len, the centre near Mont St. Jean, and the left wing against La Haye Sainte. Lord Wellington wrote to the Field Marshal, that he was resolved to accept the battle in this position, if the Field Marshal would support him with two corps of his army. The Field Marshal promised to come with his whole army; he even proposed, in case Napoleon should not attack, that the Allies themselves, with their whole united force, should attack him the next day. This may serve to show how little the battle of the 16th had disorganised the Prussian army, or weakened its moral strength. Thus ended the day of the 17th.

BATTLE OF THE 18TH.—At break of day the Prussian army again began to move. The 4th and 2d corps marched by St. Lambert, where they were to take a position, covered by the forest, near Frichemout, to take the enemy in the rear, when the moment should appear favourable.

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The first corps was to operate by Ohain, on the right flank of the enemy The third corps was to follow slowly, in order to afford succour in case of need. The battle began about 10 o'clock in the morning. The English army occupied the heights of Mont St. Jean; that of the French was on the heights before Planchenoit: the former was about 80,000 strong: the enemy had above 130,000. In a short time, the battle became general along the whole line. It seems that Napoleon had the design to throw the left wing upon the centre, and thus to effect the separation of the English army from the Prussian, which he believed to be retreating upon Maestricht. For this purpose, he had placed the greatest part of his reserve in the centre, against his right wing, and upon this point he attacked with fury. The English army fought with a valour which it is impossible to surpass. The repeated charges of the Old Guard were baffled by the intrepidity of the Scottish regiments; and at every charge the French cavalry was overthrown by the English cavairy. But the superiority of the enemy in numbers was too great; Napoleon continually brought forward considerable masses, and, with whatever firmness the English troops maintained themselves in their position, it was not possible but that such heroic exertions must have a limit,

It was half-past four o'clock. The excessive difficulties of the passage by the defile of St. Lambert, had considerably retarded the march of the Prassian columns, so that only two brigades of the fourth corps had arrived at the covered position which was assigned to them. The decisive moment was come; there was not an instant to be lost. The Generals did not suffer it to escape. They resolved immediately to begin the attack with the troops which they had at hand. General Bulow, therefore, with two brigades and a corps of cavalry, advanced rapidly upon the rear of the enemy's right wing. The enemy did not lose his presence of mind; he instantly turned his reserve against us, and a muraderous conflict began on that side. The combat remained long uncertain, while the battle with the English army still continued with the same violence.

Towards six o'clock in the evening, we received the news that General Thielman, with the third corps, was attacked near Wavre by a very considerable corps of the enemy, and that they were already disputing the possession of the town. The Field Marshal, however, did not suffer himself to be disturbed by this news; it was on the spot where he was, and no where else, that the affair was to be decided. A conflict continually supported by the same obstinacy, and kept up by fresh troops could alone insure the victory, and if it were obtained here, any reverse sustained near Wavre was of little consequence. The columns, therefore, continued their movements. It was half an hour past seven, and the issue of the battle was still uncertain. The whole of the 4th corps, and a part of the 2d, under General Pvich, had successively come up. The Freuch troops fought with desperate fury: however, some uncertainty was perceived in their movements, and it was observed that some pieces of cannon were retreating. At this moment, the first columns of the

corps of General Ziethen arrived on the points of attack, near the village of Smonhen, on the enemy's right flank, and instantly charged. This moment decided the defeat of the enemy. His right wing was broken in three places; he abundoned his positions. Our troops rushed forward at the pas de charge, and attacked him on all sides, while, at the same time, the whole English line advanced.

Circumstances were extremely favourable to the attack formed by the Prussian army; the ground rose in an amphitheatre, so that our artillery could freely open its fire from the summit of a great many heights which rose gradually above each other, and in the intervals of which the troops descended into the plain, formed into brigades, and in the greatest order; while fresh corps continually unfolded themselves, issuing from the forest on the height behind us. The enemy, however, still preserved means to retreat, till the village of Planchenoit, which he had on his rear, and which was defended by the guard, was, after several bloody attacks, carried by storm. From that time the retreat became a rout, which soon spread through the whole French army, which, in its dreadful confusion, hurrying away every thing that attempted to stop it, seen assumed the appearance of the flight of an army of barbarians. It was half-past nine. The Field Murshal assembled all the superior officers. and gave orders to send the last horse and the last man in pursuit of the enemy. The van of the army accelerated its march. The French being pursued without intermission, were absolutely disorganised. The causeway presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck; it was covered with an innumerable quantity of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from more than nine bivouacs. In some villages they attempted to maintain themselves; but as soon as they heard the beating of our drums, or the sound of the trumpet, they either fled or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners. It was moonlight, which greatly favoured the pursuit, for the whole march was but a continued chace, either in the corn fields or the houses.

At Genappe, the enemy had entrenched himself with cannon, and overturned carriages: at our approach, we suddenly heard in the town a great noise and a motion of carriages; at the entrance we were exposed to a brisk fire of musketry; we replied by some cannon shot, followed by a hurrah, and, an instant after, the town was ours. It was here that, among many other equipages, the carriage of Napoleon was taken; he had just left it to mount on horse-back, and, in his hurry, had forgotten in it his sword and hat. Thus the affairs continued till break of day. About 40,000 men, in the most complete disorder, the remains of the whole army, have saved themselves, retreating through Charleroi, partly without arms, and carrying with them only 27 pieces of their numerous artillery.

The enemy, in his flight, had passed all his fortresses, the only defence of his frontiers, which are now passed by our armies.

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At three o'clock, Napoleon had dispatched, from the field of battle, a courier to Paris, with the news that victory was no longer doubtful: a few hours after, he had no longer any army left. We have not yet any exact account of the enemy's loss; it is enough to know, that two-thirds of the whole were killed, wounded, or prisoners: among the latter are Generals Monton, Duhesme, and Compans. Up to this time about 300 cannon, and above 500 caissons, are in our hands.

Few victories have been so complete; and there is certainly no example that an army, two days after losing a battle, engaged in such an action, and so gloriously maintained it. Honour be to troops capable of so much firmness and valour! In the middle of the position occupied by the French army, and exactly upon the height, is a farm, called La Belle Alliance. The march of all the Prussian columns was directed towards this farm, which was visible from every side. It was there that Napoleon was during the battle; it was thence that he gave his orders, that he flattered himself with the hopes of victory; and it was there that his ruin was decided. There, too, it was, that, by a happy chance, Field Marshal Blucher and Lord Wellington met in the dark, and mutually saluted each other as victors.

In commemoration of the alliance which now subsists between the English and Prussian nation, of the union of the two armies, and their reciprocal confidence, the Field Marshal desired, that this battle should bear the name of La Belle Alliance.

By the order of Field Marshal Blucher,

General GNEISENAU.

PROCLAMATION, addressed by Field Marshal Prince Blucher to the Army of the Lower Rhine, to be read at the head of every Battalion.

Brave Officers and Soldiers of the Army of the Lower Rhine—

You have done great things, brave companions in arms. You have fought two battles in three days. The first was unfortunate, and yet your courage was not broken.

You have had to struggle with privations, but you have borne them with fortitude. Immoveable in adverse fortune, after the loss of a bloody battle, you marched with firmness to fight another, relying on the God of battles, and full of confidence in your Commanders, as well as of perseverance in your efforts against presumptuous and perjured enemies, intoxicated with their victory.

It was with these sentiments you marched to support the brave English, who were maintaining the most arduous contest with unparalleled firmness. But the hour which was to decide this great struggle has struck, and has shewn who was to given the law, whether an adventurer, or Governments who are friends of order. Destiny was still undecided, when you appeared issuing from the forest which concealed you from the enemy, to attack his rear with that coolness, that firmness, that confidence, which characterises experienced soldiers, resolved to avenge the reverses they had experienced two days before. There, rapid as lightning, you

penetrated his already shaken columns. Nothing could stop you in the career of victory. The enemy in his despair turned his artillery upon you; but you poured death into his ranks, and your progress caused in them disorder, dispersion, and, at last, a complete rout. He found himzelf obliged to abandon to you several hundreds of cannon; and his army is dissolved.

A few days will suffice to annihilate these perjured legions, who were coming to consummate the slavery and the spoliation of the universe.

All great Commanders have regarded it as impossible immediately to renew the combat with a beaten army: you have proved, that resolute warriors may be vauquished, but that their valour is not shaken.

Receive, then, my thanks, incomparable soldiers—objects of all my esteem. You have acquired a great reputation. The annals of Europe will eternize your triumphs. It is on you, immoveable columns of the Prussian monarchy, that the destinies of the King, and his august house, will for ever repose.

Never will Prussia cease to exist, while your sons and your grandsons resemble you. (Signed) BLUCHER.

II. SPANISH ACCOUNT.

General Miguel Alava, in quality of Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of the Netherlands, from the King of Spain, having shared the dangers of the battle, by the side of the Duke of Wellington, has addressed his court, dated June 20th, from Brussels, giving an account of the battles of Quatre Bras, and Waterloo, the principal details of which being already given, we think it sufficient to make such extracts as may assist our other information, and to convey an adequate idea of the glory achieved by the unprecedented exertions of officers and men.

Speaking of the battle of the 16th, the General says:

"The English guards, various regiments, and the Scottish brigade, covered themselves with glory on this day; and Lord Wellington told me, on the day following, that he had never seen his troops, behave better, in all the many years he had commanded them. The French cuirassiers suffered greatly on this occasion, for, confiding in their cuirasses, they approached so near the English squares, that they succeeded in cutting down with their swords some officers of the 42d; but that brave regiment without being appalled, kept up so well supported a fire, that the ground was strewed with the Cuirassiers and their horses."

Of the battle of Waterloo, General Alava writes as follows:

"I joined the army on the morning of the 18th, though I had received no orders to that effect, because I believed that I should thus best serve his Majesty, and at the same time fulfil your Excellency's directions; and this determination has afforded me the satisfaction of having been present at the most important battle that has been fought for many centuries, in its consequences, its duration, and the talents of the chiefs on both sides, and because the peace of the world, and the future security of all Europe, may be said to have depended on its result.

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"The position occupied by his Lordship was very good; but towards the centre it had various week points, which required good troops to guard them, and much science and skill on the part of the general in chief. These qualifications were, however, to be found in abundance in the British troops and their illustrious commander, and it may be asserted, without offence to any one, to them both belongs the chief part of all the glory of this memorable day.

"On the right of the position, and a little in advance, was a country-house, the importance of which Lord Wellington quickly perceived, because without it the position could not be attacked on that side, and it might therefore be considered as its key. The Duke confided this important point to three companies of the English guards, under the command of Lord Saltoun, and laboured during the night of the 17th in fortifying it as well as possible, lining its garden, and wood which

served as its park, with Nassau troops as sharp-shooters.

"At half past ten, a movement was observed in the enemy's line, and many officers were seen coming from and going to a particular point, where there was a very considerable corps of infantry, which we afterwards understood to be the Imperial Guard; here was Buonaparte in person, and from this point issued all the orders. In the mean time the enemy's masses were forming, and every thing announced the approaching combat, which began at half past eleven, the enemy attacking with one of his corps, and, with his usual shouts, the country house on the right.

"The Nassau troops found it necessary to abandon their post; but the enemy met such resistance in the house, that though they surrounded it on three sides and attacked it most desperately, they were compelled to desist from their enterprise, leaving a great number of killed and wounded on the spot. Lord Wellington sent fresh English troops, who recovered the wood and garden, and the combat ceased for the present on

this side.

"The enemy then opened a horrible fire of artillery from more than 200 pieces, under cover of which Buonaparte made a general attack from the centre to the right with infantry and cavalry, in such numbers, that it required all the skill of his Lordship to post his troops, and all the good qualities of the latter, to resist the attack.

"General Picton, who was with his division on the road from Brussels to Charleroi, advanced with the bayonet to receive them; but was unfortunately killed at the moment when the enemy, appalled by the at-

titude of this division, fired, and then fled.

"The English Life Guards then charged with the greatest vigour, and the 49th and 105th French regiments lost their eagles in this charge, together with from 2 to 3,000 prisoners. A column of cavalry, at whose head were the cuirassiers, advanced to charge the Life Guards, and thus save their infantry, but the Guards received them with the greatest valour, and the most sanguinary cavalry fight, perhaps, ever witnessed, was the consequence.

"The French Cuirassiers were completely beaten, in spite of their cuirasses, by troops who had nothing of the sort, and lost one of their eagles in this conflict, which was taken by the heavy English cavalry called the Royals."

General Alava next mentions the approach of the Prussian Army, "which," he observes, "was the more necessary, from the superior numbers of the enemy's army, and from the dreadful loss we had sustained in this unequal combat, from eleven in the morning till five in the afternoon.

"Buonaparte, who did not believe the Prussians to be so near, and who reckoned upon destroying Lord Wellington before their arrival, perceived that he had fruitlessly lost more than five hours, and that in the critical position in which he was then placed, there remained no other resource but that of desperately attacking the weak part of the English position, and thus, if possible, beating the Duke before his right was turned, and attacked by the Prussians.

"Henceforward, therefore, the whole was a repetition of attacks by cavalry and infantry, supported by more than 300 pieces of artillery, which unfortunately made horrible ravages in our line, and killed and wounded officers, artillerists, and horses, in the weakest part of the position.

The enemy, aware of this destruction, made a charge with the whole cavalry of his guard, which took some pieces of cannon that could not be withdrawn; but the Duke, who was at this point, charged them with three battalions of English and three of Brunswickers, and compelled them in a moment to abandon the artillery, though we were unable to withdraw them for want of horses; nor did they dare to advance to recover them.

"At last, about seven in the evening, Buonaparte made a last effort, and putting himself at the head of his guards, attacked the above point of the English position with such vigour, that he drove back the Brunswickers who occupied part of it, and, for a moment, the victory was undecided, and even more than doubtful.

"The Duke, who felt that the moment was most critical, spoke to the Brunswick troops with that ascendency which every great man possesses, made them return to the charge, and, putting himself at their head, again restored the combat, exposing himself to every kind of personal danger.

"Fortunately, at this moment, we perceived the fire of Marshal Blucher, attacking the enemy's right with his usual impetuosity; and the moment of decisive attack being come, the Duke put himself at the head of the English Foot-Guards, spoke a few words to them, which were replied to by a general hurrah, and his Grace himself guiding them on with his hat, they marched at the point of the bayonet, to come to close action with the Imperial Guard. But the latter began a retreat, which was soon converted into flight, and the most complete rout ever exhibited by soldiers. The famous rout at Vittioria was not even comparable to it."

The gallant General then adds several reflections on the importance of the victory; and, in enumerating the loss sustained, says:

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"Of those who were by the Duke of Wellington, only he and myself remained untouched in our persons and horses. The rest were all either killed, wounded, or lost one or more horses. The Duke was unable to refrain from tears on witnessing the death of so many brave and honourable men, and the loss of so many friends and faithful companions, and which can alone be compensated by the importance of the victory."

III. BUONAPARTE's ACCOUNT.

French Official Detail of the Battles with the Prussians and English.

BATTLE OF LIGHY-UNDER-FLEURUS, Paris, June 21.—On the morning of the 16th the army occupied the following position:—

The left wing, commanded by the Marshal Duke of Elchingen, and consisting of the 1st and 2d corps of infantry, and the 2d of cavalry, occupied the positions of Frasnes.

The left wing, commanded by Marshal Grouchy, and composed of the 3d and 4th corps of infantry, and the 3d corps of cavalry, occupied the heights in rear of Fleurus.

The Emperor's head-quarters were at Charleroi, where were the Imperial Guard and the 6th corps.

The left wing had orders to march upon Quatre Bras, and the right upon Sombref. The Emperor advanced to Fleurus with his reserve.

The columns of Marshal Grouchy being in march, perceived, after having passed Fleurus, the enemy's army, commanded by Field Marshal Blucher, occupying with its left the heights of the mill of Bussy, the village of Sombref, and extending its cavalry a great way forward on the road to Namur; its right was at St. Amand, and occupied that large village in great force, having before it a ravine which formed its position.

The Emperor reconnoitred the strength and the position of the enemy, and resolved to attack immediately. It became necessary to change front, the right in advance, and pivoting upon Fleurus.

General Vandamme marched upon St. Amand, General Girard upon Ligny, and Marshal Grouchy upon Sombref. The 4th division of the 2d corps, commanded by General Girard, marched in reserve behind the corps of General Vandamme. The guard was drawn up on the heights of Fleurus, as well as the cuirassiers of General Milhaud.

At three in the afternoon, these dispositions were finished. The division of General Lefol, forming part of the corps of General Vandamme, was first engaged, and made itself master of St. Amand, whence it drove out the enemy at the point of the bayonet. It kept its ground during the whole of the engagement, at the burial-ground and steeple of St. Amand; but that village, which is very extensive, was the theatre of various combats during the evening; the whole corps of Gen. Vandamme was there engaged, and the enemy there fought in considerable force.

General Girard, placed as a reserve to the corps of General Vandamme, turned the village by its right, and fought there with its accustomed

valour. The respective forces were supported on both sides by about 50 pieces of cannon each.

On the right, General Girard came into action with the 4th corps, at the village of Ligny, which was taken and retaken several times.

Marshal Grouchy, on the extreme right, and General Pajol fought at the village of Sombres. The enemy showed from 80 to 90,000 men, and a great number of cannon.

At seven o'clock we were masters of all the villages situate on the bank of the ravine, which covered the enemy's position; but he still occupied, with all his masses, the heights of the mill of Bussy.

The Emperor returned with his guard to the village of Ligny; General Girard directed General Pecheux to debouch with what remained of the reserve, almost all the troops having been engaged in that village.

Eight battalions of the guard debouched with fixed bayonets, and behind them, four squadrons of the guards, the cuirassiers of General Delort, those of General Milhaud, and the grenadiers of the horse guards. The old guard attacked with the bayonet the enemy's columns, which were on the heights of Bussy, and in an instant covered the field of battle with dead. The squadron of the guard attacked and broke a square, and the cuirassiers repulsed the enemy in all directions. At half past nine o'clock we had forty pieces of cannon, several carriages, colours, and prisoners, and the enemy sought safety in a precipitate retreat. At ten o'clock the battle was finished, and we found ourselves masters of the field of battle.

General Lutzow, a partisan, was taken prisoner. The prisoners assure us, that Field Marshal Blucher was wounded. The flower of the Prussian army was destroyed in this battle. Its loss could not be less than 15,000 men. Our's was 3,000 killed and wounded.

On the left, Marshal Ney had marched on Quatre Bras with a division, which cut in pieces an English division which was stationed there; but being attacked by the Prince of Orange with 25 thousand men, partly English, partly Hanoverians in the pay of England, he retired upon his position at Frasnes. There a multiplicity of combats took place; the enemy obstinately endeavoured to force it, but in vain. The Duke of Elchingen waited for the first corps, which did not arrive till night; he confined himself to maintaining his position. In a square attacked by the 8th regiment of cuirassiers, the colours of the 69th regiment of English infantry fell into our hands. The Dake of Brunswick The Prince of Orange has been wounded. sured that the enemy had many personages and Generals of note killed or wounded; we estimate the loss of the English at from 4 to 5,000 men; our's on this side was very considerable; it amounts to 4,200 killed or wounded. The combat ended with the approach of night. Lord Wellington then evacuated Quatre Bras, and proceeded to Genappes.

In the morning of the 17th, the Emperor repaired to Quatre Bras, whence he marched to attack the English army: he drove it to the entrance of the forest of Soignes with the left wing and the reserve. The

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right wing advanced by Sombref, in pursuit of Field-Marshal Blucher, who was going towards Wavre, where be appeared to wish to take a position.

At ten o'clock in the evening, the English army occupied Mount St. Jean with its centre, and was in position before the forest of Soignes: it would have required three hours to attack it; we were therefore obliged to postpone it till the next day.

The head-quarters of the Emperor were established at the farm of Oaillon, near Planchenoit. The rain fell in torrents. Thus, on the 16th, the left wing, the right, and the reserve, were equally engaged, at a distance of about two leagues.

BATTLE OF MOUNT ST. JEAN.—At nine in the morning, the rain having somewhat abated, the 1st corps put itself in motion, and placed itself with the left on the road to Brussels, and opposite the village of Mount St. Jean, which appeared the centre of the enemy's position. The 2d corps leaned its right upon the road to Brussels, and its left upon a small wood, within cannon shot of the English army. The cuirassiers were in reserve behind, and the guard in reserve upon the heights. The 6th corps, with the cavalry of General D'Aumont, under the order of Count Lobau, was destined to proceed in rear of our right to oppose a Prussian corps, which appeared to have escaped Marshal Grouchy, and to intend to fall upon our right flank, an intention which had been made known to us by our reports, and by the letter of a Prussian general, inclosing an order of battle, and which was taken by our light troops.

The troops were full of ardour. We estimated the force of the English army at 80,000 men. We supposed that the Prussian corps, which might be in line towards the right, might be 15,000 men. The enemy's force, then, was upwards of 90,000 men, our's less numerous.

At noon, all the preparations being terminated, Prince Jerome, commanding a division of the second corps, and destined to form the extreme left of it, advanced upon the wood of which the enemy occupied a part. The cannonade began. The enemy supported, with 30 pieces of cannon, the troops he had sent to keep the wood. We made also on our side dispositions of artillery. At one o'clock, Prince Jerome was master of all the wood, and the whole English army fell back behind a curtain. Count d'Erlon then attacked the village of Mount St. Jean. and supported his attack with 80 pieces of cannon, which must have occasioned great loss to the English army. All the efforts were made towards the ridge. A brigade of the 1st division of Count d'Erlon took the village of Mount St. Jean; a second brigade was charged by a corps of English cavalry, which occasioned it much loss. At the same moment, a division of English cavalry charged the battery of Count d'Erlon by its right, and disorganised several pieces; but the cuirassiers of general Milhaud charged that division, three regiments of which were broken and cut up.

It was three in the afternoon. The Emperor made the guard advance to place it in the plain upon the ground which the first corps had occupied at the outset of the battle; this corps being already in advance. The Prussian division, whose movement had been foreseen, then engaged with the light troops of Count Lobau, spreading its fire upon our whole right flank. It was expedient, before undertaking any thing elsewhere, to wait for the event of this attack. Hence, all the means in reserve were ready to succour Count Lobau, and overwhelm the Prussian corps when it should be advanced.

This done, the Emperor had the design of leading an attack upon the village of Mount St. Jean, from which we expected decisive success; but, by a movement of impatience so frequent in our military annals, and, which has often been so fatal to us, the cavalry of reserve having perceived a retrogade movement made by the English to shelter themselves from our batteries, from which they suffered so much, crowned the heights of Mount St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in time, and supported by the reserves, must have decided the day, made in an isolated manner, and before affairs on the right were terminated, became fatal.

Having no means of countermanding it, the enemy shewing many masses of cavalry and infantry, and our two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all our cavalry ran at the same moment to support their comrades. There, for three hours numerous charges were made, which enabled us to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry, an advantage out of proportion with the loss which our cavalry experinced by the grape shot and musket-firing. It was impossible to dispose of our reserves of infantry until we had repulsed the flank attack of the Prussian corps. This attack always prolonged itself perpendicularly upon our right flank. The Emperor sent thither General Duhesme with the young guard, and several batteries of reserve. The enemy was kept in check, repulsed, and fell back-he had exhausted his forces, and we had nothing more to fear. It was this moment that was indicated for an attack upon the centre of the enemy. As the cuirassiers suffered by the grape-shot, we sent four battalions of the middle guard to protect the cuirassiers, keep the position, and, if possible, disengage and draw back into the plain a part of our cavalry.

Two other battalions were sent to keep themselves en potence upon the extreme left of the division, which had manceuvred upon our flanks, in order not to have any uneasiness on that side—the rest was disposed in reserve, part to occupy the potence in rear of Mount St. Jean, part upon the ridge in rear of the field of battle, which formed our position of retreat.

In this state of affairs, the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions, which the enemy occupied at the outset of the battle: our cavalry having been too soon and ill employed, we could no longer hope for decisive success; but Marshal Grouchy having learned the movement of the Prussian corps, marched upon the rear of that corps, which insured

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ns a signal success for next day. After eight hours' fire and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power.

At half-after eight o'clock, the four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the ridge on the other side of Mount St. Jean in order to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by the grape shot, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank, by several English squadrons, The fugitives recrossed the ravine. Several reput them in disorder. giments, near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and in consequence were thrown into disorder. Cries of all is lost, the guard is driven back, were heard The soldiers pretend even that on many points ill-dison every side. posed persons cried out, sauve qui peut. However this may be, a complete panic at once spread itself throughout the whole field of battle, and they threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoneers, caissons, all pressed to this point; the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along.

In an instant, the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion; all the solders, of all arms, were mixed pêle-mêle, and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this astonishing confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder, and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error. Thus a battle terminated, a day of false manœuvres rectified, the greatest success insured for the next day, all was lost by a moment of panic terror. Even the squadrons of service drawn up by the side of the Emperor were overthrown and disorganised by these tumultuous waves, and there was then nothing else to be done but to follow the torrent. The parks of reserve, the baggage which had not repassed the Sambre, in short every thing that was on the field of battle, remained in the power of the enemy. It was impossible to wait for the troops on our right; every one knows what the bravest army in the world is when thus mixed and thrown into confusion, and when its organization no longer exists.

The Emperor crossed the Sambre at Charleroi, at five o'clock in the morning of the 19th. Phillippeville and Avesnes have been given as the points of re-union. Prince Jerome, General Morand, and other generals have there already rallied a part of the army. Marshal Grouchy, with the corps on the right, is moving on the Lower Sambre.

The loss of the enemy must have been very great, if we may judge from the number of standards we have taken from them, and from the retrograde movements which he made;—our's cannot be calculated till after the troops shall have been collected. Before the disorder broke out, we had already experienced a very considerable loss, particularly in our cavalry, so fatally, though so bravely engaged. Notwithstanding these losses, this brave cavalry constantly kept the position it had taken from the English, and only abandoned it when the tumult and disorder of the

field of battle forced it. In the midst of the night, and the obstacles which encumbered their route, it could not preserve its own organization.

The artillery has, as usual, covered itself with glory. The carriages belonging to the head quarters remained in their ordinary position: no retrograde movement being judged necessary. In the course of the night they fell into the enemy's hands.

Such has been the issue of the battle of Mount St. Jean, glorious for the French armies, and yet so fatul.

IV. MARSHAL NEY'S ACCOUNT.

The Prince of Moskwa (Marshal Ney) to his Excellency the Duke of Otranto.

M. LE Duc,—The most false and defamatory reports have been spreading for some days over the public mind, upon the conduct which I have pursued during this short and unfortunate campaign. The journals have reported those odious calumnies, and appear to lend them credit. After having fought for twenty-five years for my country, after after having shed my blood for its glory and independence, an attempt is made to accuse me of treason; an attempt is made to mark me out to the people, and the army itself, as the author of the disaster it has just experienced.

Forced to break silence, while it is always painful to speak of oneself. and above all, to answer calumnies, I address myself to you, Sir, as the President of the Provisional Government, for the purpose of laying before you a faithful statement of the events I have witnessed. On the 11th of June, I received an order from the Minister of War to repair to the Imperial presence. I had no command, and no information upon the composition and strength of the army. Neither the Emperor nor his Minister had given me any previous hint, from which I could anticipate that I should be employed in the present campaign, I was consequently taken by surprise, without horses, without accourrements, and without money, and I was obliged to borrow the necessary expenses of my journey. Having arrived on the 12th, at Laon, on the 13th at Aves_ nes, and on the 14th at Beaumont, I purchased, in this last city, two horses from the Duke of Treviso, with which I repaired, on the 15th, to Charleroi, accompanied by my first aide-de-camp, the only officer who attended me. I arrived at the moment when the enemy, attacked by our troops, was retreating upon Fleurus and Gosselies.

The Emperor ordered me immediately to put myself at the head of the 1st and 2d corps of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Generals d'Erlou and Reille, of the divisions of light cavalry of Lieutenant General Pine, of the division of light cavalry of the guards under the command of Lieutenant-Generals Lefebvre Desnouettes and Colbert, and of two divisions of cavalry of the Count Valmy, forming, in all, eight divisions of infantry, and four of cavalry. With these troops, a part of which only I had as yet under my immediate command, I pursued the enemy, and forced him to evacuate Gosselies, Frasnes, Millet, Heppegnies. There

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they took up a position for the night, with the exception of the 1st corps, which was still at Marchiennes, and which did not join me till the fol-

lowing day.

On the 16th, I received orders to attack the English in their position at Quatre Bras. We advanced towards the enemy with an enthusiasm difficult to be described. Nothing resited our impetuosity. The battle became general, and victory was no longer doubtful, when, at the moment that I intended to order up the first corps of infantry, which had been left by me in reserve at Frasnes, I learned that the Emperor had disposed of it without adverting me of the circumstance, as well as of the division of Girard of the second corps, on purpose to direct them upon St. Amand, and to strengthen his left wing, which was vigorously engaged with the Prussians. The shock which this intelligence gave me, confounded me. Having no longer under me more than three divisions, instead of the eight upon which I calculated, I was obliged to renounce the hopes of victory; and, in spite of all my efforts, in spite of the intrepidity and devotion of my troops, my utmost efforts after that could only maintain me in my position till the close of the day. About nine o'clock, the first corps was sent me by the Emperor, to whom it had been of no service. Thus twenty-five or thirty thousand men were, I may say, paralized, and were idly paraded during the whole of the battle from the right to the left, and the left to the right, without firing a shot.

It is impossible for me, Sir, not to arrest your attention for a moment upon these details, in order to bring before your view all the consequences of this false movement, and, in general, of the bad arrangements during the whole of the day. By what fatality, for exemple, did the Emperor, instead of leading all his forces against Lord Wellington, who would have been attacked unawares, and could not have resisted, consider this attack as secondary? How did the Emperor, after the passage of the Sambre, conceive it possible to fight two battles on the same day? It was to oppose forces double our's, and to do what military men who were witnesses of it can scarcely yet comprehend. Instead of this, had he left a corps of observation to watch the Prussians, and marched with his most powerful masses to support me, the English army had undoubtedly been destroyed between Quartre Bras, and Genappes; and, this position, which separated the two allied armies, being once in our power, would have opened for the Emperor an opportunity of advancing to the right of the Prussians, and of crushing them in their turn. The general opinion in France, and especially in the army, was, that the Emperor would have bent his whole efforts to annihilate first the English army; and circumstances were favourable for the accomplishment of such a project: but fate ordered otherwise.

On the 17th, the army marched in the direction of Mount St. Jean.

On the 18th, the batle began at one o'clock, and though the bulletin, which details it, makes no mention of me, it is not necessary for me to mention that I was engaged in it. Lieutenant-General Count Drouet

has already spoken of that battle, in the House of Peers. His narration is accurate, with the exception of some important facts which he has passed over in silence, or of which he was ignorant, and which it is now my duty to declare. About seven o'clock in the evening, after the most frightful carnage which I have ever witnessed, General Labedoyere came to me with a message from the Emperor, that Marshal Grouchy had arrived on our right, and attacked the left of the English and Prussians united. This General Officer, in riding along the lines, spread this intelligence among the soldiers, whose courage and devotion remained unskaken, and who gave new proofs of them at that moment, in spite of the fatigue which they experienced. Immediately after, what was my astonishment, I should rather say indignation, when I learned, that so far from Marshal Grouchy having arrived to support us, as the whole army had been assured, between forty and fifty thousand Prussians attacked our extreme right, and forced it to retire!

Whether the Emperor was deceived with regard to the time when the Marshal could support him, or whether the march of the Marshal was retarded by the efforts of the enemy longer than was calculated upon, the fact is, that at the moment when his arrival was announced to us, he was only at Wavre upon the Dyle, which to us was the same as if he had been 800 leagues from the field of battle.

A short time afterwards, I saw four regiments of the middle guard, conducted by the Emperor, arriving. With these troops he wished to renew the attack, and to penetrate the centre of the enemy. He ordered me to lead them on; Generals, officers, and soldiers all displayed the greatest intrepidity; but this body of troops was too weak to resist, for a long time, the forces opposed to it by the enemy, and it was soon necessary to renounce the hope which this attack had, for a few moments, inspired. General Friant had been struck with a ball by my side, and I myself had my horse killed, and fell under it. The brave men who will return from this terrible battle, will, I hope, do me the justice to say, that they saw me on foot with sword in hand during the whole of the evening, and that I only quitted the scene of carnage among the last, and at the moment when retreat could no longer be prevented. At the same time, the Prussians continued their offensive movements, and our right sensibly retired, the English advancing in their turn. There remained to us still four squares of the Old Guard to protect the retreat. These brave grenadiers, the choice of the army, forced successively to retire, yielded ground foot by foot, till, overwhelmed by numbers, they were almost entirely annihilated. From that moment a retrograde movement was declared, and the army formed nothing but a confused mass. There was not, however, a total route, nor the cry of sauve qui peut, as has been calumniously stated in the bulletin. As for myself, constantly in the rear-guard, which I followed on foot, having all my horses killed, wornout with fatigue, covered with contusions, and having no longer strength to march, I owe my life to a corporal who supported me on the road, and did not abandon me during the retreat.

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At eleven at night I found Lieutenant-General Lefebvre Desnouettes. and one of his officers, Major Schmidt, had the generosity to give me the only horse that remained to him. In this manner I arrived at Marchienne-au-pont at four o'clock in the morning, alone, without any officers of my staff, ignorant of what had become of the Emperor, who, before the end of the battle, had entirely disappeared, and who, I was allowed to believe, might be either killed or taken prisoner. General Pamphele Lacroix, chief of the staff of the second corps, whom I found in this city, having told me that the Emperor was at Charleroi, I was led to suppose that his Majesty was going to put himself at the head of Marshal Grouchy's corps, to cover the Sambre, and to facilitate to the troops the means of rallying towards Avesnes, and, with this persuasion, I went to Beaumont; but parties of cavalry following on too near, and having already intercepted the roads of Maubeuge and Philippeville, I became sensible of the total impossibility of arresting a single soldier to oppose the progress of the victorious enemy. I continued my march upon Avesnes, where I could obtain no intelligence of what had become of the Emperor.

In this state of matters, having no knowledge of his Majesty, nor of the Major-General, confusion increasing every moment, and, with the exception of some fragments of the guard and of the line, every one following his own inclination, I determined immediately to go to Paris by St. Quentin, to disclose, as quickly as possible, the true state of affairs to the Minister of War, that he might send to the army some fresh troops, and take the measures which circumstances rendered necessary. At my arrival at Bourget, three leagues from Paris, I learned that the Emperor had passed there at nine o'clock in the morning.

Such, M. le Duc, is a history of the calamitous campaign.

Now, I ask those who have survived this fine and numerous army, how I can be accused of the disasters of which it has been the victim, and of which your military annals furnish no example. I have, it is said, betrayed my country-I who, to serve it, have shewn a zeal which I perhaps have carried to an extravagant height; but this calumny is supported by no fact, by no circumstance. But how can these odious reports, which spread with frightful rapidity, be arrested? If, in the researches which I could make on this subject, I did not fear almost as much to discover as to be ignorant of the truth, I would say, that all has a tendency to convince that I have been unworthily deceived, and that it is attempted to cover, with the pretence of treason, the faults and extravagancies of this campaign-faults which have not been avowed in the bulletins that have appeared, and against which I in vain raised that voice of truth which I will yet cause to resound in the House of Peers. I expect, from the candour of your Excellency, and from your indulgence to me, that you will cause this letter to be inserted in the Journal, and give it the greatest possible publicity.

I renew to your Excellency, &c.

Marshal Prince of MOSKWA.

V. MARSHAL GROUCHY'S ACCOUNT.

Report addressed to the Emperor by Marshal de Grouchy.

" Dinant, June 20th, 1815 .- It was not till after seven in the evening of the 18th of June, that I received the letter of the Duke of Dalmatia, which directed me to march on St. Lambert, and to attack General Bulow. I fell in with the enemy as I was marching on Wavre. He was immediately driven into Wavre, and General Vandamme's corps attacked that town, and was warmly engaged. The portion of Wavre, on the right of the Dyle, was carried, but much difficulty was experienced in debouching on the other side. General Girard was wounded by a ball in the breast, while endeavouring to carry the mill of Bielge, in order to pass the river, but in which he did not succeed, and Lieutenant-General Aix had been killed in the attack on the town. In this state of things, being impatient to co-operate with your Majesty's army on that important day, I detached several corps to force the passage of the Dyle and march against Bulow. The corps of Vandamme, in the meantime, maintained the attack on the Wavre, and on the mill, whence the enemy showed an intention to debouch, but which I did not conceive he was capable of effecting. I arrived at Limale, passed the river, and the heights were carried by the division of Vichery and the cavalry. Night did not permit us to advance farther, and I no longer heard the cannon on the side where your Majesty was engaged.

"I halted in this situation until day-light. Wavre and Bielge were occupied by the Prussians, who, at three in the morning of the 18th, attacked in their turn, wishing to take advantage of the difficult position in which I was, and expecting to drive me into the defile, and take the artillery which had debouched, and make me repass the Dyle. Their efforts were fruitless. The Prussians were repulsed, and the village of

Bielge taken. The brave General Penny was killed.

General Vandamme then passed one of his divisions by Bielge, and carried with ease the heights of Wavre, and along the whole of my line the success was complete. I was in front of Rozierne, preparing to march on Brussels, when I received the sad intelligence of the loss of the battle of Waterloo. The officer who brought it informed me, that your Majesty was retreating on-the Sambre, without being able to indicate any particular point on which I should direct my march. I ceased to pursue, and began my retrograde movement. The retreating enemy did not think of following me. Learning that the enemy had already passed the Sambre, and was on my flank, and not being sufficiently strong to make a diversion in favour of your Majesty, without compromising that which I commanded, I marched on Namur. At this moment, the rear of the columns were attacked. That of the left made a retrograde movement sooner than was expected, which endangered, for a moment, the retreat of the left; but good dispositions soon repaired every thing, and two pieces which had been taken, were recovered by the brave 20th dragoons, who besides took an howitzer from the ene-

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my. We entered Namur without loss. The long defile which extends from this place to Dinant, in which only a single column can march, and the embarrassment arising from the numerous transports of wounded, rendered it necessary to hold for a considerable time the town, in which I had not the means of blowing up the bridge. I entrusted the defence of Namur to General Vandamme, who, with his usual intrepidity maintained himself there till eight in the evening; so that nothing was left behind, and I occupied Dinant.

"The enemy has lost some thousands of men in the attack on Namur, where the contest was very obstinate; the troops have performed

their duty in a manner worthy of praise.

(Signed) " DE GROUCHY."

Private French Letters.

June 17, 1815.—" The French armies have again immortalized themselves on the plains of Fleurus.

"We entered Belgium on the 15th. The enemy was overthrown in a

first affair upon every point where he attempted to resist us.

"Before Charleroi, several of his squares were broken and taken by some squadrons only: one thousand seven hundred prisoners only could be saved out of five or six thousand men who composed those squares. Yesterday (the 16th) we encountered the whole of the enemy's army, in its position near Fleurus; its right, composed of English, under the command of Wellington, was in front of Meller, its centre at St. Amand, and its left at Sombre, a formidable position, covered by the little

river Ligny.

"The enemy occupied also the little village of Ligny, in front of this river. Our army debouched in the plain, its left under Marshal Ney, by Gosselies, the centre where the Emperor was, by Fleurus, and the right under General Girard, upon Sombre. The actions began at two o'clock upon the left and centre. Both sides fought with inconceivable fury. The villages of St. Amand and Ligny were taken and re-taken four times. Our soldiers have all covered themselves with glory. At eight o'clock the Emperor, with his whole guard, had Ligny attacked and carried. Our brave fellows advanced at the first discharge upon the principal position of the enemy. His army was forced in the centre, and obliged to retreat in the greatest disorder; Blucher, with the Prussians, upon Namur, and Wellington upon Brussels.

"Several pieces of cannon were taken by the guard, who bore down all before them. All march with cries a thousand times repeated of "Vive l'Empereur!" These were also the last words of the brave men who fell. Never was such enthusiasm; a British division of five or six thousand Scottish was cut to pieces; we have not seen any of them prisoners. The Noble Lord must be confounded. There were upon the field of battle eight enemies to one Frenchman. Their loss is said to be fifty thousand men. The cannonade was like that at the battle of

Moskwa,

"This morning (the 17th) the cavalry of General Paygol is gone in pursuit of the Prussians upon the road to Namur. It is already two leagues and a half in advance; whole bands of prisoners are taken. They do not know what is become of their commanders. The rout is complete on this side, and I hope we shall not so soon hear again of the Prussians, if they should ever be able to rally at all.

"As for the English, we shall see now what will become of them. The Emperor is here."

Some private letters from the army give the following particulars:-

"The English are retiring upon Brussels by the forest of Soignes; the Prussians are falling back upon the Meuse in great disorder.

"The 17th at 11 P. M. the Emperor had his head-quarters at Planchenoit, a village only five leagues from Brussels. The rain fell in torrents. His Majesty was fatigued, but he was very well.

"Count Lobau, who was marching with the 6th corps upon Namur, was, with his vanguard, only half a league from the town. Five battalions are gone from Lille to escort the prisoners taken on the 15th and 16th."

VI. DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S REPORTS.

London Gazette Extraordinary, June 22d.

Downing-Street, June 22d, 1815.—Major the Honourable H. Percy, arrived late last night with a dispatch from Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K. G. to Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the War Department, of which the following is a copy:

Waterloo, June 19th, 1815.

My Lord,—Buonaparte having collected the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th, corps of the French army and the Imperial Guards, and nearly all the cavalry, on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and the 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobez, on the Sambre, at day-light in the morning.

I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march; and afterwards to march to the left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack.

The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and General Ziethen, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi, retired upon Fleurus; and Marshal Prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sambref, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny.

The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Bruxelles, and on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under Prince de Weimmy, posted at Frasne, and forced it back to the farm house on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras.

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The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher, and, in the morning early, regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Bruxelles, with Marshal Blucher's position.

In the meantime, I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the 5th division, under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blucher with his whole force, excepting the 1st and 2d corps; and a corps of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked my self, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery; he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair, his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, and Major-General Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves, as well as Lieutenant-General Charles Baron Alten, Major-General Sir C. Halket, Lieutenant-General Cooke, and Major-Generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the 5th division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42d, 78th, and 92d regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians.

Our loss was great, as your Lordship will perceive by the inclosed return; and I have particularly to regret His Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell, fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

Although Marshal Blucher had maintained his position at Sambref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and, as the fourth corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrated his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over.

This movement of the Marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock.

The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrole which I sent to Sambref, in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrole advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting by following with a large body of cavalry, (brought from his right) the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge.

This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st Life Guards, upon their debouche from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his Lordship has declared himself to be well satis-

fied with that regiment.

The position which I took up, in front of Waterloo, crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelle, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelle road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre, we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blucher, at Wavre, through Ohaim; and the Marshal had promised me, that in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blucher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning; and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of Guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained, throughout the day, with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these, the enemy carried the farm house of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry; but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which, Lord E. Somerset's brigade, Royal Horse Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards, highly distinguished themselves; as did that of Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle. These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort

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with the cavalry and infantry, to force our left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from the attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Euschermont upon Planchenorte and La Belle Alliance had begun to take effect; and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blucher had joined in person, with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohaim, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I can judge, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands.

I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night: he has sent me word this morning that he had taken 60 pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial Guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Buonaparte, in Genappe.

I propose to move, this morning, upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operation.

Your Lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and I am sorry to add that our's has been immense. In Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, his Mujesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service; and he fell, gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position, was defeated.

The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound, by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive his Majesty for some time of his services.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct till he received a wound from a musket ball, through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your Lordship, that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. The division of Guards, under Lieutenant-General Cooke, who is severely wounded, Major-General Maitland and Major Byng, set an example which was followed by all; and there is no officer, nor description of troops, that did not behave well.

I must, however, particularly mention, for his Royal Highness's approbation, Lieutenant-General Sir H. Clinton, Major-General Adam, Lieutenant-General Charles Baron Alten, severely wounded; Major-General Sir Colin Halket, severely wounded; Colonel Ompteda, Colonel Mitchel, commanding a brigade of the 4th division; Major-Generals Sir James Kempt and Sir Denis Pack, Major-General Lumbert, Major-

General Lord E. Somerset, Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, Major-General Sir C. Grant, and Major-General Sir H. Vivian; Major-General Sir O. Vandeleur; Major-General Count Dornberg. I am also particularly indebted to General Lord Hill for his assistance and conduct upon this, as upon all former occasions.

The artillery and engineer departments were conducted much to my satisfaction by Colonel Sir G. Wood, and Colonel Smyth; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Adjutant-General Major-General Barnes, who was wounded, and of the Quarter-Master-General, Colonel Delancy, who was killed by a cannon shot in the middle of the action. This officer is a serious loss to his Majesty's service, and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of Lieut.-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in this action. Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Sir Alexander Gordon, who has died of his wounds, was a most promising officer, and is a serious loss to his Majesty's service.

General Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did General Trip, commanding the heavy brigade of cavalry, and General Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry of the King of the Netherlands.

General Pozzo di Borgo, General Baron Vincent, General Muffling. and General Alava, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in their power. Baron Vincent is wounded, but I hope not severely; and General Pozzo di Borgo received a contusion.

I should not do justice to my feelings, or to Marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance received from them.

The operation of General Bulow upon the enemy's flank, was a most decisive one; and, even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack, which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded.

I send, with this dispatch, two eagles, taken by the troops in this action, which Major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his Royal Highness. I beg leave to recommend him to your Lord-I have the honour, &c. ship's protection. WELLINGTON.

(Signed)

P. S. Since writing the above, I have received a report, that Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby is killed; and in announcing this intelligence to your Lordship, I have to add the expression of my grief for the fate of an officer, who had already rendered very brilliant and important services, and was an ornament to his profession.

2d P. S. I have not yet got the return of killed and wounded, but I enclose a list of officers killed and wounded on the two days, as far as VOL. III. SUPP.

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the same can be made out without the returns; and I am very happy to add, that Colonel Delancy is not dead, and that strong hopes of his recovery are entertained.

My Lord,

Brussels, June 19th, 1805.

"I have to inform you that we have already got here 5000 prisoners, and that 2000 more are coming in to-morrow. Among them is Count Lobau, who commanded the 6th corps, and General Cambrone, who commanded a division of the guards. I propose to send the whole to England by Ostend.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" Earl Bathurst, &c.

WELLINGTON."

ORDER OF THE DAY, June 20, 1815.

"As the army is about to enter the French territory, the troops of the nations which are at present under the command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington are desired to recollect that their respective Sovereigns are the Allies of His Majesty the King of France, and that France therefore ought to be treated as a friendly country. It is then required that nothing should be taken either by the officers or soldiers, for which payment be not made. The Commissaries of the Army will provide for the wants of the troops in the usual manner, and it is not permitted, either to officers or soldiers, to extort contributions. The Commissaries will be authorised, either by the Marshal, or by the Generals who command the troops of the respective nations, in cases where their provisions are not supplied by an English Commissary, to make the proper requisitions, for which regular receipts will be given; and it must be strictly understood, that they will themselves be held responsible for whatever they obtain in the way of requisition from the inhabitants of France, in the same manner in which they would be esteemed accountable for purchases made for their own Government in the several dominions to which they belong.

(Signed) "J. WATERS, A. A. G."

"I acquaint all Frenchmen, that I enter their country at the head of a victorious army, not as an enemy, the Usurper excepted, who is the enemy of human nature, and with whom no peace and no truce can be maintained. I pass your boundaries to relieve you from the iron yoke by which you are oppressed. In consequence of this determination I have given the following orders to my army, and I demand to be informed of any one who shall presume to disobey them. Frenchmen know that I have a right to require that they should conduct themselves in a manner that will enable me to protect them against those by whom they would be injured. It is therefore necessary, that they should comply with the requisitions that will be made by persons properly authorised, for which a receipt will be given, which they will quietly retain, and avoid all communication or correspondence with the Usurper and his adherents. All those persons who shall absent themselves from their dwell-

June 21st, 1815.

ings, after the entrance of this army into France, and all those who shall be found attached to the service of the Usurper, and so absent, shall be considered to be his partizans and public enemies, and their property shall be devoted to the subsistence of the forces.

"Issued at head-quarters, from Malplaquet, (Signed) "WELLINGTON."

Extracts of Dispatches received by Earl Bathurst from the Duke of Wellington, 22d and 25th June.

Le Cateau, June 22, 1815.

We have continued in march on the left of the Sambre since I wrote to you. Marshal Blucher crossed that river on the 19th, in pursuit of the enemy, and both armies entered the French territory yesterday; the Prussians by Beaumont, and the Allied Army, under my command, by Bavay .- The remains of the French army have retired upon Laon. All accounts agree in stating, that it is in a very wretched state; and that, in addition to its losses in battle and in prisoners, it is losing vast numbers of men by desertion. The soldiers quit their regiments in parties. and return to their homes; those of the cavalry and artillery selling their horses to the people of the country.—The third corps, which in my dispatch of the 19th, I informed your Lordship had been detached to observe the Prussian army, remained in the neighbourhood of Wavre till the 20th; it then made good its retreat by Namur and Dinant. This corps is the only one remaining entire. - I am not yet able to transmit your Lordship returns of the killed and wounded in the army in the late actions. It gives me the greatest satisfaction to inform you, that Colonel Delancy is not dead; he is badly wounded, but his recovery is not doubted, and I hope will be early.

Joncourt, June 25, 1815.

Finding that the garrison of Cambray was not very strong, and that the place was not very well supplied with what was wanting for its defence, I sent Lieut.-General Sir Charles Colville there, the day before yesterday, with one brigade of the 5th division, and Sir C. Grant's brigade of cavalry; and upon his report of the strength of the place, I sent the whole division yesterday morning. I have now the satisfaction of reporting, that Sir Charles Colville took the town by escalade yesterday evening, with trifling loss, and, from the communications which he has since had with the Governor of the citadel, I have every reason to hope that that post will have been surrendered to a Governor sent there by the King of France, to take possession of it, in the course of this day. St. Quentin has been abandoned by the enemy, and is in possession of Marshal Prince Blucher; and the castle of Guise surrendered last night. All accounts concur in stating, that it is impossible for the enemy to collect an army to make head against us. It appears that the French corps which was opposed to the Prussians, on the 14th instant, and had been at Wayre, suffered considerably in its retreat, and lost some of its cannon.

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[Transmitted by the Duke of Wellington]

Govy, June 26, 1815.

My LORD .- Lieut. Colonel Sir N. Campbell (Major of the 54th regiment) having asked my leave to go to head-quarters to request your Grace's permission to return to England, I beg leave to take the opportunity of mentioning, that I feel much obliged to him for his conduct in closing, in the town of Cambray, with the light companies of Major General Johnston's brigade, and in leading one of the columns of attack.

The one which he commanded, escaladed, at the angle formed on our right side, by the Valenciennes gateway, and the curtain of the place.

A second, commanded by Colonel William Douglas, of the 91st regiment, and directed by Lieut. Gilbert, Royal Engineers, took advantage of the reduced height in that part of the escarps (which, on an average, is, on that side, about fifty-five feet) by placing their ladders on a covered communication from this place, to a large ravelin near the Amiens road*.

The Valenciennes gate was broken open by Sir N. Campbell, and draw-bridges let down in about half an hour, when, on entering the town, I found that the attack made by Col. Mitchell's brigade, on the side of the Paris gate, had also succeeded; the one directed by Captain Sharpe, Royal Engineers, forced the outer gates of the Corre Port in the horn-work, and passed both ditches, by means of the rails of the draw-bridges, which they scrambled over by the side; not being able to force the main gate, they escaladed by the breach (the state of which your Grace had observed) in the morning, and before which, although the ditch was said to have twelve feet water, a footing on dry ground was found, by wading through a narrow part in the angle of the gate, within the rampart. I have every reason to be satisfied with the light infantry of the division, who, by their fire, covered the attacks of the parties, of sixty men each, which preceded the column.

The three brigades of artillery of Lieutenant-Colonel Webber Smith, and Majors Knott and Browne, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Hawker, made particularly good practice, and immediately silenced the fire of the enemy's artillery, except from two guns on each flank of the citadel, which could not be got at, and two field pieces on the ramparts of the town, above the Valenciennes gate, and which played upon the troops as they debouched from the cover they had been posted in. Twenty prisoners were made at the hornwork of the Paris gate, and about one hundred and thirty altogether in the town. Their fire was very slack, and even that, I foresaw, they were forced to, by the garrison of the citadel. I left the 23d and 91st regiments in town, with two guns and a troop of Ensdorff hussars, and I am much indebted to Sir William Douglas and Colonel Dalmer, for their assistance in preserving order. Some depredations were committed, but of no consequence, when the circumstances we entered by are considered.

^{*} A third column had been formed, but not found necessary.

From the division, as well as my personal staff, I received every assistance, in the course of the three days' operations. I am, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES COLVILLE.

An Extract received by Earl Bathurst, addressed to his Lordship by the Duke of Wellington, dated Orville, June 28, 1815.

My LORD,—The citadel of Cambray surrendered on the evening of the 25th instant, and the King of France proceeded there with his Court and his troops on the 26th. I have given that fort over entirely to his Majesty.

I attacked Peronne, with the 1st brigade of guards, under Major-General Maitland, on the 26th, in the afternoon. The troops took the hornwork, which covers the suburb on the left of the Somme, by storm, with but small loss; and the town immediately afterwards surrendered, on condition that the garrison should lay down their arms and be allowed to return to their homes.

The troops upon this occasion behaved remarkably well; and I have great pleasure in reporting the good conduct of a battery of artillery of the troops of the Netherlands.

I have placed in garrison there two battalions of the troops of the King of the Netherlands.

The armies under Marshal Blucher and myself have continued their operations since I last wrote to your Lordship. The necessity which I was under of halting at Cateau, to allow the pontoons and certain stores to reach me, and to take Cambray and Peronne, had placed the Marshal one march before me; but I conceive there is no danger in this separation between the two armies.

He has one corps this day at Crespy, with detachments at Villars Coterets and La Ferté Milon; another at Senlis; and the fourth corps, under General Bulow, towards Paris; he will have his advanced guard to-morrow at St. Denis and Gonasse. The army under my command has this day its right behind St. Just, and its left behind Taub, where the high road from Compeigne joins the high road from Roye to Paris. The reserve is at Roye.

We shall be upon the Oise to-morrow.

It appears, by all accounts, that the enemy's corps collected at Soissons, and under Marshal Grouchy, have not yet retired upon Paris; and Marshal Blucher's troops are already between them and that city.

Dispatch, addressed to Earl Bathurst, by his Grace the Duke of Wellington, dated Orvillé, June 29, 1815.

My Lord,—Being aware of the anxiety existing in England to receive the returns of killed and wounded in the late actions, I now send lists of the officers (the whole of the killed and wounded will be found at the end in an alphabetical form) and expect to be able to send, this evening, returns of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, British and Hanoverian, killed, wounded, and missing.

Your Lordship will see in the inclosed lists the names of some most valuable officers lost to his Majesty's service. Among them I cannot

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avoid to mention Colonel Cameron of the 92d, and Colonel Sir H. Ellis of the 23d regiments, to whose conduct I have frequently drawn your Lordship's attention, and who at last fell distinguishing themselves at the head of the brave troops which they commanded.

Notwithstanding the glory of the occasion, it is impossible not to lament such men, both on account of the public, and as friends.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Beaumont, June 20.

All the details which we have hitherto collected concerning the flight of the French are confirmed here. Buonaparte passed through this place yesterday, at one o'clock: he had on a grey surtout and a round hat. He took the road to Avesnes. Disorder increases every moment in the French army, and the want of discipline is at the highest pitch. The soldiers think themselves betrayed, and every one manifests his wish to return to his home.

At Beaumont, all fled at the first alarm. Almost at the gate of the town we found a piece of cannon abandoned, and two more on the road to Sobri-le-Chateau. They say that the enemy has set on fire a train of pontoons near the village of Clermont. I hope I shall be able to save some of them.

At Charleroi our troops found nine cannon and 100 caissons abandoned. The crowd upon the bridge was so great, that Buonaparte was obliged to place there a company with fixed bayonets, to stop the fugitives. This company was overpowered, and then it was impossible to stop the torrent. An inhabitant of that town counted twenty-nine pieces which had passed the bridge, and six were left between Charleroi and Sobri-le-Chateau. (Signed) ZIETHEN.

My Lord,

Louvres, June 30th.

I have the honour of inclosing to your Lordship the returns of the killed and wounded of the army, on the 16th, 17th, and 18th; lists of officers, &c.

Brigadier-General Hardinge, who was employed by me with the Prussian army, is not included in these returns; but he received a severe wound in the battle of the 16th, and has lost his left hand. He had conducted himself, during the time he was so employed, in such a manner as to obtain the approbation of Marshal Prince Blucher and the officers at the Prusssian head quarters, as well as mine, and I greatly regret his misfortune.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Earl Bathurst.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

The following is a Copy of the Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the late Victory; ordered to be read in all Churches.

"O God, the Disposer of all human events, without whose aid the strength of man is weakness, and the counsels of the wisest are as nothing, accept our praise and thanksgivings for the signal victory

which thou hast recently vouchsafed to the Allied Armies in Flanders. Grant, O merciful God, that the result of this mighty battle, terrible in conflict, but glorious beyond example in success, may put an end to the miseries of Europe, and staunch the blood of nations. Bless, we beesech Thee, the Allied Armies with thy continued favour. Stretch forth thy right hand to help and direct them. Let not the glory of their progress be stained by ambition, nor sullied by revenge; but let Thy Holy Spirit support them in danger, controul them in victory, and raise them above all temptation to evil, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory now and for ever. Amen."

ADVANCE OF THE ALLIED ARMIES TO PARIS.

Dispatches of the Duke of Wellington, transmitted to Earl Bathurst by Captain Lord Arthur Hill, dated Gonasse, 2d and 4th inst.

" Gonasse, July 2d, 1815.

"The enemy attacked the advanced guard of Marshal Prince Blucher's corps at Villars Coterets, on the 28th, but the main body coming up, they were driven off, with the loss of six pieces of cannon, and about 1000 prisoners. It appears that these troops were on the march from Soissons to Paris, and having been driven off that road by the Prussian troops at Villars Corterets, they got upon that of Meaux. They were attacked again upon this road by General Bulow, who took from them five hundred prisoners, and drove them across the Marne. They have, however, got into Paris. The advanced guard of the allied army, under my command, crossed the Oise on the 29th, and the whole on the 30th, and we yesterday took up a position with the right on the height of Rochebourg, and the left upon the Bois de Bondy. Field Marshal Prince Blucher, having taken the village of Aubervilliers, or Vertus, on the morning of the 30th of June, moved to his right, and crossed the Seine at St. Germain as I advanced, and he will this day have his right at Plessis Pique, his left at St. Cloud, and the reserve at Versailles. The enemy have fortified the heights of Montmartre and the town of St. Denis strongly, and by means of the little rivers Rouillon and La Vielle Mar, they have inundated the ground on the north side of that town, and water having been introduced into the canal de l'Ourck, and the bank formed into a parapet and batteries, they have a strong position on the side of Paris. The heights of Belleville are likewise strongly fortified, but I am not aware that any defensive works have been thrown up on the left of the Seine. Having collected in Paris all the troops remaining after the battle of the 18th, and all the depots of the whole army, it is supposed the enemy had there about 40 or 50,000 troops of the line and guards, besides the National Guards, a new levy, called Les Tirailleurs de la Garde, and the Federes. I have great pleasure in informing your Lordship that Quesnoy surrendered to his Royal Highness Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, on the 29th of June. I in-

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close the copy of his Royal Highness's report on this subject, in which your Lordship will observe with satisfaction the intelligence and spirit with which this young Prince conducted this affair. I likewise understand that Bassaume has surrendered to the officer sent there by the King of France to take possession of that town."

(TRANSLATION.)

Petit Wargnies, June 28th, 1815.

"On the day before yesterday I had the honour of receiving your Grace's letter, dated Joncourt, 26th inst. sent by your aid-de-camp, Captain Cathcart, whom I have requested to inform your Excellency that Marshal Count Rothallier had arrived this morning to summon the place in the name of Louis XVIII. He entered into a negociation with Lieutenant-General Despreaux, Governor of Quesnoy. The only result, however, produced by this, was a very singular reply from the Governor, from which it appeared to me, that he might possibly be induced to capitulate, and I determined at once on firing some shells and shot into the town, and of advancing our tirailleurs to the very glacis, to annoy them in every quarter, with a view of making some impression on the Commandant, and of endeavouring by that means to excite to revolt the National Guards and inhabitants, who are said to be well disposed towards us. From the information collected as to the fortifications, there appeared to me no reasonable chance of taking it by escalade, the ditches being filled with water, in addition to the inundation which had been made. At eleven o'clock at night I ordered five howitzers and six six-pounders to open on the town, and I continued the fire until three o'clock at day-break. The town was at one time on fire in three places, but the fire was shortly extinguished. Some men were killed in the town and several wounded, which appears to have produced exactly the effects which I wished. Last night, General Anthing, who commands the Indian brigade, sent an officer with the proposals to the Commandant, according to the authority which I had given to him, and coupled with a threat of bombardment and assault.

"Upon this, a negociation was entered into, which ended in the signing of the following capitulation this night; that is to say, that he would send an officer, with an aide-de-camp of General Anthing, to Cambray, to ascertain the fact of the residence of the King of France in that town, and the abdication of Buonaparte in favour of his son, and that, thereupon, he would give us this night, at six o'clock, possession of the Porte des Forets, to be occupied by a company of artillery, and that, the next morning, the garrison should march out of the town; the National Guards to lay down their arms and return to their homes; the Commander, and that part of the garrison who were not National Guards, were to go and receive the orders of Louis XVIII. in whose name we shall take possession of the town."

CAPTURE OF PARIS.

My Lord.

Gonasse, July 4th, 1815.

Field Marshal Prince Blucher was so strongly opposed by the enemy in taking the position on the left of the Seine, which I reported in my dispatch of the 2d instant, that he intended to take up on that day, particularly on the heights of St. Cloud and Meudon; but the gallantry of the Prussian troops, under General Ziethen, surmounted every obstacle, and they succeeded finally in establishing themselves on the heights of Meudon, and in the village of Issy. The French attacked them again in Issy, at three o'clock in the morning of the 3d, but were repulsed with considerable loss; and finding that Paris was then open on its vulnerable side, that a communication was opened between the two Allied Armies by a bridge which I had established at Argenteuil, and that a British corps was likewise moving upon the left of the Seine, towards the Pont de Neuilly, the enemy sent to desire that the firing might cease on both sides of the Seine, with a view to the negociation, at the Palace of St. Cloud, of a Military Convention between the armies, under which the French should evacuate Paris.

Officers accordingly met on both sides at St. Cloud, and I inclose the copy of the Military Convention which was agreed to last night, and which had been ratified by Marshal Prince Blucher and me, and by the Prince d'Echmuhl on the part of the French army. This Convention decides all the military questions at this moment existing here, and touches nothing political. General Lord Hill has marched to take possession of the posts evacuated by agreement this day, and I propose tomorrow to take possession of Montmatre. I send this dispatch by my aid-de-camp, Captain Lord Arthur Hill, by way of Calais. He will be able to inform your Lordship of any further particulars, and I beg leave to recommend him to your favour and protection.

I have, &c.

To Earl Bathurst.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

The 3d of July, 1815, the Commissioners named by the Commanders in Chief of the respective armies, that is to say, the Baron Bignon, holding the Portefeuille of Foreign Affairs; the Count Guilleminot, Chief of the General Staff of the French army; the Count de Bondy, Prefect of the Department of the Seine, being furnished with the full powers of his Excellency, the Marshal Prince of Echmuhl, Commander in Chief of the French army on one side; and Major-General Muffling, furnished with the full powers of his Highness the Field Marshal Prince Blucher, Commander-in-Chief of the Prussian army; and Colonel Hervey, furnished with the full powers of his Excellency the Duke of Wellington, Commander in Chief of the English army on the other side, have agreed to the following Articles:—

Art. I. There shall be a suspension of arms between the Allied Armies commanded by his Highness the Prince Blucher, and his Excellency the Duke of Wellington, and the French army under the walls of Paris.

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Art. II. The French army shall out itself in march to-morrow, to take up its position behind the Loire. Paris shall be completely evacuated in three days; and the movement behind the Loire shall be ef-

fected within eight days.

Art. III. The French army shall take with it all its materiel, field artillery, military chest, horses, and property of regiments, without exception. All persons belonging to the depôts shall be removed, as well as those belonging to the different branches of administration, which belong to the army.

Art. IV. The sick and wounded, and the medical officers whom it may be necessary to leave with them, are placed under the special protection of the Commander in Chief of the English and Prussian armies.

Art. V. The military and those holding employments, to whom the foregoing article relates, shall be at liberty, immediately after their re-

covery, to rejoin the corps to which they belong.

Art. VI. The wives and children of all individuals belonging to the French army shall be at liberty to remain in Paris. The wives shall be allowed to quit Paris for the purpose of rejoining the army, and to carry with them their property, and that of their husbands.

Art. VII. The officers of the line employed with the Federés, or with the Tirailleurs of the National Guard, may either join the army or re-

turn to their homes, or the places of their birth.

Art. VIII. To-morrow, the 4th of July, at mid-day, St. Denis, St. Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, shall be given up. The day after to-morrow, the 5th, at the same hour, Montmatre shall be given up. The third day, the 6th, all the barriers shall be given up.

Art. IX. The duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the National Guard, and by the corps of the municipal gendarmerie.

Art. X. The Commanders in Chief of the English and Prussian armies engage to respect, and to make those under their command respect, the actual authorities, so long as they shall exist.

Art. XI. Public property, with the exception of that which relates to war, whether it belongs to the Government, or depends upon the Municipal Authority, shall be respected, and the Allied Powers will not interfere in any manner with its administration and management.

Art. XII. Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and, in general, all individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disturbed or called to account, either as to the situations which they hold, or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.

Art. XIII. The foreign troops shall not interpose any obstacles to the provisioning of the capital, and will protect, on the contrary, the arrival and the free circulation of the articles which are destined for it.

Art. XIV. The present Convention shall be observed, and shall serve to regulate the mutual relations until the conclusion of peace. In case of rupture, it must be denounced in the usual forms, at least ten days before-hand.

Art. XV. If difficulties arise in the execution of any one of the articles of the present Convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army, and of the city of Paris.

Art. XVI. The present Convention is declared common to all the Allied Armies, provided it be ratified by the Powers on which these armies are dependent.

Art. XVII. The ratifications shall be exchanged to-morrow, the 4th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, at the bridge of Neuilly.

Art. XVIII. Commissioners shall be named by the respective parties, in order to watch over the execution of the present Convention.

Done and signed at St. Cloud, in triplicate, by Commissioners above named, the day and year before mentioned.

(Signed) The Baron BIGNON.

Count GUILLEMINOT.

Count De BONDY.

The Baron De MUFFLING.

F. B. HERVEY, Colonel.

Approved and ratified, the present suspension of arms, at Paris, the 3d of July, 1815.

Approved, (Signed) Marshal the Prince D'ECHMUHL.

My LORD,

Paris, July 8th, 1815.

In consequence of the Convention with the enemy, of which I transmitted your Lordship the copy in my dispatch of the 4th, the troops under my command, and that of Field-Marshal Prince Blucher, occupied the barriers of Paris on the 6th, and entered the city yesterday; which has ever since been perfectly quiet. The King of France entered Paris this day.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Earl Bathurst, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Immediately after the Arrangement, under which Paris was surrendered, the following was issued:

GENERAL ORDER.

"1. The Field-Marshal has great satisfaction in announcing to the troops under his command, that he has, in concert with Field-Marshal Prince Blucher, concluded a Military Convention with the Commander in Chief of the French Army, near Paris, by which the enemy is to evacuate St. Denis, St. Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, this day at noon; the heights of Montmarte to-morrow at noon; and Paris next day.

"2. The Field-Marshal congratulates the Army upon this result of their glorious victory. He desires that the troops may employ the leisure of this day and to-morrow, to clean their arms, clothes, and appointments, as it is his intention that they sould pass him in review.

"3. Major-General Sir Manley Power, K. C. B. is appointed to the Staff of this Army.

" (Signed) J. WATERS, Lt. Col. A. A. G."

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THANKS OF PARLIAMENT.

June 23.—Thanks of both houses of Parliament were given to the Duke of Wellington, officers, and men; and also to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, Captain General, and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces, for his effective and unremitted exertions in the discharge of the duties of his high and important situation, during the period of upwards of Twenty years, in the course of which time, the British army has attained a state of discipline and skill before unknown to it, and which exertions, under Providence, have been in a great degree the means of acquiring for this country the high military glory which it enjoys among the nations of Europe.

EXTRACT FROM THE SPEECH OF THE PRINCE RE-GENT TO PARLIAMENT.

July 12, 1815.—" At the commencement of the present Session I entertained a confident hope that the peace, which I had concluded in conjunction with his Majesty's Allies, would meet with no interruption; that, after so many years of continued warfare, and of unexampled calamity, the nations of Europe would be allowed to enjoy that repose for which they had been so long contending; and that your efforts might be directed to alleviate the burdens of his Majesty's people, and to adopt such measures as might best promote the internal prosperity of his dominions.

"These expectations were disappointed by an act of violence and perfidy of which no parallel can be found in history.

"The usurpation of the supreme authority in France by Buonaparte, in consequence of the defection of the French armies from their legitimate Sovereign, appeared to me to be so incompatible with the general security of other countries, as well as with the engagements to which the French nation had recently been a party, that I felt I had no alternative but to employ the military resources of his Majesty's dominions, in conjunction with his Majesty's Allies, to prevent the re-establishment of a system which experience had proved to be the source of such incalculable woes to Europe.

"Under such circumstances you will have seen with just pride and satisfaction, the splendid success with which it has pleased Divine Providence to bless his Majesty's arms, and those of his Allies.

"Whilst the glorious and ever-memorable victory obtained at Water-loo, by Field-Marshals the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher, has added fresh lustre to the characters of those great commanders, and has exalted the military reputation of this country beyond all former example, it has, at the same time, produced the most decisive effects on the operations of the war, by delivering from invasion the dominions of the King of the Netherlends, and by placing, in the short space of fifteen days, the city of Paris, and a large part of the kingdom of France, in the military occupation of the allied armies.

"Amidst events so important, I am confident you will see how necessary it is, that there should be no relaxation in our exertions, until I shall be enabled, in conjunction with his Majesty's Allies, to complete those arrangements which may afford the prospect of permanent peace and security to Europe."

Extract from the Speaker's Speech on the closing of the Session of Parliament.

July 12th, 1815.—" Scarcely had we closed our contest with America; and scarcely had the Congress of Vienna laid the first foundation of those arrangements which were destined to consolidate the peace of Europe, when, in direct contravention of the most solemn engagements, the disturber of Europe, and destroyer of the human race, reappeared upon the throne of France; and the world was once more in arms.

"In the short space of three months, by rapid strides, the fate of Europe has been again brought to issue; and the conflict was tremendous, but the result has been glorious. The most warlike nations, headed by the most renowned Commanders, have met in battle; and, as Britons, we have the triumphant satisfaction to know (however much that triumph may be saddened by private grief) that it is now no longer doubtful to what nation the world will henceforth ascribe the pre-eminence for military skill and auconquerable valour.

"To consecrate the trophies, and perpetuate the fame of our brave countrymen, who fell in that unrivalled victory, we have declared to be our ardent desire, and it will be the distinguishing glory of your Royal Highness's days, to erect, in the metropolis of this Empire, such a lofty and durable monument of their military renown and our national gratitude, as may command the veneration of our last posterity.

"Great, however, and glorious as this victory has been, in itself, it is not to the joint exertions and heroic achievements of the British and Prussian arms, in that memorable conflict, that we must limit our admiration. We have, also, to contemplate, with equal pride and satisfaction, its immediate consequences, military, political, and moral.

"We have seen the illustrious Commanders of the Allied Armies advancing at once into the heart of France; and Paris, twice conquered, has again opened her gates to the conquerors.

"The Usurper of a Throne, which he has twice abdicated, has sought his safety in an ignominious flight; and the rightful Sovereign of France has once more resumed the sceptre of his ancestors.

"With these awful scenes passing before us, we may presume, also, to hope, that the period is not now distant, when the hand of Providence will finally extinguish the remaining effects of that guilty and perfidious spirit of domination, which has so long raged without control, and restore to desolated Europe, the blessings of Peace and Justice.

"But, Sir, whatever may be the final issue of these great transactions, we look forward with confidence to their satisfactory conclusion, under the auspices of your Royal Highness; and we doubt not of the happiest results from the same Councils which have planned, and the same hands

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that have executed, those wise and vigorous measures which have hithertobeen crowned with such signal success.

THE ADDRESS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

July 5th.

- "To his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;
 - "The Dutiful and Loyal Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.
 - "May it please your Royal Highness,
- Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, beg leave to approach your Royal Highness with the sincerest affection to your Royal Person, and with the warmest congratulations upon the glorious victory obtained, by the Allied Army, on the eighteenth of June, under the command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington.
- "At a period when the tumults of war had subsided, and Peace had begun to shed invaluable blessings over long-contending and hostile nations, it was with indignation and horror we beheld the return of that Person who had been the dreadful scourge of Europe, from an obscurity, in which the stipulations of a solemn treaty had bound him to continue."
- "We observed with grief, that on his re-appearance, the lawful Sovereign of France was compelled, by a rebellious and faithless soldiery, to leave his capital, and take refuge in the Netherlands.
- "We felt assured that the relations of peace and amity which had been so recently entered into by your Royal Highness, in the name of our beloved Sovereign, could not be maintained with this daring Usurper, who had repeatedly manifested, that no Treaty was held sacred by him longer than suited the purposes of his ambition or revenge; who had constantly evinced the deepest hatred of the British name and character; and with whom his Majesty's Allies had unanimously declared the impossibility of making any engagements in the relations of peace and concord.
- "Under these difficult circumstances, we beheld, with the highest satisfaction, the wisdom of your Royal Highness, in appointing to the chief command of his Majesty's armies on the Continent, that Illustrious Hero who had so often led them to conquest and to glory.
- "It is with the most heartfelt joy we contemplate the late victory, as affording another leaf to the page of history, by recording further magnificent deeds to enhance the honour and grandeur of the British empire; in which will be seen, that a greatly superior force of the veteran armies of France, commanded by a Napoleon Buonaparte, could not withstand the irresistible bravery of British heroes, when guided by a Wellington aided by a Blucher.

"It is with the deepest sorrow we lament the fall of a large portion of these brave defenders of the liberties of Europe; and particularly of an Illustrious Member of your Royal Highness's Family, who had ever evinced the characteristic gallantry of a Prince of the House of Brunswick: but we trust the issue of this great event affords a well-grounded hope that the power of the Usurper will be destroyed, and the peace of Europe established upon the most solid foundation.

"We shall continue to place our humble reliance on the Divine Goodness, that these results may speedily take place, and that the glory, the peace, and the prosperity of this United Kingdom, under the Government of your Royal Highness, and a long line of succeeding Princes of your Royal Highness's Illustrious House, may endure until the latest period of time.

"We have only further to entreat your Royal Highness, to be assured of the continued zeal, loyalty, and affection, of his Majesty's faithful Citizens of London, to support your Royal Highness in bringing this great contest to a speedy and happy termination.

(Signed, by Order of the Court)
"HENRY WOODTHORPE."

To which Address, his Royal Highness was pleased to return the following most gracious Answer:

"I receive, with the greatest satisfaction, this loyal and dutiful address.

Armies on the Continent have been attended with the most signal and decisive success; and we may confidently trust, that the high military reputation which this country has acquired by the undaunted valour and consummate discipline of our troops, and the transcendant genius and heroic example of the great Commander who has constantly led them to victory, will afford one of the most important securities for the future tranquillity and independence of Europe.

I deeply lament, with you, the extent of private calamity, occasioned by the loss of many valuable officers and men, in the late unexampled contest; and I feel most sensibly the manner in which you have adverted to an Illustrious Member of the House of Brunswick, who closed, on that memorable occasion, a career of honour with a death of glory.

"To the surviving relatives of those who have fallen, it must be a soothing reflection, that they have perished in a just and noble cause, and that the memory of their splendid and inestimable services will be cherished, with admiration and gratitude, to the latest posterity.

"I have a perfect reliance on the stedfast loyalty and public spirit of the Citizens of London, and on your assurances of support in such exertions as may be necessary to bring this most important contest to a speedy and happy termination."

They were all very graciously received, and had the honour to kiss the hand of the Prince Regent.

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ABDICATION OF BUONAPARTE.

Paris, June 23d.—" Frenchmen! In commencing a war for maintains ing the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the Powers against me.

- "Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France.—May they prove sincere in their declarations, and really direct them only against my power! My political life is terminated; and I proclaim my Son, under the title of Napoleon II. Emperor of the French.
- "The present Ministers will provisionally form the Council of the Government. The interest which I take in my son, induces me to invite the Chambers to form, without delay, the Regency by a law.
- "Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation. (Signed) "NAPOLEON."

SURRENDER OF BUONAPARTE TO THE ENGLISH.

Admiralty Office, July 25, 1815.—Captain Maitland, of the Bellerophon to J. W. Croker, Esq. dated in Basque Roads, the 14th inst.

For the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I have to acquaint you, that the Count Las Casses and General Allemand this morning came on board his Majesty's ship under my command, with a proposal for me to receive on board Napoleon Buonaparte (who had been secreted at Rochefort) for the purpose of throwing himself on the generosity of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.—Conceiving myself authorised, by their Lordships' secret order, I have acceded to the proposal, and he is to embark on board this ship tomorrow morning. That no misunderstanding might arise, I have explicitly and clearly explained to the Count Las Casses, that I have no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort; but that all I can do is to convey him and his suite to England, to be received in such manner as his Royal Highness may deem expedient.

Translation of Buonaparte's Letter, addressed to the Prince Regent.

"ROYAL HIGHNESS,—Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the great Powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality (m'assevir sur le foyer) of the British people. I claim from your Royal Highness the protection of the laws, and throw myself upon the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

"NAPOLEON."

Foreign Office, July 21.

From Viscount Castlereagh, dated Paris, July 17, 1815.

Since closing my dispatches of this date, I have received the accompanying communication from this Government.

(TRANSLATION.)

"I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that Napoleon Buo-Naparte, not being able to escape from the English cruisers, or from the guards kept upon the coast, has taken the resolution of going on board the English ship Bellerophon, Captain Maitland.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) " Le Duc D'OTRANTE.

" To his Excellency Lord Viscount Castlereagh."

Paris, July 17.—Measures had been taken to prevent the escape of Buonaparte: it will be seen by the following extract of a letter from the Maritime Prefect of Rochefort, to the Minister of the Marine, that the result has been such as there was reason to expect.

Rochefort, July 15, ten o'clock at night.

"To execute the orders of your Excellency, I embarked in my boat, accompanied by Baron Richard, Prefect of Charente-Inferieure. The reports from the roads, of the 14th, had not yet reached me. I was informed by Captain Hilibert, commander of the Amphytrite frigate, that Buonaparte had embarked on board the brig Epervier, armed as a flag of truce, determined to surrender himself to the English cruisers.

"In fact, at break of day we saw him manœuvre to approach the English ship Bellerophon, commanded by Captain Maitland, who, seeing that Buouaparte was coming towards him, mounted a white flag at the mizen-mast. The officer whom I had left in observation had informed me of this important news, when General Beker, who arrived a few moments afterwards, confirmed it to me.

(Signed) "BONNEFOUX, "Captain of a Vessel, Maritime Prefect."

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ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF

KILLED AND WOUNDED,

FROM THE

OFFICIAL RETURNS

JUNE 16TH, TO JUNE 26TH, 1815.

Col. Hon. A. Abercromby, Assist. Qua. Mast. Gen. Cold. F. G. w. Lieut. Acres, 73 F. since dead Capt. Adair, 1 F. G. do. Major Gen. Adam, sev. w. Lieut. Albert, 1 Lt. Inft. K. G. Leg. k. Ensign Alderson, 33 F. sev. right arm amp. Lieut. Alstone, 1 F. w. Lt. Gen. Sir C, Alten, K. C. B. sev. w. Adj. Lieut. Anderson, 71 F. w. Lieut. Anderson, 52 F. sev. left leg amp. Ensign Anderson, 1 F. k. Ensign Anderson, 69 F. sev. Lieut. Anthony, 40 F. sev. Ensign Appulm, 4 line, Ger. Leg. sev. Lieut. Armstrong, 1 F. k. Lieut. Arnold, 10 Dr. sev. Major Arguimbeau, 1 F. w. Capt. Ashton, 3 F. G. k. Col. Askew, I F. G. sev. w. Lieut. Bacon, 10 Dr. sev. Lieut. Col. Bailey, 30 F. sev. Ensign Bain, 33 F. sev. Lieut. Baird, 3 F. G. sev. Lieut. Baring, 1 Huss. K. G. L. w. Col. Sir A. F. Barnard, K. C. B. 95 F. w. Capt. Barnard, 2 Dr. k. Major Gen. Sir E. Barnes, K. C. B. Adj. Gen. sev. w. Capt. Barnett, 40 F. sev. Lieut. Barr, 32 F. sev. Lieut. Barrallier, 71 F. w. Lieut. Barton, 1 F. G. sev. Lieut. Hon. S. Barrington, 1 F. G. k. Capt. Battersby, I Dr. G.k. Lieut. Batty, 1 F. G. w. Capt. Baynes, R. Art. w. Major Beane, R. Art. k. Capt. Beardesley, 51 F. sev. Lieut. Beattie, 7 Dr sev. Ensign Becher, 92 F. k. Major Beckwith, Ass. Qua. Mast. Gen. 95 F. sev. Lieut. Beere, 30 F. k. Ensign Behne, 1 Lt. Inf. Ger. Leg. sev. Lieut. Sir G. H. Berkeley, K. C. B. 35 F. Ass. Adj. Gen. sev. Ensign Bennet, 32 F. sev. Lieut. Berger, 5 line, K. G. L. sev. Cornet Hon. H. Bernard, 1 Dr. G. miss. supposed dead Lieut. Bertie, 12 Dr. k. Lieut. Birtwhistle, 32 F. sev.

Lieut. Black, 91 F. w. Lieut. Black, 1 F. w. Capt. Blackman, Cold. F. G. k. Capt. Blackwood, 69 F. k. Major Blair, Brig. Maj. 91 F. sev. Lieut. Blois, 1 Dr w. Lieut. Bloomfield, Royal Art. w. Lieut Boase, 32 F. sev. Capt. Bohers, K. G. L. Brig. Maj. misssupposed killed Major Boden, 3 line, K. G. L. sev. Capt. Bolton, R. Art. k. Major Basewell, 2 Lt. Inf. K. G. L. k. Lieut. Bosse, 1 Lt. Dr. K. G. L. w. Lieut. Baron Both, 4 line, K. G. L. w. Lieut. Bouverie, R. H. G. w. Lieut. Col. Bowater, 3 F. G. w. Capt. Rowles, 28 F. sev. Lieut. Bowers, 13 Dr. w. Lieut -Col. Boyce, 13 Dr. w Capt. Boyce, 32 F, since dead Lieut. Boyce, 33 F. k. Lieut. Boyd, 4 F. sev. Capt. Boyle, 42 F. sev. Capt. Baron Bothmer, 1 Lt. Dr. K. G. L. Lieut. Col. Sir H. Bradford, K. C. B. 1 F. G. Ass. Qua. Mast. Gen. sev. Lieut. Brander, 42 F. w. Ensign Branwell, 92 F. sev. right leg. amp. Capt. Braun, Art. K. G. L. sev. Lieut. Brereton, R. Art. sev. Eusign Bridge, 73 F. sev. Adjt. Lieut. Bridgland, 28 F. sev. Capt. Hon. O. Bridgeman, Aid-de-Camp to Lord Hill, 1 F. G. w. Adj. Lt. Brinckman, 8 line, K. G. L. sev. Major Bringburst, i Dr. G. k. Lieut. Brooke, 1 Dr. G. sev. miss. supposed to have been killed Lieut. Brookes, 32 F. w. Lieut. Brown, 79 F. sev. Lieut. Col. Brown, 79 F. sev. Capt. Brown, 1 F. G. k. Lieut. Browne, 73 F. sev. left leg amp. Lieut. Hon. M. Browne, 40 F. sev. Capt. Browne, 6 Dr. sev. Lieut. Browne, 4 F. sev. Capt. Bruce, 79 F. sev 2 Lieut. Bruce, 1 Dr. G. sev. Adj. Lieut. Bruggemann, 3 Huss. K. G. L. Capt. Brugh, 43 F. sev. Lieut. Gen. Duke of Brunswick Oels, k. Capt. Buchanan, 16 Dr. ke

Ensign Birtwhistle, 32 F. sev.

Lieut. Buck, 33 F. k.
Lieut. H. Buckley, 15 Dr. since dead
Capt. Buckley, 1 F k.
Lt. Col. Baron Bulow, 1 Lt. Dr K. G. L.
sev.
Capt. Burgess, 1 F. G. thigh amp.
Capt. Bulow, 2 Lt. Dr. G. L. k.
Lieut. Burke, 44 F sev.
Lieut. Burke, 44 F. w.
Major Bull, R. Art. w.
Eusign Buller, 30 F. k.
Capt. Burney, 44 F. sev.

Major H. Baron Bussche, 1 Lt. Inf. K. G. L. left arm amp.
Lieut. Busieed, 69 F. sev.
Lieut. Butterworth, 32 F. w.
Lieut. W. Byam, 15 Dr. sev.
Lieut. E. Byam, 15 F. w.

Lieut. E. Byam, 15 F. w. Major Cairnes, R. Art. k. Col. J. Cameron, 92 F. since dead Lieut. Col. D. Cameron, 79 F. sev. Lieut. Col. Cameron, 73 F. sev. Lieut. C. Cameron, 79 F. sev. Lieut, A. Cameron, 79 F. w. Adj. Lieut. Cameron, 1 F. sev. Lieut. D. Cameron, 79 F. sev, Lieut. J. Cameron, 33 F. since dead Lieut. Donald Cameron, 95 F. w. 1 Capt. John Cameron, 79 F. since dead Lieut. Col. C. Campbell, I F. sev. Lieut. Campbell, 52 F. sev. Lieut. Campbell, 44 F. w. Lieut, Campbell, 40 F. w. Capt. Neil Campbell, 79 F. sev. Capt. Campbell, 92 F. sev. Capt. Campbell, 71 F. w. Capt. James Campbell, 79 F. sev. Lieut. Col. Canning, Aid de-Camp to the Duke of Wellington, 3 F. G. since dead Lieut, Carey, 2 Lt. Inf. K. G. L. w. Lieut. Carruthers, 28 F. sev. Lieut. Carruthers, 2 Dr. since dead Capt. Cassan, 32 F. sev. Lieut. Cathcart, 91 F. do. Major Chambers, 30 F. k. Captain Chambers, I F. G. Aid-de-Camp to Sir T. Picton, k. Capt. C. Chawner, 95 F. sev. Lieut. Chisholm, 92 F. k. Lieut, Chisholm, 42 F. w. Lieut, Critchton, 16 Dr. sev. Ensign Christie, 44 F. do. Major Chuden, 4 line, K. G. Leg. since dead Ensign Church, 95, F. sev. Lieut. Col. Clarke, 2 Dr. do.

Lieut. Clarke, 1 F. do.

Capt. Clarke, 1 Dr. w.

Lieut. Clyde, 23 F. w.

Lieut. Coen, 28 F. w. Lieut. Coles, 11 Dr. w.

Capt. Coane, 73 F. sev.

Lieut. R. Cochran, 95 F. w.

Lieut. Colthurst, 32 F. w.

Ensign Clarke, 40 F. sev.

Lieut. Clarke, 28 F. since dead

Capt. Cloud, Brig. Maj. G. Leg. k.

Capt. Hon. R. Clements, 1 Foot G. sev.

Major Gen. Cooke, left arm amp. Lieut. Col. R. H. Cooke, 1 F. G. sev. Ensign Cooke, 44 F. k. Ensign Leo Morse Cooper, I F. sev. Ensign A. Cooper, 14 F. w. Lieut. Coote, 71 F. w. Lieut. Cottingham, 52 F. sev. Cornet Cox, 1 L. G. do. Lieut Coxon, 95 F. do. Lieut Coxon, 23 Dr miss. supposed killed Lieut Craddock, 27 F sev. Lieut. Crawford, R. Art. w. Capt. Crawford, 3 F.G.k. Ensign Crawford, 79 F. w. Lieut. Croft, 1 F. G. sev. Capt. Crofton, Brig. Maj. 54 F. k. Lieut. Cromie, R. Art. both legs amp. since dead Capt. Crowe, 32 F. sev 1 Lt. Col. Currie, 90 F. Ass. Adj. Gen. k. Major Cutcliffe, 23 Dr. sev. Captain H. W. Curzon, D. A. Adj. Gen, 69 F K. Lieut. Dallas, 32 F. sev.

Lt. Col. Dalrymple, 15 Dr. left leg amp. Capt. Dance, 23 Dr. w. Lieut. Daniel, 30 F. w. Capt. Dansey, R. Art. sev. Lieut. Col. Dashwood, 3 F. G. do. Cornet Dassell, 3 Huss. G. L. do. Adj. Lieut. Davis, 32 F. do. Major Davison, 42 F. since dead Lieut. Dawkins, 15 Dr. w. Lieut. Dawson, 52 F. sev. Major Hon. G. Dawson, Ass. Qua. Mast. Gen. 1 Dr. G. w. Lieut. Day. R. Art. w. Ensign Deacon, 73 F. sev. Lieut. Deares, 28 F. w. Lieut. Bar. Decken, 2 line, K.G. L. sev. Capt. De Einem, Brig. Maj. K. G. L. do. Ensign De Gentzkow, 1 Lt. Inf. G. L. do. Capt. De Gilsa, 1 Lt. Inft. K. G. L. w. Lt. De Goeben, Art. K. G. L. since dead Adj. Lieut. De Hartwig, 4 line. K. G. L.

Capt. De Hattorf, 1 Lt. Dr. K. G. L. w. Lieut. Col. De Jonquieres, 2 Lt. Dr. K. G. L. w.

Lieut. De la Farque, 4 line, K. G. L. sev. Col. De Lancy, Q. M. Gen. K. C. B. since dead Ensign De Murreau, 8 line G. L. do.

Ensign De Robertson, 2 Lt. Inf. K. G. L. killed Lieut. Col. De Schroeder, 2 line, K. G. L.

wounded, Lieut, De, Schulzen, Art, K, G, L, k, Capt, De Seighard, I Lt, Dr. K, G, L, w, Capt, De Voight, 8' line, G, L, k, Captain De Wurmh, 5 line, G. L, k,

Lieut, Col. Sir F. D'Oyly, K. C. B. I F. G. k. Captain Dumaresque, Aid de-Camp to Gen. Byng, 9 F. sev.

Gen. Byng, 9 F. sev. Lieut, Col. Dick, 42 F. do. Capt. Diedel, 3 line, G. Leg, k. Capt. Diggte, 52 F, sev. RS

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Lieut. Disney, 23 Dr. w. Ensign Ditmas, 27 F. w. Lieut. Dobbs, I F. sev. Capt. Joseph Doherty, 13 Dr. w. Lieut. G. Doherty, 13 Dr. w. Major Gen. Sir W. Dornberg, K. C. B.

K. Ger. Leg. sev. Lieut. Col. Douglas, 79 F. do. Capt. Hon. S. Douglas, 6 Dr. do. Lieut. Douglas, 7 Dr. do. Lieut. Dowhiggen, 12 Dr. w. Lieut. Col. D'Oyly, 1 F. G. sev. Cor. Drankmeister, 2 Lt. Dr. K. G. L. k Lieut. Drew, 27 F. sev. Ensign Drury, 33 F. do. Cornet Deichmann, 3 Huss. K. G. L. k. Captain Dudgeon, I F. severely Lieutenant Dunbar, 42 F. do. Adj. Lieut. Duperler, 18 Dr. w. Col. Duplat, G. L. since dead

Ensign Eastwood, 73 F. w. Capt. Edgill, 4 F. w. Capt. C. Ecles, Brig. Maj. 95 F. k. Col. Sir J. Elley, K. C. B. Dep. Adj. Gen. R. H. G. sev.

Lient. Elliott, 30 F. w. Col. Sir H. W. Ellis, K.C.B. 23 F. since d. Capt. Ellis, 1 F. G. w. Capt. Ellis, 40 F. sev. Capt. Elphinstone, 7 Dr. do. Lieut. Elwes, 71 F. since dead Capt. English, 28 F. sev. Lieut. Erithropel, Art. K. G. L. do. Capt. Hon. E.S. Erskine, 60 F. Dep. Ass. Adj. Gen. left arm amp. Capt. Evelyn, 3 F. G. sev.

Capt. Fane, 44 F. sev. Cap. Farmer, 23 F. k. Lieut. Col. Fead, 1 F. G. w-Capt. Felix, 95 F. w. Lieut. Fensham, 23 F. k. Capt. Fraser, 42 F. w. Capt. Ferrier, 92 F. w. Lieut. Col. Ferrier, 1 L. G. k. Capt. Fisher, 40 F. k. Lieut. Col. Fitzgerald, 2 L. G.k. Lieut. Fitzgerald, 32 F. sev. Capt. Fitzgerald, 25 F. Dep. Ass. Qua. Mast. Gen. w.

Ensign Eyre, 95 F. do.

Capt. Fitzmaurice, 95. F. sev. Capt. Hon H. Forbes, 3 F. G. k. Lieut. Forbes, 79 F. w. Cornet Floyer, 3 Huss. G. L. w. 2 Lieut. Fludyer, I F. G. sev. Ensign Ford, 40 F. do. Captain Forlong, 33 F. do. Lieut. Foster, 1 Dr.k. Capt. Fortescue, 27 F. sev. Lieut. Foster R. Art. do. Ensign Franck, 2 Lt. Inft. G. L. do. Capt. Fraser, 7 Dr. do. Capt. Fraser, 79 F. do. Ensign A. L. Fraser, 42 F. w. Ensign W. Fraser, 42 F. w. Lieut. Fraser, 79 F. sev. Adj. Lieut. Fricke, 1 Lt. Dr. K. G. L. w. | Lieut. Hassard, 6 Dr. sev

Lieut. Fry, 95 F. w. Col. Fuller, 1 Dr. G. sev. missing, supposed to have been killed Major Fullerton, 95 F. sev.

Lieut. Gardiner, 95 F. sev. Lieut. J. P. Gairdner, 95 F. do. Capt. Garland, 73 F. do. Lieut. J. Geale, 13 Dr. since dead Lieut. Gerard, 4 F. w. Major Gerrard, 23 Dr. sev. Ensign Gerrard, 42 F. k. Lieut. Gerstlacher, 3 Huss. D. A. Adj, Gen. K. G. L. missing, supposed dead Lieut. Gilbert, 28 F. sev. Capt. Baron Goeben, 1 Lt. Brig. G. L. k. Capt. Baron Goeben, 3 Hus. K. G. L. w. Lieut. Goodenough, 1 Dr. w. Lieut. Col. Sir A. Gordon. K. C. B. 3 F. G. Aid-de-Camp to the Duke of Wellington, since dead Lieut. Gordon, 7 Dr. sev. Lieut. Gordon, 42 F. k.

Lieut. Gore, 33 F. k. Major Graham, 1 Dr. G. miss. supposed to have been killed Capt. Grant, 71 F. sev Capt. Grant, 92 F. do Capt. Grey, 10 Dr. w Lieut. Græme, 2 Lt. Inf. K. G. L. sev Lieut. Grier, 44 F. do Lieut.Griffiths, 23 F. do Major Griffith, 15 Dr. k 2 Lieut. Griffiths, 2 F. G. sev Q. M. Griffiths, 1 F. w Capt. Grose, 1 F. Gds. k Capt. Gubbins, 13 Dr. k Lieut. Gunning, 1 Dr. w Lieut. Gunning, 10 Dr. k Capt. Gurwood, 10 Dr. sev

Capt. Gore, 30 F. w.

Capt. Haigh, 33 F. k Lieut. Thomas Haigh, 33 F. w M.-Gen. Sir C. Halkett, K.C.B. K.G.L.sev Lieut. Hall, Royal Staff Corps, sev Lieut. Colonel Hamerton, 44 F. w Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, 30 F. sev Lieut. Hamilton, Dep. Ass. Adj. Gen. 46 F. w

Lient.-Col. Hamilton, 2 Dr. k Major Hamilton, Aid-de-camp to M.-Gen. Sir E. Barnes, 4 West India Regt. sev Lieut. Handcock, 27 F. sev Ensign Handcock, 27 F. sev Lieut.-col. Hankin, 2 Dr. w Lieut. Baron Hannerstein, 1 Lt.Dr. K.G.

Brig.-Gen. Hardinge, left hand amp Capt. Harling, 2 Lt. Dr. K.G.L. sev Col. Harris, 73 F. sev Capt. Harris, (T. N.) h.p. Major of Bri-

gade, right arm amputated Capt. Harrison, 32 F. sev

Lieut. Hart, 33 F. k Lieut. Hartmann, Art. K. G. L. sev Capt. Harty, 33 F. w

Lieut. Harvey, R. Art. right arm amy

Lieut. Havelock, Aid-de-camp to Major-General Alten, 43 F. w Major Hawtyn, 23 F k Lieut. James, Lord Hay, Aid-de-camp to Major-General Maitland, 1 F. G. k Lieut .- col. Hay, 16 Dr. sev. Cornet Hay, 16 Dr. k Adj. Ensign Hay, 73 F. sev Capt. Heise, 4 Line KGL. since dead Lieut. Heise, 1 Lt, Inf. G L sev Cornet Heise, 1 do. do Cornet Heise, Art. G L sev Lieut. Helmrick, 7 Line K G L sev Capt. Henderson, 71 F sev Lieut. Henderson, 27 F sev Lieut. Hern, 44th foot, sev Ensign Heselrige, 73d foot, w Capt. Hesketh, 3d foot guards, w Lient. Hesse, 18th Dragoons, sev Eusign Hewett, 92d foot, sev Capt. Heyliger, 7th Dragoons, sev Major Heyland, 40th foot, k Lieut.-col. Clem. Hill, R H G, w. sev Lieut -col. Hill, 23d foot, sev Lt-col. Sir R. C. Hill, Kut. R HG, sev Licut. Hillyard, 28th foot, wounded sev Lieut. Hobbs, 92d foot, sev Capt. Hobbouse, 69th foot, k Ensign Hodder, 69th foot, sev Major Hodge, 7th Dr. sev. and missing Cornet Baron Hodenberg, 3 Huss. K G L severely Capt. C. Baron Holle, 1 Line Ger. Leg. k Lieut. Hollis, 73d foot, k Capt. Holmes, 27th foot, k Capt. Holmes, 92d foot, sev Capt. Holzermann, 1 lt. bat. G L k Capt. Holzermann, 2 light infantry, KGL, missing, supposed killed Lieut. Hope, 92d foot, sev Capt. Horan, 32d foot, w Lieut. Horan, 32d foot, sev Major Hare, 27th foot, w Major Hou. F. Howard, 10th Dragoous, k Ensign Howard, 33d foot, w Lieut. Hughes, 30th foot, w Lieut. Humbley, 95th foot, sev

Lieut. Ingram, 1st foot, sev Lieut. Ingram, 28th foot, since dead Ensign Ireland, 27th foot, k Lieut. Irvine. 1st Dragoon Guards, w Major Irving, 28th foot, sev Lieut. Irving, 13th Dragoons, w Lieut. Irving, 28th foot, sev

Lieut. Jagoe, 32d foot, sev
Ensign James, 30th foot, k
Capt. Jansen, 3d Hussars, G L, k
Lieut. Jeinsen, 3 line K G L, sev
Major Jessop, A Q M G, 44th foot, sev
Lieut. Jobin, 2 light infantry, K G L, w
Capt. Johnston, 23d foot, w
Capt. Johnston, 95th foot, sev
Lieut. Johnstone, 71st foot, w
Capt. Jolliffe, 23d foot, k
Lieut.-col. Jones, 71st foot, sev

Lieut. Keily, 1st Dragoons, severely Capt. Kelly, 28th foot, w Capt. Kelly, 1st L G, sev Major-Gen. Sir J. B. Kempt, K C B, sev Capt. Kennedy, 73d foot, k Lieut. Kennedy, 79th foot, k Ensign Kennedy. 1st foot, k Capt. Kessenbruck, 3d Hussars, G L, k Licut. Kessler, 2 lt. inf. K G L, sev Cornet Kinchant, 2d Dragoons, sev Lieut. Klingsohr, 5 line, K G L, sev Capt. Knight, 33d foot, w Ensign Kronhelm, 4 line, K G L, k Lieut. Kuester, 1 lt. inf. K G L, w Lieut. Kuckuck, K G L, sev Lieut. H. Kuckuck, K. G. L, sev Lieut. Kuhlmanu, 1 lt. Dr. K G L, k Adj. Lieut. Kynock, 79th foot, k Lieut. Lake, 3d Foot Guards, sev Col. Sir W.De Lancey, K. C. B. 23d foot, since dead Lieut. Laue, 1st Foot, arm amputated Capt. Langton, Aid-de-camp to Sir John Picton, 61st Foot, w Lieut. Bar. Langworthy, 4 line, K.G.L.w Lieut. Lascelles, 1st F. G. w Lieut. Law, 71 F. sev Lieut. Lawrence, 32 F. w Major Leake, 4 line, K. G. L. since dead Lieut. Leaper, 79 F. sev 2 Lieut, Leebody, 23 F. k Lieut. Leivin, 32 F.w Lieut. Leonhardt, 1 lt. inf. K. G. L. sev Lieut. Leschen, 3 line, K. G. L. sev Major L'Estrange, Aid-de-camp to Sir D. Pack, 71 F. since dead Lieut. Lewin, 71 F. w Capt. Lind, 1 Life Guards, k Lieut. Lind, 71 F. sev Lieut. Lindham, 2 Lt. Inf. K. G. L. sev Major Lindsay, 69 F. sev

Major Lindsay, 69 f. sev
Lieut. Lister, 95 f. k
Major Llewellyn, 28 f. sev
Lieut. Lloyd, 73 f. sev
Major W. Lloyd, R. A. sev
Cornet Lockhart, 12 Dr. k
Lieut. Lockwood, 30 f. sev
Lieut. Logan, 92 f. sev
Ensign Logan, 92 f. sev
Ensign Logan, 92 f. w
Cornet Lorenz, 2 L. D. G. L. sev
Major Love, 52 f. sev
Lieut. Lowe, 73 f. k
Capt. Luttrell, 1 f. G. sev
Capt. Lynam, 95 f. sev
Lieut. Col. Sir R. Macara, K. C. B. 42 f. k

Lieut. Col. Sir R. Macara, K. C. B. 42 F.k. Major R. Macdonald, W. R. A. w. Lieut. Col. Macdonald, 93 F. sev. Lieut. Col. Macdonell, C. F. G. sev. Capt. Mackay, 79 F. sev. miss. sup. k. Lieut. Mackie, 92 F. sev. Major Maclean, 73 F. sev. Capt. Maclead, Dep. As. Q. M. G. 35 F. w. Capt. Macleod, Dep. As. Q. M. G. 35 F. w.

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Ensign Macpherson, 92 F. k Lieut. Maddocks, 79 F. sev Lieut. Magniac, 1 Dr. miss sup. d. Lieut Bar. Mahrenhohls, 8 line, K.G. L. Lieut. Malcolm, 42 F. sev Lieut. Manley, 27 F. sev Lieut. Mann, 1 F. sev Lieut. Manners, Roy. A. since dead Lieut. Mansfield, A. de C. to Maj. Gen. Grant, 15 Dr. w Capt. H. Marschalk, 1 Lt. Bat. K. G. L. k Lieut. Col. Baron Marsdell, 2 Lt. Dr. K. G. L. w Capt, Marshall, 79 F. sev Major Massey, 1 F. sev Ensign Mathews, 4 F. w Lieut. M'Arthur, 79 F. w Eusign M'Bean, 73 F. sev Adj. Ensign M'Cann, 44 F. sev Adj. Lieut. M'Ciusky, 6 Dr. k Lieut. M'Connell, 73 F. k Ensign M'Conchy, 33 F. sev Capt. M'Cullock, 95 F. left arm amp Capt. M'Donald, 42 F. sev Lieut, M'Donald, 92 F. sev Major M' Donald, 1 F. sev Ensign M' Donald, 92 F. sev Lieut. M'Donell, 27 F. sev Licut. M'Innes, 92 F. w Lieut M'Intosh, 92 F. sev Capt. M'Intosh, 42 F. do Q. M M'Intosh, 42 F. w Capt. M'Intyre, 33 F. w Ensign M Kay, I F. w Lieut. M'Kenzie, 42 F. w Lieut. M Kiulay, 92 F. w Lieut.-Cot M'Kinnon, Ft. G. w Capt. M'Nabb, 30 F. k Lieut, M Phee, 79 F. w Capt. M'Pherson, 42 F. w Lieut. M'Pherson, 92 F sev Lieut. M'Phorson, 79 F. k Capt. M'Ray, 79 F. sev. miss. supposed k Major Meacham, 28 F. k Lieut. Meaghau, 32 F. w Capt. Menzies, 42 f. sev Ensign Metcalfe, 32 f. w Lieut.-Col. Meyer, 3 Huss. K. G. L. sev Lieut. Meyer, 2 Lt. Dr. K. G. L. w Lieut, Mill, 13 Dr. w Lieut. Mill, 40 f. sev Lieut. Millar, 27 f. sev Lient.-Col. Miller, 1 ft. Gds. since dead Lieut.-Col. Miller, 6 Dr. sev Lieut. Miller, 1 ft. -ev Major Miller, 95 ft sev Lieut. Milligan, 11 Dr sev Lieut. Mills, 2 Dr. w Lieut. Col. Milnes, 1 Ft. Gds. since d Lieut.-Col. Mitchell, 92 f. sev Lieut. Molloy, 95 F. sev Lieut. Money penny, 39 F. w 2 Lieut. Montague, 2 Ft. Gds. w Capt. Montgomerie, 3 Ft. Gds. w Capt. Hon. R. Moore, Coldst. F. G. sev Lieut. Moore, 40 f sev Lieut. Moore, 11 Dr. sev

Capt. Moray, Ex aide-de-comp to M. Gen. Grant, 13 Dr. sev Colonel Morice, 69 f. k Lieut. Morrison, 1 f. sev Ensign Mountsteven, 28 f. sev Lieut. Muller, 1 line, K. G. L. sew Lieut. Munro, 42 f. sev Lieut. Murkland, 33 f. sev Col. Muter, 6 Dr. w Adj. Lieut. Myers, 7 Dr. sev Capt. Myme, 79 f. sev Capt. Nanue, 1 Lt. Dr. Ger. Leg. sev Capt. Col. Napier, R. Art. sev Ensign Nash, 79 f. w Capt. Naylor, 1 Dr. G. w Eusign Nettles, 52 f. k Lieut.-Col. Norcott, 95 f. sev Lieut. Oelkers, 3 Huss. K. G. L. sev Lieut. Ogle, 33 f. sev Lieut.-Col. O'Malley, 44 f. w Lieut. Ommaney, 1 Dr. sev Baron Ompteda, 5 line Ger. Leg. k Lieut. O'Neill, 1 F. k Gen. H. R. H. the Prince of Orange, G. C. B.w.sev Ensign Ormsby, 14 F. w Lieut. Orr, 42 F. sev Lieut. Osten, 16 Dr. w Major-Gen. Sir Denis Pack, K. C. B. w Lieut. Pack, 13 Dr. w Major Packe, Royal H. G. k Lient. Pagan, 33 F. sev Ensign Page, 73 F. k Lieut. Pardor, 1 F. G. k Major J. Parker, Royal Art. leg amp Major Parkinson, 33 F. sev Lieut, Peters, 7 Dr sev Capt. Peters, 1 Lt. Dr. G. L. k Lieut. Phelips, 11 Dr. k Lieut.-Gen. Sir T. Picton, G. C. B. k Lieut. Pigott, 69 F. sev Maj.-Gen. Sir W. Ponsonby, K. C. B. k. Hon. Col. F. Ponsonby, 12 Dr. w. sev Lieut. Poole, Royal Artillery, sev Major Poole, 2 Dr. sev Capt. Power, 44 F. sev Lieut. Powling, 79 F. sev Lieut, Pratt, 30 F. sev Lieut. Prendergast, 30 F. k Lieut. Pringle, Royal Engin. w Capt. Purgold, 2 line K. G. L. sev. Lieut. Pyni, 13 Dr. since dead Col. Quentin, 10 Dr. w. sev Lieut. Quell, 32 F. sev Maj. Radclyffe, 1 Dr. sev Major Ramsay, Roy. Art. k Lieut. Rea, 1 f. sev Lieut. Reid, 33 f. sev Lieut. Riefkugel, 2 Lt. Inf. G. L. sev Brig.-Major Reignolds, 2 Dr. k Major Baron Reitzenstein, 1 Lt. Dr. Ger. Col. Reynell, 71 f. w

Lieut Stroud, 44 F. sev

Lieut. Strachan, 73 F. k

Miners, w

Lieut, Stillwell, 95 f. since dead

Capt. Stothart, 3 F. G. since dead

Lieut. Strangways, Roy. Art. w Lieut. Stratton, Royal Sappers and

Lieut. Reynolds, 73 F. sev Lieut. Reach, 79 F. sev. Lieut. Richardson, 4 F. sev. Lient. Richardson, 1 L. G. sev Lieut. Ridgeway, 95 F. sev Lieut. Ritter, 2 Lt. Dr. K. G. L. sev. Lieut Robb, 40 F. w Lieut. W. Robe, Roy. Art. since dead Lieut. Roberts, 71 F. w Capt. R hertson, 73 F. k Ensign Robertson, 1 F. k Ensign Robertson, 79 F. sev Maj. Robertson, 1 line Ger. Leg. sev. w. Capt Robins, 7 Dr. sev. Lieut. Robinson, 32 F. sev Lieut. Roe, 30 F. w Lieut. Jas. Rooke, Aide-de-camp to the Prince of Orange, half pay, w Lieut. T. K. Ross, 92 F. w Lieut. Col. Ross, 95 F. sev Lieut. E. Ross, 92 F. sev Lieut. K Ross, 92 F. w Capt. Rougemont, 8 line K. G. L. w Lieut. Col. Rowan, 52 F. w Lieut. Ruffo, 6 Dr. miss. supposed dead Lieut. Rumby, 30 F. sev Lieut. Russell, 44 F. sev Lieut. Sadler, 8 line, K. G. L. w Capt. Saudys, 12 Dr. sev Capt. Sander, 5 line K. G. L. sev Capt. Schaumann, 2 Lt. Br. G. Leg. k Capt. Schlutter, 1 line, K. G. L. sev. Adjt. Lieut. Schnath, 1 line King's Ger. Leg. sev Capt. Schnehen, 3 Huss. K. G. L. w Capt. Schreiber, 11 Dr. w Adj. Lieut. Schuck, 5 line K. G. L. k Lieut. Scott. 1 F. w Capt. Seymour, Aid-de-camp to the E. of Uxbridge, 60 F. w Lieut. Shaw, Roy. Horse Guards, w Lieut. Shelton, 28 F. w Lieut. G H. Shenley, 95 F. sev Lieut. Adj. Shelver, 1 Dr. Gds. k Capt. W. Shenley, 95 F. sev Lieut Sherwood, 15 Dr. k Adj. Cornet Shipley, 1 Dr. k Lieut. Sidley, 23 F. w Lieut. Simmons. 95 F sev Capt. Simpson, 1 F. G. sev 2 Lieut. Simpson, 3 F. G. since dead Capt. Sinclair, 79 F. since dead Lieut. W. Smith, Roy. Art. w Ensign Smith, 27 F. sev Major C. Smyth, Brig. Maj. 95 F. since dead Lieut. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Mil. Sec. 1 F. G. right arm amp Lieut. Spearman, Roy. Art. since dead Lieut. Squire, 4 F. w Lieut. Col. E. Stables, 1st F. G. k Lieut. Stephens, 32 F. sev Ensign Stevens, 1 F. w Lieut. G. Stewart, 1 F. w Lieut Stewart, 42 F. sev Lieut. Stewart, 69F. sev

Ensign Stewart, 32 F. sev

Assistant Surgeon Stewart, 92 F. w.

Capt. Streatfield, 1 F. G. sev Col. Hon. W. Stuart, 1 F. G. w. sev Lieut. Stuart, 2 Dr. sev Capt. Summer, Coldst. F. G. sev Capt. Sweeny, 1 Dr. G. sev. w Cornet Sykes, 1 Dr. k Lieut. Symes, 1 F. w Mej. Sympher, Art. K. G. L. w Capt. A. Sympher, Art. K. G. L. w Capt. Thackwell, 15 Dr. left arm amp Adj. Ensign Thain, 33 F. w Lieut.-Col. Thomas, ! F. G. k Capt. Thomson, Royal Engineers, w Major Thornhill, Aide de camp to the Earl of Uxbridge, 7 Dr. sev Capt. Tilee, 2 Line Ger. Leg. k Eesign Todd, 71 F. k Lieut. Tomkins, 44 F. k Maj. Toole, 32 F. w Lieut -Col. Hon. H. G. Townsend, 1 F. Lieut. Sig. Trafford, 1 Dr. w Lieut. Trinmann, 2 Lt. Inf. K. G. L. sev Cornet Tritton, 1 E. D. Ger. Leg. sev Lieut. Trotter, 2 Dr. k Lieut, True, 3 Huss K.G. L. sev Capt. Tucker, 27 F. sev Capt. Turner, 1 Dr. G. sev Capt. Tyler, Aide-de-Camp to Sir T. Picton, 93 F. w Lieut. Tyndale, 51 F. w Earl of Uxbridge, G. C. B. right leg amp Lieut. Vane, 2 F. G. sev Maj. Vernon, 2 Dr. sev Capt. Vernor, 7 Dr. sev Lieut, Vigoureux, 30 F. sev Ensign Von Lucken, 1 Line K.G.L. k Lieut. Wall, 23 Dr. sev Capt. Wallet, 32 F. w Ensign Walsh, 95 F. sev Lient. Warren, 30 F. sev Lieut. Waters, Ass. Adj. Gen. w Maj. Watson, 69 F. sev Lieut. Weymouth, 2 L. G. missing Lieut. Webb, 95 F. sev Capt. Webber, Roy. Art. sev Ensign Webster, 44 F. sev Capt. Weigman, 2 L. B. G. Leg. k Lieut. Col. West, 3 F. G. w Cornet Westby, 2 Dr. k Capt. Baron Westernhagen, 8 line, Ger Leg. k Lieut. Westmore, 33 F. sev Capt. Weyland, 16 Dr. w Capt. Whale, I Life Gds. w Capt. Wharton, 73 F. sev Capt. Whinyates, Roy. Art. sew Capt. Whiteford, 15 Dr. sev

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Ensign Whetney, 44 F. do
Capt. Whitty, 32 F. w
Lieut. Wightwick, 69 F. k
Capt. Wildman, Aide-de-camp to the Earl
of Uxbridge, 7 Dr w
Lieut. Wildman, 7 line, K. G. L. sev
Capt. Wilkie, 92 F. sev
Col. Wilkins, 95 F. do
Lieut. Wilkinson, 28 F. do
Lieut.-Col. Wilson, 4 f. w
Ensign Wilson, 44 f. sev
Lieut. Winchester, 92 f. do
Capt. Windson, 1 Dr. k

Adj. Lieut. Winterbottom, 52 f. sev Lieut, Wolrabe, 1 lt. Inf. K. G. L. do Capt. Wood, 10 Dr. do Lieut. Wood, 21 Dr. do Lieut. Worsley, 95 f. do Capt. Wright, 85 f. do Lieut. Wyndowe, 1 Dr. w Lieut. Wyndowe, 1 Dr. sev Lieut. Col. Wyndham, Coldst. f. g. de Y Lieut. Younge, 1 f. k Adj. Lieut. Young, 42 f. w

LIST OF REGIMENTS

Under the command of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, on Sunday, June 18, 1815; and the Total Loss of the British and Hanoverians, from June 16th to 26th, 1815.

	OFFICERS.		RANK AND FILE.				
	Kill.	Wou.	Miss	Kill.	Wou.	Miss.	Total.
General Staff	12	46	3				61
1st Life Guards	2	4		24	49	4	83
2d Life Guards	1		1	16	40	97	155
Royal Horse Guards, Blue	1	4	1	19	91	20	106
1st Dragoon Guards	3	4	4	40	100	124	275
2d Dragoon Guards							
1st, or Royal Dragoons	4	9	1	86	88	9	197
2d, or Royal N. B. Dragoons	6	8		96	89		199
6th Dragoons	1	5	1	72	111	27	217
7th Hussars		7	3	62	109	15	196
10th Hussars	2	6	**	20	40	26	94
11th Light Dragoons	2	5		10	34	25	76
12th Light Dragoons	2	3		45	61		111
18th Light Dragoons	1	9		11	69	19	109
15th Hussars	2	3		21	48	5	79
16th Light Dragoons	2	4		8	18	21	52
18th Hussars		2		13	72	17	104
23d Light Dragoons		5	1	14	26	33	79
1st Light Dragoons, K.G.L.	3	11		30	99	10	153
2d Ditto	2	4	,	19	54	3	82

OFFICERS. Kill. Wou. Miss.			RANK AND FILE. Kill. Wou. Miss. Total.				
1st Hussars, K. G. L.		1		1	5	3	10
2d Hussars, ditto							
3d Ditto ditto	4	8		40	78		130
Royal Artillery	5	26		62	228	10	331
Ditto, K. G. L.						122	
Royal Engineers		2	· •				2
Royal Staff Corps		2					2
Royal Sappers and Miners		1			2		3
1st Foot Guards							-
Ditto, 2d Battalion	3	9		73	353		438
Ditto, Sd Battalion	4	12		101	487		604
2d Cold. Regiment	1	7		54	242	4	308
3d Foot Guards, 2d Battalion	3	9		39	195	=	246
1st Foot, (Royal Scots) 3d Batt.	8	26		33	295		362
4th Foot, 1st Battalion		9		12	113		184
Ditto, 2d Battalion							
7th Foot, 1st Battalion							
14th Foot, 3d Battalion		3		7	26	-	36
23d Foot	5	6		13	80		104
25th Foot, 2d Battalion							
27th Foot, 1st Battalion	2	13		103	360		478
28th Foot, ditto	1	19		29	203		252
29th Foot, ditto	-					- 4	7
30th Foot, ditto	6	14		51	181	27	279
32d Foot	1	30		49	290		370
33d Ditto	5	17		49	162	58	291
35th Ditto				1			1
37th Ditto, 2d Battalion				The second second			
40th Ditto, 1st Battalion	2	10		30	159	18	219
42d Foot, 1st Battalion	5	21		47	266		337

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51st Ditto

54th Ditto 59th Ditto

44th Ditto, 2d Battalion

52 Ditto, 1st Battalion

69th Ditto, 2d Battalion

IILI'	TARY	(CH)	RONI	CLE		[Supp.
	FICEF Wou.	RS. Miss	RA Kill.	NK A Wou.	ND' F	
2	18		14	. 151	17	208
	2		11	29		42
1	8		16	174		199
			2	2		4
				2		2
4	7		51	163	15	240
1	14		24	160	3	202
6	16		54	219	41	336
				,		
3	27	1	57	390	1	479
	2		1	6		9
4	27		49	322		402
2	15		28	175		220
	14		34	178	20	246
	4		3	36	7	50

71st Foot, 1st Battalion 73d Ditto, 2d Battalion 78th Ditto, 2d Battalion 79th Ditto, 1st Battalion 81st Foot, 2d Battalion 91st Foot 92d Ditto 95th, 1st Battalion 95th, 2d Ditto 95th, 3d Ditto 13th Veteran Battalion 1st Lt. Infantry Batt. K. G. L. 37 13 145 2d Ditto ditto 120 29 202 40 1st Line Battalion, K. G. L. 6 1 22 69 17 115 2d Ditto ditto 107 1 2 18 79 7 3d Ditto ditto 1 5 17 93 31 147 4th Ditto ditto 1 13 77 15 115 5th Ditto ditto 2 162 S 36 47 8th Ditto ditto 80 147

WATERLOO HONOURS, PRIVILEGES, &c.

BREVET.—June 22.—Major the Hon. H. Percy, of the 14th Light Dragoons, Lieut. Col. in the Army.

Thanks of both Houses of Parliament, given to His Grace the Duke of Wellington, Prince Blucher, and the Allied Armies, Officers and Soldiers.—June 23d.

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That the thanks of this House be given to Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, for the consummate ability, unexampled exertion, and irresistible ardour, displayed by him on the 18th of June, on which day the decisive victory over the enemy, commanded by Buonaparte in person, was obtained by his Grace, with the Allied Troops under his command, and in conjunction with the troops under the command of Marshal Prince Blucher, whereby the military glory of the British nation has been exalted, and the territory of his Majesty's Ally, the King of the Netherlands, has been protected from invasion and spoil.

Resolved, Nem. Con. That the thanks of this House be given to General his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath; Lieut.—Generals the Earl of Uxbridge, K. G. C. B.; Lord Hill, K. G. C. B.; Sir Henry Clinton, K. G. C. B.; Charles Baron Alten, Knight, Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath: Major-Generals Sir Henry Hinuber, K. C. B.; Sir John Ormsby Vandeleur, K. C. B.; George Cooke, Sir James Kemp, K. C. B.; Sir William Dornbeg, K. C. B.; Sir Edward Barnes, K. C. B.; Sir John Byng, K. C. B.; Sir Denis Pack, K. C. B.; Lord Edward Somerset, K. C. B.; Sir John Lambert, K. C. B.; Sir Colquhoun Grant, K. C. B.; Peregrine Maitland, Sir Colin Halkett, K. C. B.; Frederick Adam, Sir R. H. Vivian, K. C. B.; and to the several Officers under their command, for their indefatigable zeal and exertions upon the 18th of June.

Resolved, Nem. Con. That this House doth acknowledge, and highly approve, the distinguished valour and discipline displayed by the Non-commissioned Officers and Private Soldiers of His Majesty's Forces, serving under the command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, in the glorious victory obtained upon the 18th of June; and that the same be signified to them by the Commanding Officers of the several corps, who are desired to thank them for their gallant and exemplary behaviour.

Resolved, Nem. Con. That the thanks of this House be given to the General Officers, Officers, and Men, of the Allied Forces, serving under the immediate command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, for the distinguished valour and intrepidity displayed by them on the 18th of June, and that his Grace the Duke of Wellington be desired to signify the same to them accordingly.

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Resolved, Nem. Con. That the thanks of this House be given to Marshal Prince Blucher, and the Prussian Army, for the cordial and timely assistance afforded by them on the 18th of June, to which the successful result of that arduous day is so mainly to be attributed; and that his Grace the Duke of Wellington be desired to convey to them the Resolution.

June 24.—The Prince Regent has conferred upon the Earl of Ux-bridge the title of Marquis of Anglesey.

Address for a National Monument and Monuments to Officers, who fell in the Battle of Waterloo.—June 29th, 1815.

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That an humble Address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that a national monument be erected in honour of the splendid victory of Waterloo, and to commemorate the fame of the Officers and Men of the British Army, who fell gloriously upon the 16th and 18th of the present month; and more particularly of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, and Major-General the Honourable Sir William Ponsonby; and that Funeral Monuments be also erected in memory of each of those two Officers in the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, London; and to assure his Royal Highness, that this House will make good the expense attending the same.

The Prince Regent has been pleased, in the Name and on the behalf of His Majesty, to grant Promotion to the following Majors and Captains, recommended for Brevet Rank, for their Conduct in the Battle of Waterloo;

Commissions to be dated 18th of June, 1815.

Major Frederick Reh, 4th Battalion of the Line of the King's German Legion.

Major Edward Parkinson, of the 33d Foot.

Major Frederick de Lutterman, of the 3d Battalion of the Line of the King's German Legion.

Major Hans Baron Bussche, of the 1st Light Battalion of ditto.

Major Frederick de Robertson, of the 1st Battalion of the Line of ditto. Major Philip Baron Gruben, of the 1st Regiment of Hussars of ditto.

Major George Krauchenberg, of the 3d Regiment of Hussars of ditto.

Major Thomas Hunter Blair, of the 91st Foot.

Major Dawson Kelly, of the 73d Foot.

Major Robert Bull, of the Royal Artillery.

Major Edward Cheney, of the 2d Dragoons.

Major Richard Llewellyn, of the 28th Foot.

Major Augustus Fredericks, of the 2d Light Dragoons of the King's German Legion.

Major Donald M'Donald, of the 92d Foot.

Major J. P. Bridger, of the 12th Light Dragoons.

Major George Home Murray, of the 16th Light Dragoons.

Major William Thornhill, of the 7th Light Dragoons.

Major J. Lewis Watson, of the 69th Foot.

Major Augustus Baron Beitzenstein, of the 1st Light Dragoons of the King's German Legion.

Major John Hare, of the 27th Foot.

Major George Baring, of the 2d Light Infantry of the King's German Legion.

Major Jonathan Leach, of the 95th Foot.

Major Peter Brown, of the 23d Foot.

Major Thomas F. Wade, of the 42d Foot.

Major Francis Dalmer, of the 23d Foot.

Major Richard Egerton, of the 34th Foot.

Major William Chalmers of the 52d Foot.

Major John M'Curliffe, of the 23d Light Dragoons.

Major John Parker, of the Royal Artillery.

Major C. H. Churchill, of the 1st Foot Guards.

Major George D. Wilson, of the 4th Foot.

Major John Keightley, of the 14th Foot.

Major George Miller, of the 95th Foot.

Major Charles Beckwith, of the 95th Foot.

Major John Campbell, of the 42d Foot.

Major William Campbell, of the 23d Foot.

Major Charles de Petersdorff, of the 8th Line Battalion of the King's German Legion.

Major James Bourchier, of the 11th Light Dragoons.

Major James Grant, of the 18th Light Dragoons.

Major Brook Lawrence, of the 13th Light Dragoons.

Major John Thomas Keyts, of the 71st Foot.

Major Augustus Sympher, of the Artillery of the King's German Legion.

Major Charles C. Ratclyffe, of the 1st Dragoons.

Major Fielding Brown, of the 40th Foot.

Major Thomas W. Taylor, of the 10th Light Dragoons.

Major L. Arguimbeau, of the 1st Foot.

Major Michael Childers, of the 11th Light Dragoons.

Major Henry George Smith, of the 95th Foot.

Major Felix Calvert, of the 32d Foot.

Major William Stavely, of the Royal Staff Corps.

Major Alexander Campbell Wylly, of the 7th Foot.

Brevet Major Delacy Evans, of the 5th West India Regiment,—to be LIEUTENANT COLONELS in the ARMY.

Captain Michael Turner, of the 1st Dragoon Guards.

Captain Edward Whinyates, of the Royal Artillery.

Captain Peter Innes, of the 79th Foot.

Captain Edward Kelly, of the 1st Life Guards.

Captain Henry Madox, of the 6th Dragoons.

Captain Hon. H. Irby, of the 2d Life Guards.

Captain Samuel Reed, of the 71st Foot.

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Captain Edward Keane, of the 7th Light Dragoons.

Captain W. Baron Decken, of the 2d Line Battalion of the King's German Legion.

Captain Adam Brugh, of the 44th Foot.

Captain A. Cleves, of the Artillery of the King's German Legion.

Captain L. de Dreves, of the 3d Line Bat. of the King's German Legiona

Captain Lord John Somerset, of the 63d Foot.

Captain Thomas Dyneley, of the Royal Artillery.

Captain William Verner, of the 7th Light Dragoons.

Captain Skinner Hancox, of the 15th Light Dragoons.

Captain W. F. Halsemann, of the 1st Light Infantry Battalion of the King's German Legion.

Captain Conyngham Ellis, of the 40th Foot.

Captain George Bowles, of the Coldstream Foot Guards.

Captain George L. Rudorff, of the 1st Light Infantry Battalion of the King's German Legion.

Captain Honourable E. S. Erskine, of the 60th Foot.

Captain William F. Drake, of the Royal Horse Guards.

Captain William Drummond, of the 3d Foot Guards.

Captain James Gunthorpe, of the 1st Foot Guards.

Captain Augustus de Saffe, of the 1st Line Bat. King's German Legions

Captain James Shaw, of the 43d Foot.

Captain Lord Charles Fitzroy, of the 1st Foot Guards.

Captain Charles A. F. Bentinck, of the Coldstream Foot Guards.

Captain Alexander Macdonald, of the Royal Artillery.

Captain Robert Ellison, of the 1st Foot Guards.

Captain Henry Dumaresque, of the 9th Foot.

Captain James Jackson, of the 37th Foot.

Captain Robert Howard, of the 30th Foot.

Captain William Eeles, of the 95th Foot.

Captain John Tyler, of the 93d Foot-to be Majors in the Army.

Captain Algernon Langton, of the 61st Foot.

Lord Arthur Hill, upon the Staff of the Army, dated July 27, 1815— To be Majors in the Army.

War Office, July 24th, 1815.

The Prince Regent, as a mark of his high approbation of the distinguished bravery and good conduct of the 1st and 2d Life Guards at the battle of Waterloo, on the 18th ultimo, is pleased to declare himself Colonel in Chief of both the regiments of Life Guards.

War Office, July 25th, 1815.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name, and on the behalf of his Majesty, to approve of all the British regiments of cavalry and infantry which were engaged in the battle of Waterloo, being permitted to bear on their colours and appointments, in addition to any other badges or devices that may have heretofore been granted to those regiments, the word "Waterloo," in commemoration of their distinguished services, on the 18th of June, 1815.

Vide List of Regiments, page 56.

War Office, July 29.

The Prince Regent, as a mark of his Royal approbation of the distinguished gallantry of the Brigade of Foot Guards in the victory of Water-loo, has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to approve of all the Ensigns of the three Regiments of Foot Guards having the rank of lieutenants, and that such rank shall be attached to all the future appointments to Ensigncies in the Foot Guards, in the same manner as the Lieutenants of those regiments obtain the rank of Captain.

His Royal Highness has been pleased to approve of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards being made a regiment of Grenadiers, and styled "the 1st, or Grenadier Regiment of Foot Guards," in commemoration of their having defeated the Grenadiers of the French Imperial Guards upon this memorable occasion.

War-Office, July 31, 1815.—Sir,—The Prince Regent having taken into his most gracious consideration, the distinguished gailantry manifested upon all occasions by the Officers of the British Army, and having more particularly adverted to the conspicuous valour displayed by them in the late glorious victory, gained near Waterloo, by the army under the command of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington; and his Royal Highness being desirous of testifying the strong sense entertained by him of their devotion to his Majesty's service, I have the honour to acquaint you, that his Royal Highness has been pleased to order—

First,—That the regulation under which pensions are granted to wounded Officers, shall be revised, and that the pensions which have been, or may be granted to Officers, for the actual loss of eye or limb, or for wounds certified to be equally injurious with the loss of limb, shall not be confined to the amount attached by the scale to the rank which the officer held at the time when he was wounded, but shall progressively increase, according to the rank to which such Officer may, from time to time, be promoted; the augmentation with regard to the pensions of such Officers, now upon the list, being to take the date from the 18th of June, 1815, inclusive.

Secondly,—That every Subaltern Officer of infantry of the line, who served in the battle of Waterloo, or in any of the actions which immediately preceded it, shall be allowed to account two years' service, in virtue of that victory, in reckoning his services for increase of pay given to Lieutenants of seven years' standing; and every such Subaltern will therefore be entitled to the additional shilling a-day, whenever he shall have served five years as a Lieutenant.

And thirdly,—That this regulation shall be extended to every subaltern of cavalry, and to every Ensign of the Foot Guards, who served in the above-mentioned actions; and every such Subaltern and Ensign will, therefore, be entitled to an additional shilling a-day, after five years' service as Lieutenant in the cavalry, or as Ensign in the Guards.

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His Royal Highness being also desirous of marking his sense of the distinguished bravery displayed by the Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers of the British forces, in the victory of Waterloo, has been most graciously pleased to order, that henceforth every non-commissioned officer, trumpeter, drummer, and private man, who served in the battle of Waterloo, or in any of the actions which immediately preceded it, shall be borne upon the muster-rolls and pay-lists of their respective corps as "Waterloo Men;" and that every "Waterloo Man's shall be allowed to count two years' service in virtue of that victory, in reckoning his services for increase of pay, or for pension when discharged.

It is, however, to be distinctly understood, that this indulgence is not intended in any other manner to affect the conditions of their original enlistment, or to give them any right to their discharge before the ex-

piration of the period for which they have engaged to serve.

The Duke of Wellington has been requested to transmit returns of the Subaltern Officers to whom these orders may be considered by his Grace to apply; together with accurate muster-rolls containing the names of all the "Waterloo Men" in each corps; such muster-rolls being to be preserved in this office as a record honourable to the individuals themselves, and as documents by which they will at any future period be enabled to establish their claims to the benefits of this regulation.

I have great pleasure in communicating these instances of the Prince Regent's gracious consideration for the army; and I request that you will be pleased to take the earliest opportunity of announcing the same to the Officers and Men of the corps under your command.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Officers commanding-Regiment of-

Vide List of Regiments, page 56.

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Portrait of Francis II. Emperor of Austria.

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